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1.

THE
WORKES
OF LUCIUS
ANNÆVS

SENeca, Both Morrall and
Naturall.

CONTAINING,

1. His Bookes of Benefites.
2. His Epistles.
3. His Booke of Providence.
4. Three Bookes of Anger.
5. Two Bookes of Clemencie.
6. His Booke of a Blessed Life.
7. His Booke of the Tranquillitie of the minde.
8. His Booke of the Conſtance of a Wiſeman.
9. His Booke of the Shortneſſe of Life.
10. Two Bookes of Conſolation to MARTIA.
11. Three Bookes of Conſolation to HELVIA.
12. His Booke of Conſolation to POLIVIVS.
13. His ſeven Bookes of Naturall Queſtions.

Translated by THO. LODGE,
D. in Phyſicke.

LONDON

Printed by William Stansby. 1614.



ILLVSTRISSIMO HEROI,
AC DOMINO SVO OBSER-
VANDISSIMO, D. THOMÆ EGERTONO,

DOMINO DE ELLISMERE, SVMMO AN-
GLIÆ CANCELLARIO, MAIESTATIS REGIÆ

à Secretioribus Concilijs omni virtutum genere ac

Doctrina Clarissimo, Almaz Academiæ OXONIENSIS

Cancellario, bonorumq; studiorum omnium

Mæcenati præstantissimo,

THOMAS LODGE Doctor Medicus,

Salutem.



Vi potius liber iste dicari ve-
lit, vel ego debeam dedicare
quam Honori tuo (vir om-
nibus nominibus Honoran-
de) deliberanti diu & mul-
tum cogitanti, plane non oc-
currebat. Etenim cum Phi-
losophia ipsa inculta prorsus
sit, & ab omnibus neglecta
fere, tum si à plerisq; vt horrida conspuatur, non est
sane mirandum: Quo magis veteri quidem debet, ne
temere

EPISTOLA

temere cuivis sese offerat, ne forte in eos incidisse videatur, qui cuticulam curantes ipsi, nihil admirantur ultra cutem; quorum oculis nihil placet, nisi quod externa specie, & lineamentorum harmonia se commendat; quorum aures omnia respuunt, nisi quæ cum voluptate quadam influunt: quod si contingat, quomodo non contemptui apud omnes esset liberis, qui apud eum ipsum quem patronum sibi delegit potissimum, fordescat? Quod si ioculari quiddam & molliusculum in publicum proferendum statuerem, quod voluptate nescio qua, mentes hominum titillaret tantum,

Introrsum turpe & speciosum pelle decora,
(Vt inquit Poeta) non deesset hercle, qui

Fautor utroq; meum laudaret pollice ludum,

Nec certe

Navibus atq;
Quadrigis petereim.

Mihi patronum aliquem

Quoi donem lepidum novum libellum.

Opprimerer eorum multitudine credo, qui occurrerent mihi nenijs hisce patrocinatori: Cum autem res serias tantum traheret author hic noster, idq; serio; quæ tantum ijs arrident, quibus leuiores illa arrident minus; tum eos qui subtiliori quodam oculo, & mentis acie, venustatem Philosophiæ illam intruere possunt, (quæ si corporeis oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret sui) nescio quod fatum contraxit in compendium. Et certe quamuis eorum numerus tantus esset atq; talis, quorum in sinum hic noster posset tuto Conuolare, vt delectus ipse delectum fere tolleretur, nescio tamen an cuiquam ex omnibus deberi se magis

DEDICATORIA.

magis agnosceret, quam Honorituo, qui cum in eam opinionem iam diu veneris, vt inter prudentissimos, & virtute quam maxime excoleos, principatum quendam tenere videaris; tum etiam ita ad certam authoris huius normam vitam direxisse, & momenta officiorum ea perpendisse videris omnia, quæ ab ipso in sapiente requiruntur; vt si in eadem tempora incidisses, ille ne præcepta ad exemplum tuum, an tu vitam ad ipsius præcepta conformâris, esset vehementer dubitandum. Quæ de causa quidem, in spem maximam venit, aditum ipsi apud te patere; quod ea afferat potissimum, quæ si tibi placeant, (quod non desperat) nemini quidem à tuæ vitæ ratione non alienissimo, poterint displicere.

Quid quod & eum sibi Patronum deligendum censet, qui ipsa autoritate possit eam ab aliorum iniurijs vindicare! quod cum ita sit, nullius quidem iniurijs in eo locus erit, quamdiu totus ipsi apud te fuerit, cuius potentia, & autoritas, cum sit maxima, talem tamen intuemur, vt maiorem indies & auctiorem fieri velimus omnes, qui videmus.

Inter *Ajacem*, & *Vlysem*, litem nonnullam apud Poetas legimus interiectam de *Atbillis* armatura quondam; vter indueretur ipsa; de facto non disputo. Poetarum mens ea fuit, vt cum prudentia polleret alter & concilio; lacertis alter atq; robore; apud quem tandem armorum eorum ius resideret, eumne qui prudentissime ijs vti posset, an qui robustissime eluceret; quod si ex iure manu conseruum vocaret autoritas sapientiam, & sapientia autoritatem, ad quem tandem *Senecæ* nostri patrocinium æquius pertineret, haud esset difficile quidem ad iudicandum. Tu vero vir Honorande

EPISTOLA

norande cum tanta sis sapientia, vt ab authoritate quantumuis maxima vinci non possit, & authoritatē tantam nactus es, vt ne sapientiæ tuæ quamuis eximitæ & illustri velit loco cedere, faciliē controuerſiam hanc omnem dirimes; in quo cum vtræq; summæ de paritate contendant ad quem patronum potius accurret; quam ad te, qui & propter sapientiam singularem optimē consultum voles libro non insipientissimo, & propter egregiam authoritatem effectum dabis, libro malē ne consulatur (dico confidenter) egregio.

Ad me vero quod attinet (Illustrissime Mæcen.) cum multa alia perpulerint, vt te potissimum seligerem sub cuius nomine prodeat hic labor in *Seneca* transferendo meus, tum ista inprimis quæ dicturus sum. Nempe vt ad senem ille de senectute senex, & amicissimus, scripsit ad amicum de amicitia, ita & ego (illud sileo quod quam vellem vt possem attexere) Philosophiæ libros hos (quam sapientiam dixere veteres) ad te sapientissimum & Philosophorum Oxonij studentium omnium Patronum primum inprimis statui dedicandum. Quo quidem in loco non possum illius non meminisse, (quod prætermitti sine scelere nefario non potest) quodq; grauissimi est instar argumenti, cur tibi vel soli, vel certe potissimum omnium nostrum qui Oxonienses audimus in gratæ mentis testimonium, labores & studia inferuiant; quod per te effectum est fere, vt studijs nostris ibi locus sit, vbi cum florere maxime, tum maxime eiecta inde voluissent ij, qui minime debuissent: per te vero iam effectum id videmus, vt qui fontes illos limpidiſsimos conturbarent, quo minus haustus inde puriores essent, iam tandem aduersum Musarum Alumnos vtrumque

coaxant

DEDICATORIA.

coaxant fortasse, tantum tamen coaxare possint.

De hoc autem ingrati sumus omnes, omnium erimus ingratisſimi. Quin quod magis me ipsum spectat, illud Cardinale quiddam est, quod cum beneuolentiæ erga me tuæ vestigia semper vidi non leuiter impressa, mihi nunquam satisfacio ipsi, priusquam tibi (non dicam satisfaciam de animo erga me tuo) at agnoscam certe quantis nominibus obstrictum me & obaratum sentiam: quin attexo, ideo tibi lubens dico, quod cum mihi beneuolus semper extiteris, tunc etiam & ab ijs qui ex me emanarunt vtrumque, animo esse non poteris alieno.

Hac spe fretus (Honorande *Mæcenas*) hosce meos labores, quales, quales tibi trado in manus, quos æqui si consulas, conditione haudquaquam iniqua susceptos existimaui: Deumque rogabo

Opt. Max. vt tam diu nobis te conseruatū volet, quam diu te virtutum tuarum minime pernitebit.

Dignitatis tuæ,

Obseruantiss.

THO. LODG. D. M. P.



REVERENDISSIMIS
DOCTORIBVS, CÆTERISQVE

IN STADIO LITERARIO OPTIME
EXERCITATIS LECTORIBVS,

Thō. LODGE D. Medicus Phisicus.
Salutem.



*Um nulli magis opprobrijs alios con-
scindunt, & lacerant maledictis,
quam ij qui in opprobrium ipsi fa-
cillime incurrunt; tum plerumq; id
euenit, vt exilis cuiusdam ingenij
ipsi sibi conscij, nihil sapere videri se
credant alius, nisi plane desipere se*

*probeant; dum ea carpunt omnino, quæ non capiunt. Ex
quo euenit, vt nihil egregium ita & excellens in publicum
emanarit vnquam, in quod dentes isti mordaces non impege-
rint. A quo hominum genere cum ego me facile vindica-
re nesciam, apud vos (Viri Doctores doctoresq; prestantis-
simi, politoris literaturæ alumnos, qui quales erga vos ipsi
velitis alios esse, tales estis erga omnes) præfatione vti non
nulla baud absouum fore existimaui, vt rationem consilij de
Seneca in nostrum sermonem transmittendo mei, vobis ex-
plicem.*

Epistola.

Videō autem multis id displicere quidem, idq̄ vehemēter, quod auctores ita Latini transferantur, & in sermonem nostrum migrent Anglicum: cum multa alia tum illud inculcantes, iniuriam literis, insignem inuebi, quod ea quæ literatorum deberent esse propria, nunc denuo profutuantur & omnibus contrectandā prouulgentur: Qui cum id agunt quid aliud agunt, quam ut nostri ad vnum omnes, a virtutum scientia ut profani quidam arceantur, velut a Dianæ sacris? De quibus illud est Calimachi ^{hæc legem dicit}. Hi dum a se scientias omnes velut a Chaldeis dies postulari volunt, quid aliud agunt quam quæ ipsi vident ut cæteris omnibus inuideant? Quæ si mens eorum fuisset qui ista primo literis mandauerunt, quomodo tandem egregia illa ingenij eorum monumenta ad nostra hæc tempora permanere potuissent? Nec vero nios ille priscis inoleuit, ut cogitata illa sua præclara cæteris inuiderent, qui per se minus acie valerent & ingenio, & ex omnibus certe vix paucos reperias qui vel Græci Latine, vel Romani Græce scripserint, quo minus suis innotescerent ea quæ libri sui præclara contineant: ex quo effectum, id est ut quantum bruta intellectu cæteri, tantum ipsi ingenio cæteros antecesserint. Neq̄ vero non laudare possum, Sapientissimum, illum apud lætium, qui cum de tribus Diis ageret gratias, quod homo esset natus, non brutum; quod vir, non femina, tertium id erat quod Atheniensis esset, non Barbarus; non quod solus inter eos sapere visus est, sed quod ex infinitis vnus esset, qui non nihil sapere didicisset: Et recte ad Amicum scribens M. Tullius monet, ut vbiuis esse malis, quam vbi sit, propterea quod multo rectius illic videntur sit vbi aliquo numero fiet, quam illic vbi solus sapere videatur. Et sane si æqui rerum aestimatores velimus esse, facile quidem inueniemus excultiore multo nostros, & limatiore quam

tea

Epistola.

tea extitisse, ex quo doctrina illa veterum, & historia Romanorum, vernacula ipsos alloquente lingua perpoliri cæperunt. Quo in curriculo labores mei cum non nihil desudarint, tum facti mei tandem me non penitebit, quamdiu publicæ utilitati & honori patriæ inservire intellexero: me quanquam omnes reclamantes videro Comici, tamen illo me facile consolabor & recreabo, quod nihil in animo magis habeam, quam ut pluribus profim.

Quin illud fortasse non recte quod ^{magis} occurrunt Senecæ nonnulla, quæ celari multo possunt honestius, quam in apricum protrudi, lucem non ferentia; & male locatâ operam eam omnem clamabunt omnes, quæ in re non bona. Habet etiam ^{in edictis} quâ plurima, quæ si recte ediscantur nihil illa nocebunt: quanquam quid egi? Aut in quo euigilauere curæ & cogitationes meæ, nisi ut lectorem pro virili præmonerem, & ad scopulos eos digitum intenderem, ad quos si adhæserit fortasse, naufragium illico facturus sit?

Nec vero defuerint ij, qui id vitio mihi vertendum senserint, quod in omnibus non verbum verbo respondeat, quin infidus interpres sit ille necesse est, & ubi fide est opus vel maxime, fideliam adhibebit, qui ita interpretem agere edidiscit. Quin ille rectissime.

Non verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus

Interpres

Ne poterit quidem, quod tum eores deducetur, ut dum in verbis se torquet nimis, sensus interim elaboratur omnino. Quis autem ita incius erit, ut illud non intelligat in omni sermone, idiomata loquendi quædam, apparere, & flores elegantiarum, quæ si verbis alienis offerantur, illico pro ridiculis habeantur? Longius esset, tunc omnia conuertere, quæ falsissime a Latinis dicta, nostris enuntiata, verbis iisdem,

d 2

Epistola.

dem, appareant insulsa. Quò facilius adducor, ut eius omnia sic interpreter, ut quæ proprijs verbis enuntiari non possunt, enuntientur quibus possunt aptissimis: Hic ego, si reprehensionem incurro iustam, exemplo me consolabor eorum, qui cum in hoc genere palmam ferant, crimen commune mecum sustinebunt, nec nostrorū solum, sed & eorum etiam omnium qui in Hispania, Gallia, Italia communem mecum in eo genere nauarunt operam. Agnosco vero libentissime errata, hic irrepsisse nonnulla, quæ ut homini cuius in summo otio non vigilantissimo, facile possunt obrepere quedam, ita si mihi in hoc opere frequentior visum est quā erat æquum, facile ignosceret, qui rem ipsam ut accideris cognosceret prius. Cum enim primo statuerem ita in hoc opere meam operam posuisse, ut nequid per incuriam elapsum mihi videri posset, in medio operis a me suscepti nescio quomodo in medium rerum omnium certamen incidi: Præterquā enim illud quod fratre charissimo pientissimoq; esset, orbatus, ita ut studijs nullus in me locus esset relictus, quem dolor vniuersum occuparat, accidebat id etiam, ut turbis ijs forensibus, & molestijs vndiq; circumfremantibus opprimerer ita, ut dum illius omnia (iam cum beatis illis incolis agente æuum) componere studeo, ne subciscuas horas certe mihi relinquo vllas, quibus huic operi iam inchoato supremam manū imponam. Interim ista dum aguntur annus fere integer elapsus est, & adhuc tamen.

pendent opera interrupta mineq;
Murorum ingentes.

Ut Poetæ verbis utar. Interea fremere Typographus, & de prelo tantum non prælia mouere, quæ nactus est typis excudenda curare sed citra curā: hoc modo ad imprimendum solum licentiā fortasse nactus, qui me premit semper nec pensat quid habet, quid imprimat. Quin tandē ut molestijs hisce me enoluo,

Epistola.

cuoluo, colligo me ut possim ex magna iactatione, & dimidiū Senecæ alterum quod imperfectum reliquerā, quantia possum absoluto celeritate, nec typographo satisfacio tamen in hianti suo semper luero, quin quæ manus prima coniecit in chartulas, subinde arripit ipsa impressione peiora facta emissurus, quæ prius acceperat omnino non optima, quippe quibus ipsius festinatio præpropere, ad ornanda se melius ne minimum quidem indulsit temporis. Ita fit ut quod mensum nonnullorum opus esse debuerit, diebus haud ita multis absolutum prodierit, atq; vtinam absolutū. Quod si minus conceditur, non despero tamen quin per meum debinc otium, quæ rudia iam excidere, limentur accuratius, & quæ obscuritate nonnulla videbuntur laborare, fiant etiam illustriora cum proxime emanabunt.

Obijcient alij (qui reprehensionis ausam vndiq; arripier:) quod versus eius quosdam, vna cum Apocolocynthesi, & Epistolis quibusdā ad Diuum Paulum exaratis (ut non nemo resulit e Patribus) omnino prætermiserim. Sed parcent mihi facile spero, qui prius norint, quibus rationibus adductus, huic ego labori pepercerim: Primo quidem de Apocolocynthesi cum liber is totus differijs in mortem Clandij Cesaris sit refertus ne alienus a se noster Seneca videretur, qui ubiq; seuerus & grauis, & ab hoc genere quā maxime videtur abhorrens, inutiles labore potius supersedendum statui, quā ea attexenda, quæ labē nonnullam operi toti possent, asfricare. De reliquis autem id tantum dico, quod cum authoris huius an sint a multis in dubium vocari video, tum an a me sint interpretanda vehementer dubito.

Habetis iam tandem (Doctores & lectores beneuoli) quæ ego dicenda habeo, quæ si vobis candidioribus arridere perspiciro, tum ut iis placeant quibus omnia displicent, vehementer non contendo.

Valere.



To the Courteous Reader.



It was well donne by Nature
(gentle Reader) to giue time,
but ill donne by men not to
apprehend the same: How
much thou hast lost in life in
begetting vanities and nou-
rishing them, in applauding
follies, and intending them,
read heare; and begin now to
apprehend this, that it is but lost life, that men liue in en-
tertaining vaine things, & that no time is better spent,
thē in studying how to liue, and how to die wel. This
shalt thou learne in our *Seneca*, whose diuine senten-
ces, wholsome counsailes, serious exclamations against
vices, in being but a Heathen, may make vs ashamed
being Christians; when wee consider how backward
a course wee haue runne from the right scope, by be-
ing buried in vaine readings, besotted with selfe opi-
nion, by apprehending vertue no more, but in a sha-
dow, which serues for a vail to couer many vices. It

is

To the Reader.

is lost labour in most men now-a-dayes whatsoever they have studied, except their actions testifie that readings haue amended the ruines of their sicke and intemperate thoughts: and too pregnant a prooffe is it, of an age and time ill spent, when as after a man hath summed vp the account of his dayes that are past, hee findeth the remainder of his profites, hee should haue gotten in life, to be eyther ambition vnstatisfied, or dissolution attended by pouerty, or vaine vnderstanding bouldered by pride, or irksome age called on by surfet; I must confesse that (had I effected it) I could haue pickt out eyther an author more curious, or a subiect more pleasing for common eares, to allure and content them. But seeing the worlds Lithargie so farre growne, that it is benumbed wholly with false appearance, I made choice of this author, whose life was a pattern of continence; whose doctrine a detection and correction of vanities, and whose death a certaine instance of constancy. Would God Christians would endeavour to practise his good precepts, to reform their owne in seeing his errors; and perceiuing so great light of learning from a Pagans pen, byme at the true light of deuotion and pietie, which becommeth Christians. Learne in him these good lessons, and commit them to memory, That to be truly vertuous is to be happy, to subdue passion is to be truly a man, to contemne fortune is to conquer her, to foresee and vnmaske miseries in their greatest terrors is to lessen them, to liue well is to be vertuous; and to die well is the way to eternitie. This as often as I thinke vpon, I finde an alteration in my resolution, which heretofore hath too long time surfered vpon time-pleasing;

To the Reader.

I am armed against all worldly contempts, wherewith Enuie may pretend to loade mee. My soule and conscience bearing me witnesse that my intent and scope was only to draw men to amendment of life, & to root out vain customes, that are too much ingrafted in this age; What care I for detraction? which rather barketh for custome sake, then baiteth at mee for fiercenesse. No Souldier is counted valiant, that affronteth not his enemy; no Philosopher constant, that contemneth not Fortune; nor writer vnderstanding, that scorneth not detraction; I had rather bee condemned for confirming men in goodnesse, then flattering the world in follie. Gentle Reader for thee I laboured, for thy good haue I made this admirable Roman speake English, if it profit thee I haue my wish, if it displease thee, it is thy want of iudgment.

Farewell.

In



In Momum.

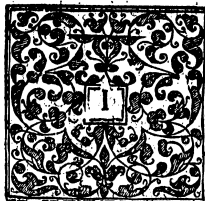
Sed tamen usq̃ iuuat quæ sunt bona carpere, Mome,
Carpe hæc, vt morsu sint meliora tuo.
Quæ liber iste tenet forte ignorare videris,
Quin lege, mox fies forsitan ipse bonus.
Non in bicipiti quæ vidit somnia narrat,
Parnasso, aut vanis ludit imaginibus:
Nec prius usq̃ nouem, nisi quæ docuere sorores
Castalus vnda tuæ, nil docet iste liber
Vera sed hic rectæ promit dictamina vitæ,
Et sapiens narrat quæ bene dixit anus.
Si malus ista leges, poterint non ista placere
Nec non ista probes, qui legis, ipse bonus:
Vel non ergo legas quæ sunt benedicta, pudentis
Nec lacera verbis, quæ minus ipse capis,
Vel lege, nec carpas; vt non male prodita: dentes
Iamq̃ tibi gratulor Mome perire tuos.



THE LIFE OF LVCIVS
ANNÆVS SENECA, DE-
SCRIBED BY IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

CHAP. I.

Of his Countrey and Parents.



IT hath bene an olde custome to publish the lites of worthy men, and those whose wisdomes, writings and actions we admire: It doth not a little content vs to knowe such other things as concerned or appertained vnto them. I will therefore speake of *Seneca* as farre as may be, and will collect and dispose all those things that concerne this matter, both out of himselfe and diuers other writers. It appeareth that he was borne in Corduba, an olde and flourishing Colony in Andalouzell in Spaine, and besides that, the chiefest in those Regions. This doth *Strabo* testifie in these wordes: *Amongst all other Cities of Hispania; Batia, or Andalouzie, Corduba is enlarged both in glorie and power by Marcellus meanes: as also the Citie of Gaditana, the one by reason of Navigations, and the societies of the Romanes; the other, because of the goodnesse and greatnesse of the country; the iinen Babi likewise conferring much hereunto.* They praise it; and therewithall proue it to be auncient, because it was *Marcellus* worke, which of them, was it his that was Prætor, or the other that was Consul? For *Marcus Marcellus* the Prætor gouerned Spaine, as *Pliny* testifi-

Lib. 3.

The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

Lib. 43.

eth in the year of the Citie D L x x v. although, as it seemeth, in peace and quietnesse; by which means the rather this Colony of his countrey was drawne thither, and happily the Citie both increased and adorned: For that it was not built anew, it appeares by *Silius*, who euen in *Hanibals* time called it *Corduba*. I had rather therefore ascribe it to him, then to the Consul *Marcellus*, who in the year D c i. gouerned the hither part of Spain, as it appeares in the Epitome, and thou mayest gather out of *Appian*, and hauing worthily executed his charge in that place, triumphed *Celsibers*. He had therefore at that time nothing to do with *Bætica*, or our *Corduba*, which is in the farther part of Spaine. But *Strabo* addeth more; The most chosen Romanes and Spaniards inhabited this *Corduba* from the beginning, and into these places did the Romanes send their first Colonie. Note this word Chosen; for it was so indeed: and thereupon afterwards, as I suppose, it obtained this priuiledge, that it was called *Colonia Patricia*. *Pliny* testifieth it most plainly, *Corduba* (saith hee) named the Patrician Colonie, and in *Augustus* stamp of money, *Permissu Caesaris Augusti*, with his head on the one side, and then on the other side, *Colonia Patricia*. The cause of which title, in my opinion, is because that being both a faire, and a rich Citie, it supplied the Roman Common-wealth with Fathers and Senators. For now in *Augustus* age they made choice of men out of euery Province, to make vp the Senate. Furthermore, *Strabo* saith, That the first Colonie was sent thither, which reade thou, with circumspection. For *Carteia* in the same countrey of *Bætica*, before this time had a colonie planted in it by *Lucius Canuleius Prætor*: but because they were not of the better sort, it was called *Colonia Libertinorum*, or the colonie of the Libertines. Thou shalt reade it in *Livy*, in the beginning of his 43. booke: yet mayest thou, and happily oughtest thou to defend *Strabo*, that those inhabitants were not sent from Rome or Italie, but that they were begotten by the Roman souldiers vpon the Spanish women; and by the permission of the Senate the Bastards had their libertie giuen them, and were planted in a colonie. But *Strabo* expresse writeth, that a colonie was sent thither. Enough of *Corduba*, and this was his countrey; but who were his parents? It appeareth that they were of the *Annæan* race, whose name seemeth to be giuen them in way of good fortune, *ab Annia*. The surname of *Seneca* likewise was fortunate. For the first, in my iudgment, had this name giuen him, although

Isidore.

The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

Lib. 14.

Isidore thinke, that hee who was at first so called, was borne grey headed. Vndoubtedly *Seneca*, or as the Aundients write, *Senica*: (for *Senecis* is deriued a *Senæ*) signified *white*, as *Senecio* doth. Let *Nonius* be seene in *Seneca*. Hereunto I adde that in another kindred also I finde this surname; as in *Accia* in an ancient stone *M. Accio Seneca*. *Maillio Plauti ii. vrb. Quing.* But whether those of the race of *Annaea* were of the Spanish race, or were sent out of Italie in a Colony, I dare not affirme; this onely I say, that they were of the order of Knights; for so *Seneca* himselfe speaketh of himselfe in *Tacitus*. Am I he that sprung from the order of knight, and in a provinciall place, numbred amongst the chiefest Peers of the Citie? Can it be amongst the Nobles, that boast themselves of their long worthinesse and antiquitie, that my noueltie should shine? his father therefore, and happily his grandfather were Knights, and not aboue. For he presently maketh mention of his noueltie; which he would not haue done, if any of his Ancestors had attained vnto honours. But his father was known both by himselfe and his writings, to be *Lucius Annaeus Seneca*, whom for the most part, they distinguish from the sonne by the title of *Disclaimer*, in which kinde he excelled. Diuers Declamations are extant, which were not his own but another mans, digested by him, which he distinguished by some titles and Annotations, and by this meanes sufficiently expressed his milde & happy wit: he had to wife one *Heluiæ* a Spanish Ladie, a woman of great constancie and wisdom. as her sonne sufficientlie describeth her in his Consolatorie booke vnto her. The father came to Rome in *Augustus* time, and presently after his wife with her children followed him; amongst which was this our *Seneca*, as yet but verie yong. In that place liued he long, and followed his affairs with the fauor and good report of all men, and I thinke that hee liued till about the latter time of *Tiberius*; and hereunto am I perswaded, because he maketh mention of *Seianus* conspiracie in his bookes, and of other things that appertaine hereunto. I let him passe, and returne vnto his sonne, of whom I haue intended to speake.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Lucius Annaeus Seneca himselfe and his brethren; where he was borne, and when he was brought to Rome.

Conf. ad Hel.
cap. 16.

IN Corduba was he borne, and was translated from thence to Rome when hee was a childe; which hee himselfe testifieth thus, where hee praiseth his Aunt. By her hands was I brought into the Citie; by her pious and motherly nourishing I recovered my selfe after my long sicknesse. If he were carried in her armes, it must needs be that he was but an infant; and thou seest that hee was sicke at that time likewise and was recomforted by her care and diligence. This thinke I hapned in the fifteenth yeare or thereabouts, before Augustus death, the argument whereof is Senecaes young yeares in Tiberius time, whereof I must speake hereafter. The father therefore not long before that time came to Rome: he had two brothers, and no sisters; which appeareth by his wordes vnto his mother. Thou buriedst thy dearest husband, by whom thou wert the mother of three children. And these three were M. Annaeus Novatus; L. Annaeus Seneca, L. Annaeus Mela; all borne in such order as I haue set them downe. This appeareth by the inscriptions of the Controuersies, where they are so set downe, although by their surnames. But the eldest of these brethren presently changed his name, and was called Iunius Gallio, because hee was adopted by him. Which Gallio is oftentimes named by Seneca the father in his declamations, and is called ours, either by reason of their common Countrey Spaine, or of that friendship which was betwene them, were they not likewise allied and a kin? I know not, yet suspect it; by reason of this adoption. And this Gallio it is who is called Father by Quintilian and Tacitus likewise, in the sixt of his Chronicles. But this our adopted Gallio in the Eusebian Cronicle is called Iunius Annaeus Gallio, Senecaes brother, and a worthy Declamer. Was it by the name of both the Families (which was rare amongst the Ancients; nay more, neuer heard of) that it might appeare into what familie hee entered by adoption, and in what hee was borne by nature? It appeareth manifestly, if the name and

Ad Hel. c. 2.

and title bee true. He it is to whom our Seneca both sent and wrote his bookes of Wrath, in which he calleth him Novatus; yet the same man in his title of blessed life calleth he his brother Gallio, and likewise in his Epistles his Lord Gallio, and that honestly as him that was his elder brother. Obserue this therefore that he seemed not to be adopted at such time as his bookes of Anger were written, that is, when Caius was alive, but afterwards, and that then he changed his surname: but his yongest brother was Annaeus Mela, so called by Tacitus Dion and Eusebius, who was onely a Roman Knight (for he that was the elder was a Senator) who began Lucan a great access to his greatnesse, as Tacitus saith. These therefore were the three brothers, of whom Martiall witnesseth,

And learned Senecaes house,
That is thrice to be numbred.

He calleth him learned, (I meane, the Orator) his treble-house; his three sonnes called his families.

CHAP. III.

His youth, his Masters and studies.



He came therefore to Rome when he was a childe, and in that place ripened he his excellent wit in the best studies: his youth hapned in the beginning of Tiberius government, as he himselfe confesseth, and about that time, when forraine sacrifices were removed and abolished. This was in the fift yeare of Tiberius, & of that of the Citie D c c l x x i i. which appeareth manifestly by Tacitus, who writeth, that the sacrifices of the Egyptians and Iewes were abolished. Seneca therefore about that time grew to mans estate, & was about some twentie or two and twentie yeares olde. For that he was well stept in yeares in Augustus time, hereby it appeareth; because he obserued a Comet or a flame before his departure; of which he saith: We saw before the death of Augustus such a kinde of prodigie, which children could not so curiously obserue. His father, in my opinion, was he that first instructed him in eloquence: & this do his bookes of Controuersies & their Praefaces testifie. For why shold not this worthy olde man, who both directed & taught others, direct and instruct his owne children in that kinde: Hee did it, and left

Epist. 113.

Lik. Annaeus,
14. in fine.

Quaest. 1. c. 1.

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two of them most excellent & exercised in eloquence, Gallio, and this our *Seneca*, for I haue red nothing of *Mela*. This is that Gallio whom *Status* commendeth for his sweet discourse.

*And thus much more, that from his happy line
He blest the world with Seneca diuine,
And brought to light that Gallio, whose grace
And fluent speech the commons did embrace.*

He that was the author of the booke *Of the causes of corrupted eloquence*, said, that hee had a certaine resounding and pleasing eloquence, which he calleth the resounding of Gallio, meaning it by the sonne and not by the father. But our *Seneca*, besides his eloquence, addicted himselfe to Philosophie with earnest endeuor, and vertue rauished his most excellent wit, although his father were against it. He himselfe diuers times saith, that hee was withdrawne from Philosophie, and that his wife was shee that dissuaded him, yea, and that she hated it, hee openly writeth in another place: yet did the sonnes desire and forwardnesse get the vpper hand, so that hee diligently and carefully heard the most famous and serious Philosophers of that age, and namely, *Attalus* the Stoicke, *Sotion* one of the same sort, although he seemed to follow *Pythagoras* and *Papirius Fabius*, which he names likewise, and praiseth with a gratefull memorie: he was *Sotions* scholler in his younger yeares, and he writeth, *And now, though a childe, I fate and heard Sotion*. Moreouer, he admired and honoured *Demetrius* the Cinique, conuersing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at such time as he serued in Court, both priuately and publicly. For he made him his companion both in his walks and trauailes. Such was his forwardnesse in honest studies, yet his father broke him off, and in the interim caused him to follow the Courts and to pleade causes: which course, as it appeareth he continued long, yea, euen in *Cains* time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his eloquence. Vndoubtedly there are no Philosophicall treatises extant, that were his before that time.

CHAP.

The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

CHAP. IIII.

His honours and ciuill life.

His father likewise perswaded him to affect gouernement, and to make sute for honours: he therefore first of all was Threasorer, in obtaining which office; hee acknowledgeth what helps his Aunt had procured him: She (saith he) tried all her friends in my suite for the Threasorer ship, and shee that scarcely would endure to be confer'd with all, or publicly saluted in my behalfe, ouercame her modestie by her loue towards me. What woman this was, and what husband she had thou shalt learne by my notes: but when he was Threasorer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares it might haue been vnder *Tiberius*, or it might be vnder *Cains*, but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather say, that by *Agripina* means presently after his exile he got and exercised the Pratorship. For thus saith *Tacitus*: *Agripina* got at her husbands hand, not onely a release of *Annaeus Senecaes* banishment, but also the Pratorship, supposing that it would be pleasing to the common sort by reason of the fame of his studie, and to the end that *Domitius* child hood might be the better ripened by such a master, and that hee might ye his counsailes, vnder hope to attaine the soueraigntie. Thou seest that hee was suddenly made Prator, and hearest what praises and endowments *Tacitus* vntainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the commons was gotten by that meanes. Because *Seneca* now was accompanied with euery mans good words and fauours, by reason of the excellencie of his studies, and was desirous that vnder such and so great a Master, that their *Domitius* should be brought vp, and should be adressed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouern it. He was therefore Prator the yeare of the Citie DCCCL. and was hee not afterwards Consul? The Law bookes affirme the same to *S. C. Trebellian*, as *Vlpian*. In the time of *Nero* in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when *Annaeus Seneca* and *Trebellius Maximus* were Consuls, it was made irreuocable. The same is written in the elements of *Iustinians* institutions. But they that made our holy daies, make these substitute Consuls (for ordinarily they were not) the yeare of the Citie DCCCLV. which should

Conf. ad Hist. cap. 16.

12. Annals.

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The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

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Confess. IIII.
cap. 16.

12. Annall.

1 p. 11. 19.

1 p. 11. 19.

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Annal. 14.

be the year, and some few moneths before *Senecaes* death. Some men perhaps will doubt of the whole matter, because *Aufonius* in his thankelgiuing saith openly, The rich man *Seneca*, but yet not Confull. *Seneca* likewise him selfe neuer maketh mention of this honour, although he wrote many Epistles at that time. I answer, for *Aufonius* it is to be vnderstood, that it seemed to him to be an ordinarie Consulate; for our *Seneca*, that a silence is no deniall. Furthermore, I adde this likewise, that the Chronicle-makers seem to haue digested their relations badly; for in that yeare vndoubtedly he was not. For see here in the very beginning of the yeare, how *Tacitus* maketh mention of his cold entertainment by *Nero*, and how his detractors had diuersly iniured him, and how he him selfe with a confident Oration came vnto the Prince, and desired *viaticum*, and resigned his substance: yet *Cesar* permitted it not, & yet *Seneca* from that time forward, as *Cornelius* saith, changeth the prescrips of his former power, forbiddeth intercourse of Courtiers, auoydeth attendants, is sildome scene in the Citie, and as if over-tired with sickenes, keepeth him selfe at home, intending onely the studie of wisdome. These are no proper actions of a new made Confull or a Candidate, and his death that followed presently afterwards, forbiddeth vs to consent hereunto. But what was it that learned men suspected thus? That which *Tacitus* writeth in that yeare was done by the consent of the Senate, lest a fained adoption should in any sort further a publique Office, & least in vsurping heritages, it should profit. But this appertaineth nothing to that of *Trebellian*, it hath another reference: if a man doe examine those things likewise that are in *Tacitus*. I therefore consent that he was Confull, but in another and a former time, the certaintie whereof I will not set downe. But the perpetuall honour of this man, and how hee was both the teacher and gouernour of a Prince, vndoubtedly worthy as long as he addicted him selfe to his counsailes and admonitions, *Tacitus* concealeth not, and nameth two, to whom the Prince was well inclined for his owne profite. Murders had preuailed except *Afranius Burrus* and *Annaeus Seneca* had withstood them. These were the Gouernours of the Emperour in his yonger yeares, and conformed in that equall societie they had in gouernement, and in diuers sorts they had equall power. *Burrus* in his charge, in regard of warlike affaires and feueritie in his manners. *Seneca* in his precepts of eloquence and honest affabilitie, assisting one another, whereby

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whereby they might more easily restraints the tender yeates of the Prince if he despised vertue, by granting him pleasures. O laudible endeavour and consent, which is too rare in Court, where every one for the most part will desire to be so eminent that he desireth no second. But to *Seneca*

His priuate life, his wife, his children, his banishment.

V Hether he acted any other thing in publique, I know not; but priuately I find, or at least wise) collect, that during his yonger yeares hee was in Egypt vpon this occasion; because his Uncle was Praetor there: for he writeth of his Aunt to his Mother, shee will shew thee her example, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. An eye-witnesse he therefore associated his Aunt in that Navigation (of which he speaketh in that place) when as his Aunt returned from Egypt. And how could this be, except he him selfe likewise had bene in Egypt? Vndoubtedly it was thus: and this is the cause why he curiously intermixeth many things of Egypt and Nilus, especially in his bookes of Naturall Questions. Perchance he trauiled out of Egypt into India by the red Sea, and therefore would hee comment vpon India, vpon that which was written by *Pliny*. But now he married a wife at Rome, which though it be vncertain to be so, yet the reason he had children do approue it: for he maketh mention of *Marcus* a wanton lad, with much praise and affection to his mother *Helnia*: neyther is it to be doubted but that he was his sonne, at least wife his owne verbes will approue it, where amongst his vowes,

Con. 6. l. 1. ad. Hel. am. cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 17.

*So may yong Marcus, who with pleasing prate
Contents vs now, in eloquent debate,
Prouoke his vncles, though in being yong
In wit, in wisdom, and in fluent tong.*

For should I giue way to those who attribute this to *Marcus Lucanus*, I finde no reason for it, yet maketh hee no mention of his

for

The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

3. de ira. c. 1.

Epi. 104.

former wife: not in these books; I confesse; what then? not of his brother *Annaeus Mela* by name, had hee not therefore a brother? Notwithstanding thou art to consider whether thou vnderstand not this by his first wife: Thou knowest that *Flarastes* my wifes foole remained as an hereditary burthen in my family: what wife? his first wife: for the books of Anger seem to be written in a place well known to vs. But he married *Paulina* after his exile, a woman of great Nobility, which as I tell thee, married him when he was old & powerful in the Court: which very thing *Dio* likewise, or whatsoeuer he were in *Dion*, thought good to object against *Dion*; which is, that being kept in years he had married a yong wench. Such were both of them, and *Seneca* himselfe testifieth it. This said I to my *Paulina* which commends my health vnto me: it came into my mind, that in this old man there is a yong one that is forborn. A yong one? he meanes *Paulina* her selfe: for vndoubtedly she loued her husband, as there in many places he boasteth, and that vnfaignedly, which she expressed in his death, when in as farre as in her lay, she fought to accompanie his soule with hers. Hereafter we shall see it. And these were his wifes. The rest of his life quiet, and without offence, excepting onely that grievous accident of his exile. For vnder *Claudius* the first yeare of his reigne, when *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* was accused of adulterie (Gods and Goddesses by *Messaline*?) and was driuen her selfe into banishment; and *Seneca*, if he had bene one of the adulterers, was exiled and sent into Corsica; I will not say whether it were vpon a iust cause, I could wish it were not, and happily *Tacitus* with me, who when hee speaketh of his banishment. *Seneca* was angrie with *Claudius*, it was supposed by reason of the iniurie that was done him. Note this iniurie: hee therefore had receiued some. For who would otherwise be ignorant to interpret the accusations of that impudent Harlot (I meane *Messaline*) and that my soune beaft *Claudius*? For for the most part they practised no mischiefe but against good and innocent persons. Hee liued about some eight yeares or thereabouts in exile, I, and constantly too; yea, if wee may beleue himselfe, happily intending onely the best studies, and the wholfomest meditations. For thus writeth he to his mother; That hee is blessed amongst those things which are wont to make other men wretched. And afterwards (but I pray thee obferue him) he worthily Philosophieth, he addeth in the end, and rowfresh himselfe;

Con-

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Cop. 4.

Conceiue what thou shouldest, thinke mee to be ioyfull and adressed as I were in the best fortunes; But they are the best, when as the minde, deuouide of all thought intendeth himselfe, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in lighter studies, and sometimes mounteth into the consideration of the nature of himselfe, & the whole world being desirous of truth. O man, O honest wordes, which the Author of *Ottavia's* Tragedie would imitate, for it was not he (God forbid) in these Verses in the person of *Seneca*;

*Farre better say I bid, remoued farre
From enuies stormes amidst the Corsicke shores
Whereas my mind was farre from any tarre,
Fixt on my studies, not on earthly power;
O what content had I? (For neuer nature
Moster of all things, Mistris of each creature
Could grant no more) then to behold the beauen,
The Sunnes true motion, and the planets steuen.*

These are better, yea, farre truer then he hath written in his consolatorie booke to *Polybius*, ouer-basely and humbly. And is it impossible that our *Seneca* should write it? Oftentimes haue I doubted it, and almost durst forswear it. Howlooeer, he was a man, and happily that writing was enlarged and published by his enemies; and happily they corrupted it: yet note this in *Seneca's* words abovesaid; That there he delighted himselfe in more lighter studies likewise, which I suppose should be Poetrie: & amongst them is *Medea* which I am halfe assured was written in his exile, at such time as *Claudius* conquered Britanie; and therefore made the choice of that argument of *Iason*, that he might intermixe somewhat of the Ocean that was subdued: Is it possible that those verses in the *Chorvs* should haue relation to any but *Claudius*?

*Spare me, O gods, I doe intreat for grace,
Long let him liue secure that hath subdued*

And againe,

*The Seas
Enough already O you gods; you haue
Reuengd you on the Seas, now spare the Rowne*

Which

The life of Lucius Annæus Seneca.

Which he applied to *Claudius*; although he were living; and will haue the gods to spare the god in his Poeticall fiction.

CHAP. VI.

His riches, his granges, his lands, his vsurie.

BVt presently after he returned from his exile, hee grew again into reputation; being both at that time, and before his aduancement in Court plentifully enstated, for his father had left him rich: neyther oweth he all his wealth to his industrie and forwardnesse. Hereupon to his mother; Thow being the daughter of a family, didst freely bestow thy bounty on thy welthy children. And he praised her liberalitie the rather, as he saith, because she bestowed it on her wealthy sons, and not such as were needie. This before he came to Court; but when he liued there he got mightie riches, or rather admitted them which thrust themselves vpon him before he sought them. For he got much by the Princes beneficence; for thus speaketh he vnto *Nero* in our *Tacitus*: Thow (said hee) hast giuen mee great grace, and innumerable treasure; so that oftentimes I my selfe turne oftentimes by my selfe; where is that minde which contented himselfe with a little? Doth he plant such Gardens, and doth he walke about these mannors without the Cliste? and is hee stored with so many acres of land, and with such mightie vsurie? Note Gardens, Mannors, Granges, Fields, and Vsurie, & all these bountifully and abundantly. Will you heare *Tacitus* words once more, but from another mans mouth, and in another sense: *Seneca*es cailumners, saith he, accuse him of diuers crimes; as that he, as yet increased his mighty riches, which were raised aboue any priuate fortune, that he won and drew the Citizens hearts vnto him, and as it were exceeded the Princelike in the annuity of his Gardens, and the magnificence of his Mannor houses. And *Suillus* in the same *Tacitus* expresth the measure of his riches likewise, with what wisdom, with what precepts of the Philosophers during these foure years that he was in the Princes fauour, had hee gotten three thousand *HSS.* that in Rome, whole Testaments and Inheritances were taken and got holde on by his cunning and search; that Italy and the Prouinces were exhausted by his insur-
surable

Cap. 2.

Lib. 14.

Lib. 13.

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surable vsurie. His estate amongst vs should be seuentie five hundred thousand crownes. These riches were almost regall, I confesse it; but I condemne that which he annexeth, that it was gotten by vnlawfull meanes and deceit. Before he came to Court, as I said, he had a great reuenuē, and what wonder is it that he increased the same in so mightie a Court, and so great felicity of the Roman state? But hee saith likewise that Italy and the Prouinces were exhausted by his vsurie: his meaning is, that he had money at vse in diuers places, and I suspect it likewise in Egypt. This gather I by his Epistle, wherein hee writeth that the Alexandrian Fleet suddenly arrived, and that all men ranne vnto the haven and to the shore, but I, saith he, in this generall hastic running of all men, found great pleasure in my slackenesse, that being torceiue my Letters from my friends I made not haft to knowe in what estate my affaires stood in that place, and what they had brought. For this long time I haue neyther wopne or lost any thing. He had there his Brokers or Factors, who followed his businesse; it was therefore in some great stocke of money or in lands. For to haue possessions beyond the Seas was no new matter in that age wherein he liued, and in so great abundance. Verily *Dion* amongst the causes of the warre in Brittain, reckoneth this vp likewise, That when as *Seneca* had vpon great interest trusted the Brittaines with foure hundred *HSS.* which in our reckoning amounteth to the sum of ten hundred thousand crownes; he called in for that whole summe of money at one time. Whether he spake this truly or no I know not; for euery waye he was a mortall and professed enemy of our *Seneca*. Yet telleth hee no vnto truth, for there likewise had hee money. Why now Gardens and houses of pleasure? he had diuers, and differently bewitched. *Inuenall* toucheth it, The Gardens of most wealthy *Seneca*. Hee himselfe likewise maketh mention of his houses, *Nomentanum*, *Albanum*, and *Baianum*, and without question hee had manie. He likewise had a house within the Citie, which continued the name for many yeares after, and was called *Senecaes* house in the Region *P. Victor*. His household-stuffe also was enuied at, and *Dio* obiecteth, that he had five hundred tables of Cedar with Iuorie feete, all of them alike and equal. This was a great matter if truly great (for this alwaies ought we to be warie in *Dions* obiectiōs) that he had so many tables, whereof any one is vually taxed and prised at the rate of an ample possession: for they mult
d not

Epist. 77.

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not haue beene so choice and so rare; but what if they were not? I denie not but that it was the custome of dissolute and lauish men to haue such: for thus speaketh *Martial* of one of these:

*A hundreth Moorish tables stand about,
With Libique teeth, and golden plates do crackle
Vpon our beddes.*

For in great banquets they set a Table before euery seuerall man, (which is elswhere to be noted) and to this end therefore they had diuers. I doe not therefore say I denie or doubt hereof. But because *Seneca* himselfe toucheth and reprehendeth this madnesse oftentimes, yea, at such time as he was in Court, and in his olde age, in those booke of Benefits which he then wrote. What doth he not in his booke of Tranquillitie, about the beginning, openly denie that he tooke no pleasure in those Tables that were conspicuous through varietie of spots. Nor was wont to vse them? Wonderfull is this impudence, in a matter so euident and obiect to the eyes of that age, to dissemble or to lise so openly. I cannot think it; especially if *Dion* report the same, or any other to whom *Dion* assigneth this office. For in another place haue I noted, that these things seeme to be deduced and vrged against him in some inuectiue Oration; and thereby the way haue I acquit him of the crime of his riches, which any man may reade if he please. But rather let him reade *Seneca* himselfe, who about this time published his booke of Blessed life, in which his proiect is to defend himselfe from those aspersions, wherewith his enemies would haue attained him. O excellent, O wise booke, and more allowed in this behalfe was the reproofe, that was the meane to bring it to light.

CHAP.

The life of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

all the world was full of his name, and his name was so famous, that it was not possible to be forgotten. **CHAP. VII.**
His Manners, and first his Abstinence, his Truth, his Sincerity, and his Piety.

But his very manners refuse this obligation of his riches, and iustifie his life, and nor abate of them. For what hath he offended in pride, excess, and pompe? Let them tell vs it, and wee will be silent. What was he happily lauish; eyther in his diet or feasting. Where he himselfe professing openly; When as I heard *Attilius* declare against vices, errors, and the infirmities of life, oftentimes blawed had compassion of mankind, and haue beloued that hee was sublimed and raised aboue humane reach. When he beganne to traduce our pleasures, to praise a chaste bodie, a sober minde, pure minde; not onely from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from superfluous, I tooke a liking to temper mine appetite and belied. Of these instructions some haue sithence dwelt to the end of my *Lucilius*; for I came with a great alacritie to all things. Afterward being reduced to a ciuill life, I stored vp some few of these my good beginnings. Hereupon for all my life time after, I renouiced all Oysters and Mithromes. Euer since for my whole life time I haue abstayned from iniunction; since that time my stomach hath wanted wine, neyther haue I euer since vouchsafed to bath my selfe. Where was euer any such frugalitie in any other place, or by what name is it called? And this haue I written off in my commendation of *Seneca*, so let vs not repeat hereof; not was touching the rest of his life it was both serious and seuer. The Court corrupted him not; neyther inclined he vnto flatterie, a vice almost familiar, and allied to such places. No: hee vnto *Nero*. Suffer me to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine eares, for this is not my custome: I had rather offend thee by truth, then please thee by flatterie. And being now ready to die, in *Tacitus* hee willed them to make knowne to the Prince, That his minde was neuer inclined vnto flatterie, and that this was knowne to no man better then to *Nero*, who had more often

33. 108.

Epist. 108.

108.

11. de Com. ment. 108.

15. Annal. 3. de Tra.

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often made vse of *Seneca's* libertie then hee had experience of his seruitude. Moreouer, what exaction and examination of his manners and life? Again he himselfe, I vse this power, and daily examine my selfe when the light is out and my wife is silent, which is now ^{private to my owne} ~~in the whole day~~ that is past by my selfe, and consider both mine actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let nothing slip: for why should I feare any of mine errours? When as I may say, See that thou doe this no more, for this time I pardon thee. Can the studie of wisdom appeare eyther more greatly or more cleerely? Finally, how often appeareth his pietie and submission towards God: I will set downe one thing that I gathered from him. If thou beleuest me any waies, when I discouer my most inward affections to thee, I am thus formed in all occurrences, which seeme either difficult or dangerous. I obey not God, but I assent vnto him; I follow him from my heart, and not of necessitie. There shall nothing euer befall mee that I will grieue at, or change my countenance for when it happeneth. I will pay no tribute vnwillingly, and many such like obserued by me in my Manuduction or Philosophie. Yes, some of that vnstained pietie that *Tertullian* and the Auncients call him *Gods*. I haue in my Fragments set downe some of his counsailes, let them make vse of them. Furthermore, *Otho Frigenfis* affirmed, that *Lucius Seneca* was not onely worthe to be reputed a Philosopher, but also a Christian. And for these his eminent vertues sake, euen in that age there was a great good opinion held of him, yea and they destinated him to the Empire. *Tacitus* plainly writeth that this was set abroad, that the Empire should be deliuered to *Seneca's* hands, as to one that was guiltles, being chosen, by reason of the excellency of his vertues, to the highest dignitie. O Rome thou wert vnworthy of this felicitie; neyther did God respect thee so well otherwise.

Epist. 96.

15. Annal.

Inuental Sa-
tyr. 10.

*If all the people might haue leaue to speake,
What one of them (how desolate soeuer)
Would feare or doubt to honor Seneca
Farre more then Nero.*

Yet some there are that doubt of the realitie of his vertues; and thinke them rather words and ostentation. Did he not therefore

in

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in his death make it manifest how slightly hee esteemed all humane things, how he addicted himselfe to God?

CHAP. VIII.

*His Mansfull and Constant life, set downe
out of Tacitus.*

AND let vs see the commoditie thereof, but from whence should we gather it rather then from *Tacitus*, the most faithfullest of all other Writers? Beholde, I set thee downe his owne wordes: Hereafter followeth the slaughter of *Annaeus Seneca*, most pleasing to the Prince, not because he had manifestly found him guiltie of treason; but to the end he might confound him by the sword, since his attempt in poysoning him, so badly succeeded: For onely *Natalis* discouered no lesse. That he was sent to *Seneca* at such time as hee was sicke to visite him, and to complaine why he barred *Piso* of access vnto him, that it would be better for them if they should exercise their friendship with familiar intercourse. And that *Seneca* answered, that mutuall discourse and often conference would be profitable for neyther of them both, yet that his safetie depended on *Piso's* securitie. This was *Granius Siluanus*, the Tribune of the Prætoriall Band, commanded to relate vnto him, and to enquire whether he knew the speeches of *Natalis*, and acknowledged his owne answers. He eyther by chance or wittingly had returned that day out of Campania, and remained in a house of pleasure of his in the Suburbes, about foure miles off. Thither came the Tribune about the euening, and beset the Village with a troupe of his souldiers. There discouered he vnto him whilst hee sat at supper with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other of his friends, what the Emperours commaund was. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* was sent vnto him, and that hee complained in *Piso's* behalfe, that he had bin debarred from visiting him, & that he by reason of his infirmity, & loue of his quiet, had excused himselfe. But why hee should preferre a priuate mans securitie before his owne, hee had no cause; nor that his minde was inclined to flatterie, and that the same was best knowne vnto *Nero*, who had

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more ostentimous made proöfe of Senecas libertie then seruice. When as this answer was related by the Tribune, in the presence of Poppea and Tigellinus, which were inward Counsaillors to this mercilesse Prince, he asked him whether Seneca had prepared himselfe for a voluntarie death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he discovered no signe of feare, nor appearance of dismay, eyther in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. Fabius Rusticus reporteth, that he returned not by the same way he came, but that he stept aside to Fennis the Præfect, and told him what Cesar had commanded, and asked his counsaile whether he should obey him, and that he was aduised by him to execute his charge, which was the fatal cowardlinesse of them all. For both Siluanus was one of the Conspirators, and increased their hainous offences, to whose reuenge he had consented; yet spared hee both his speech and presence, and sent in one of the Centurions to Seneca, to signifie vnto him the fatal sentence. He no waies dismayed hereat, called for the tables of his Testament, which being denied him by the Centurion, turning himselfe towards his friends, hee testified vnto them, that since it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindnesse towards him, yet testified he, that he left them yet that which of all others he esteemed most worthy, namely, the image of his life, wherof if they were mindfull, they should carrie away the fame of good learning, and of so constant friendship. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to constancie now by speeches, now by expostulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, where are the precepts of wisdome? where that premeditated resolution, which you haue studied for so many yeares against imminent dangers? For to whom was Neroes crueltie vnknowne? Neyther remained there any thing after the murder both of his mother and brother, but to annex the death of his Governour and Master? When as he had in generall said these or such like words, he embraced his wife; and having somewhat tempered her against the present feare, he prayeth and inuocateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was virtuously ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honest solaces. She contrariwise alleaged that her selfe was sentenced to die also, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then Seneca loath to obscure her glorie, and louing her intirely, least he should leaue her to the injuries

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injuries of others, whom he so deereely loued; said, I haue shewed thee the proportion and images of life, but thou hadst rather haue the glorie of death; I will not enuy thy example. Let the constancie be equal in vs both in this so short a death, but thy renoune will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. Seneca in that his bodie was old and leane, by reason of his sparing diet; and that by this meanes his blood flowed more slowly; cut the veines of his legges and hams likewise. And being wearied with cruell torments, left by his paine he should weaken his wuiues courage, and he by beholding her torments should fall into some impatience; he perswaded her to step aside into another chamber. And in the last moment being no waies disfurnished of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered manie things, which being discovered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But Nero that had conceiued no priuate hatred against Paulina, and being affraid lest the vdioufnesse of his crueltie should increase the more, commanded her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the souldiers, her slaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and stop the blood, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her consent. For amongst the common sort (who are readiest to speake the worst) there wanted not some that beleueed, that during the time that shee feared that Nero was implacable, shee sought to accompanie her husband in the same of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then she was overcome with the sweetnesse of life, whereunto shee added a fewe yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other partes of her bodie were growne so pale and discoloured, that it easily appeared that her vital spirits were much spent. In the meane while Seneca seeing the protraction and slownesse of his death, besought Statius Annaeus, a man well approued vnto him, both for his faith in friendship, and skill in Phisicke, to hast and bring him that poison which in times past was provided, and by which they were put to death who were by public iudgement condemned amongst the Athenians; and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it, in vaine, by reason that his limbs were already colde, and his body shut vp against the force of the venome. At last he entered into a Bath of hot water, besprinkling those his slaues that stood next about him, saying that he offered vp that liquor to Ioue the deliuerer. Then put into the Bath, and

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and stifled with the vapour thereof, hee was buried without any solemnitie of his Funerall: for so had hee set it downe in his Will. Euen then when as being very rich and mighty, he disposed of his last Will. Hitherto *Tacitus*. Neither will I repent my selfe if I insift lightly, and examine and illustrate his sayings: He saith, that this slaughter of his was most pleasing to the Prince. For of long time he was aggrieved against this Master & Teacher of his in goodnesse and equitie, and his intent was to shake off that Raine of reuerence once, whereby he was restrained against his will, by cutting him off; yet had he otherwise sworne, as *Suetonius* witnesseth: Hee compelled *Seneca* his Master, saith hee, to chuse his death, although when he oftentimes sought for a *Viaticum* at his hands, and surrendered vp all his goods vnto him: hee had solemnly sworne that he was suspected without cause, and that he had rather die then that hee would hurt him. He swore, that is, he deluded the gods also: hee saith, When as his intent to poyson him succeeded not: for he had attempted it; for so saith the same *Tacitus* in a former place, Some deliuered poyson vnto *Seneca* by *Neroes* command, prepared by the handes of one of his free-men, called *Cleonicus*, but that it was auoyded by *Seneca*, by the discouerie of his Libertine, or through his owne feare, whilst he sustained his life with a spare diet with wilde apples, and if he were athirst with running water. He goeth forward: Or knowing of it; as if he had knowledge of the conspiracie, and the pre-fixed time. Likewise, he returned out of Campania, from some Lordship of his there. And there truely oftentimes before his death liued he solitarie, and in that place wrote many of his Epistles to *Lucillus*. Foure miles off, in some Mannor of his likewise, what was it *Nomentanum*? This did *Xitho Polentinus* write, but vpon meere coniecture, as I thinke. Neither doth *Tacitus* admit it, who speaketh of some foure miles off the Citie, but *Nomentum* is at least twelue miles off. No signes of feare. Behold a death both worthy of a Philosopher and a Stoicke, which those things that follow commend. The image of his life: if *Seneca* I pray you were so absurd a fellow, as *Dion* speaketh, should this be spoken of his life in the shutting vp? Would hee thus dallie and deceiue his friends, and delude his familiars? Sometimes with speech, that is, gently and familiarly. Being hardned against present feare, I write it not againe rashly, yet some man may doubt, should it not be *Molitam* that she was mollified, hauing relation to his wife?

That

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That which followeth seemeth to inferre the same. when hee requireth her to temper her sorrow; and that which he annexeth Thou seest, saith he, the portraiture of life. These, and diuers others are *Senecaes* owne words, or very like vnto them, which were extant and well knowne, as presently after hee saith: his aged bodie. By my reckoning he was some thre score and three, or foure yeares olde. For that he was not elder, *Neroes* wordes to *Seneca* continue, not spoken long time before that in *Tacitus*. But thou art both ripe in yeares, and sufficient for affaires, and the fruite of them, which thou canst not truely speake of the elder. Calling his writers about him. O man, O mightie minde? To dictate that when he was a dying that might helpe posteritie. For it is not to be doubted but that they were rich, and meere precepts both of constancie and wisedome. The argument is, because they were published; which should not be except they had been excellent. And because they were published, *Tacitus* omits them. O improuidently done? O that we likewise had but a touch of these Swan-like songs. A Bath of hot water: hee meaneth some Bathing-house, and then first vsed he colde water when he should vse it no more. Carried into his Bath; that is, into his Stoue or drie Bath, as I thinke: for hee sheweth that by the vapour and acrimonie of the heate, he was strangled. Euen then when he was most rich and mighty: this is somewhat wherein *Tacitus* seemeth to carpe at him, yet, if I conceiue him rightly, *Tacitus* meant his funerall, and that he forbad the solemnities thereof, but how in that He made his last Will. What, would *Nero* haue broken his Testament? who happily was appointed heire of the greatest part thereof, and would suffer himselfe to loose nothing through negligence. Or doth he touch *Senecaes* parsimonie here? But dead wordes passe not farre. Another man may finde it.

CHAP. IX.

His body, his sickenesse, his forme.



Have ended, except it please you that I write somewhat of his bodie: for men delight, if I may so speake it, to take notice of the habitations and recreacles of great wits: his bodie from his childehood was but weak. This saith he of his Aunt, after he was brought into the Citie. By her

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*Conf. ad Hel.
cap. 16.
Epist. 54.*

her pious and motherly care, after I had bene long time sicke I recovered my health. And in a certaine Epistle; Sicknesse had giuen me a long safe conduct, and suddenly invaded me. In what kinde, sayest thou? And nor without cause dost thou aske mee this, since that there is not any one that is unknowne to me, But to one kinde of sicknesse, I seeme as it were destinated; which why I should call by a Greeke name I know not, for it may aply enough be called *Wheefing* or *Astine*. And presently after he addeth, All the incommidities or dangers of the bodie haue past by me. Behold an olde man well exercised, when likewise being a young man, was exercised with Distillations and Rhumes, by means whereof he seemed to be inclined to a consumption. Himselfe againe: That thou art troubled with often distillations & agues: it grieues me the more, because I haue had proof of that kind of sicknesse, which in the beginning I contemned; for at first my youth could weare out the iniurie, & oppose it selfe boldly against infirmities, at last I was mastered, and was brought to that passe, that I my selfe was consumed by distillations. I was brought to an extreame leanenesse, and oftentimes had I a minde to shorten my daies, but my carefull and louing fathers olde yeares restrained me. He writeth expressly enough of his leanenesse and consumption. Neither is it to be wondered at, that *Caligula* was so perswaded by a woman: for *Dio* writeth, When as *Seneca* had worthily and happily handled a certain cause in the Senate, that this Prince waxed mad red with anger, who onely would seeme to be eloquent, and bethought himselfe of taking away *Senecaes* life, which he had done if one of his Concubins had not tolde him this, That in vaine prepared he a death for him that was already dying, and was spent with a consumption. He gaue credite to her; and this was the meanes of *Senecaes* lastitie. So true is that which he (what was a looker on?) wrote. Many mens sicknesse deferred their death, and it was a meanes of their securitie, that they seemed ready to die. But till his last houre he had but a drie and decayed bodie, why wonder we when either it was thorow his infirmities or his studies? And *Tacitus* likewise addeth a third cause, That his bodie was attenuated by a slender diet. And that it was not bewtifull, *Seneca* himselfe expresth in another place, That thou requirest my bookes, I doe not therefore thinke my selfe more eloquent, no more then I should iudge my selfe faire, because thou requirest my picture. He toucheth that he was not, and that he

Epist. 78.

Epist. 45.

Epist. 104.

image

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mage, which is discovered of him by *Fulius Ursinus*, sheweth not a countenance worthy that minde; yet confirmed he his bodie, though weake, with more harder exercises, as in tilling the fields, and in digging of Vineyards, whereof he maketh mention in a certaine Epistle of his, and in his naturall Questions, where he called himselfe A diligent digger of Vineyards, and generally likewise of Gardens, which he termeth his cunning.

Lib. 3. cap. 7

Epist. 112.

CHAP. X.

Those bookes of his that are extant.

IHus of the body onely; neyther had we any fruite by it, but great from his minde, and let vs see them by an Index.

His Verses and Poems, which vndoubtedly and plentifully he wrote, he himselfe sheweth that he penned them in his exile: and *Tacitus* then likewise when he was slept in yeares, and liued in Court. For thus do his calumners object against him to *Nero*; For they objected against him that hee got the praise of eloquence to himselfe only, and wrote verses very often, after that he knew that *Nero* was in loue with them.

Lib. 14.

Orationes of Declamations he made many & worthy one, yea, euen in the Senate, besides those which he wrote to the Prince, to be receiued likewise in the Senate; neyther doubt I but that the Edicts vnto the people, and the grauer Epistles were written or Dictated by him.

His booke of Earth=quake, which, as he testifieth; he wrote when he was yong, in the sixt of his Naturall Questions, chap. 4. Thou shalt not want, for he hath handled the same matter againe in the same Questions.

That of Matrimonie, whether it were a booke or an Epistle I know not, but *S. Ierome* citeth it against *Iovinian*, lib. 1.

His History or Compendium out of *Lactant*, the 7. and 15. Chap.

His bookes of Superstition was vndoubtedly one of his best ones, *S. August*, in his booke de *Ciuitate Dei* praiseth it, and culleth somewhat out of it, and *Tertullian* maketh mention thereof in *Apologetico*.

His Dialogues, which *Fabius* nameth, and no more.

His Morall books, *Lactantius* citeth them in his eleuenth booke,

Chap.

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Chap. 11. and in other places, and Seneca himselfe in his hundreth and sixt Epistle in the beginning, and his Epistle 109. he wrote it in his later time, as it appeareth there. O worthy worke? And it grieues me that it is obscured.

His bookes of Exhortations: for there were many of them, as may be gathered out of *Lactantius*, and see our Fragments. Who thinketh that this likewise is not to be numbred amongst his best works? There are other, yet such that thou maist not confidently ascribe to this man, as his bookes of notes, which seeme rather to be his fathers. Likewise of Causes; for so an vnknowne Chronicler among the Brittaines testifieth; He maketh mention of *Seneca de Causis*, wherein he saith that *Cato* defined the office of an Orator thus: An Orator is a good man that is, exercised in eloquence. But this belongeth to the father also, and they are the bookes of Controversies; in the first booke wherof, and in the very P rae face thou shalt finde that this of *Cato*es is cited there: and except I forget my selfe, thou shalt finde it likewise in my Fragments, although these smaller things doe not so much ouerflip me, as I suffer them to passe by me.

But harke you Sir, make wee no reckoning of his Epistles to *S. Paul*?

Those that are now extant are not so much worth, nay, it is most certaine, that they haue all of them the same authour, and that they were written, but by some scarce learned Clerke in our disgrace. He trauelleth and attempteth to speak Latin, whosoever it was that was the Author: did they not therefore write one vnto another? *S. Ierome*, *S. Augustine*, and Pope *Linus* more ancient then them both auerre it, and it is a passiue opinion. And *John* of Salisbury likewise confidently writeth, They seeme to be foolish, who reuerence not him who, as it appeareth, deserued the familiaritie of the Apostle. I therefore dare not wholly reiect and contemne this; it may be there were som, but others then these, if these: I required the iudgement of the best Fathers.

The end of Senecaes life, written by Lipsius.

^a De scriptorib, ecclesiasticis.

^b Epistola 53 ad Maced, & de Cinitate Descap. 10.

^c De passione Diui Pauli. Lib. 8. Poly-car. cap. 13.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

H Place these Bookes amongst the last of his Philosophie, although they haue beene planted in the forefront. But so it is if you consider the times. They were all together written vnder Nero after Claudius death. A certaine argument wherof is, in that in the end of his first Booke hee writes very contemptibly of Claudius, and traducteth his slight iudgement: which hee would not haue done had hee beene liuing. The Bookes are good; but in faith confused in order and the handling; which a man though circumspect shall hardly expedite: yet will we doe our best. The first Booke beginneth with a complaint of ingratitude which is vsuall, and yet greatest amongst vices. Therefore saith hee, That he will write of Benefits what their force and proprietie is. This handleth he vntill the fifth Chapter. Then defineth hee, that a Benefit consisteth not in the matter; but the mind of him that bestoweth it, and hath his weight from him: He deducth it by examples and arguments vntill the eleuenth Chapter. There proposeth he two members to be intreated of. What Benefits are to be giuen; And how: The first he performeth in the end of the Booke; the other he deferreth till the Booke following.

CHAP. I.



Almongst the many and manifold errors of such as both rashly and inconsiderately leade their liues, there is nothing for the most part (most worthy *Liberalis*) that in my iudgement is more hurtfull, than that we neither know how to bestow, or how to receiue Benefits. For it consequently followeth, that being badly lent, they are worse farished, and being vn-restored, are too lately complained of; for cuen then when they were giuen, cuen then were they lost: neither is it to be wondered at, that amongst so many and mightie vices there is no one more frequent than that of Ingratitude. For this in my iudgment proceedeth from diuers causes. The first is, because we make not choice of such (on whom we are to bestow our benefites) as are worthy to partake them; but being to take bonds of any man, we diligently inquire after his lands and mouebables: we sow not our seeds in a fruitles and barren ground, and yet without any election we rather betray, than bestow our benefits. Neither can I easily expresse, whether it be more dishonest to deny, or redemand a benefit. For such is the nature of this debt, that so much is to be receiued therof, as is willingly

Others indifferen-
tion in giuing &
receiuing benefi-
tis maketh in-
gratitude so fre-
quent.

2	Lucius Annæus Seneca. LIB. I.
<i>A good intent is a kind of satisfaction.</i>	willingly repaid : but neither to wil, nor to be able to perform a mans promise, is most loathsome, in this respect, because to discharge a mans credit, the mind sufficeth, though the means be deficient : For he restoreth a benefit that willingly oweth the same. But if there be a fault in them who are ingratefull euen in confession of a fauour, there is also some defect in vs. By experience wee finde many vngratefull, and make more; because some-whiles we are grieuous vpbraidors and exactors : other-whiles full of lenitie in our liberalitie, and such that as soone as we haue lent, repent vs of the deed doing : other-whiles complaining of mens faint correspondence, & accusing them of some fault & offence they do vnto vs, how little soeuer it be. Thus corrupt we all thankgiuing and remuneration, not only after we haue giuen our benefit, but whilest we are in giuing of it. For which of vs was content either lightly, or at one time to be required? which of vs (when he but suspected that something would be demanded at his hands) hath not disdainfully frowned, or turned away his face, or pretended some busines, and by long discourtes, and purposely-produced speech without head or foot, forestalled the occasion of demanding a fauour, and by diuers subtil deuises deluded hasty necessities, but being cunningly incountried in such sort as he must needly answer, hath not either deferred (that is) fearefully denied, or promised but difficultly, but with bended browes, and strained and reprochfull words? But no man willingly oweth that, which he receiued not voluntarily, but extorted violently. Can any man be thankfull vnto him, who proudeily either reprocheth a benefite, or wrathfully flung it to him, or (being ouer-wearyed) gaue it him to the end to auoyde his further trouble? He is deceiued whosoever hopeth to haue a satisfaction at his hands, whom hee hath dulled with delay, or tortured with expectation. A benefite is acknowledged according to the intent wherewith it is giuen; and therefore we ought not to giue negligently. For euery one is indebted to himselfe, for that which he receiueith of a neglected debtor. Neither must there be slackenesse in our liberalitie, because whereas in all offices the will of the giuer is highly esteemed, he that hath bin slow in benefiting, hath bene long time vnwilling. Neither ought we to bestow our benefites contumeliously; for whereas by nature it is so provided that injuries leaue a more deepe impression in our minds, than good deserts : and the last are sodainly forgotten, where the first are continually referred in memorie, what expecteth he who offendeth, whilest he obligeth an other? His satisfaction and gratuitie is sufficient if any man doe but pardon his benefite. Neither is there any cause why the multitude of vngratefull men should make vs slower to deserve well : For first of all, (as I said) we increase the same : Furthermore, neither are the immortall Gods deterred from their plentifull and careless bounty : notwithstanding the sacrilegious & neglected behaviors of men. They vse their nature, and infuse their bounty on all things, yea euen on those amongst the rest, that vse the worst interpretation of their benefites & largesse. Let vs follow these as our guides, (as farre as our humane frailtie wil permit vs) let vs giue benefites, not lend on vsurie. That man is worthy to be deceiued, who thought vpon requital when he presented his curtesie. But it was ill employed. Both our children and wiues haue deceiued our hopes, yet do we both bring vp the one, and marry the other : and so obstinate are we against experiments, that being ouercome in war, & shipwrack by sea, we giue ouer neither : How much more becommeth it vs to be constant in giuing benefites? which, whosoever giueth not, because hee hath not receiued, gaue that he might receiue, & makes the cause of the vngratefull receiuer iustifiable,
<i>The errors of them that giue.</i>	
<i>Inforced and extorted fauours are not satisfactorie.</i>	
<i>The multitude of vngratefull men ought not to extinguishe a vertue.</i>	
<i>A laudable action shall be outworn without exception.</i>	

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	able, to whom in that sort at length it is absurd not to repay, although hee hath power. How many are vnworthy the light, and yet the day riseth to them? How many complaine that they are borne? Yet nature increaseth mankind, and suffereth those to enioy life, who loathe to possess it. This is the proprietie both of a great and good minde; not to follow the fruit of Benefits, but the benefites themselves, and after the euill to search likewise some good. What bountie were in this, to profit many, if no man were deceiued? Now is it a Vertue to giue benefites, wherof there is no hope of recompence againe, and of which the fruit is already receiued by a worthy man. So farre should this thing bee from deceiuing vs, or making vs slow to performe so wortheie a thing, that although my hope were utterly cut off for euer finding a gratefull man, yet had I rather bee exempted from receiuing benefites from any man, than not to bestow them. Because that hee which giueth not, is more faultie than hee which is vngratefull. I will speake what I thinke: hee that requirerth not a fauour done him, sinneth more; hee that giueth not, sooner.	<i>A virtuous man in his good action is not deterred by any occurrent.</i>
	CHAP. II.	
	<i>If thou profusely wilt thy goods bestow On every vulgar person thou dost know, Full many fauours must thou needly lose, That one at length thou iustly maist dispose.</i>	<i>Accuse the Poets saying.</i>
	I N the former Verse thou maiest iustly reprehend both these two clauses; for neither must our benefites bee profusely launished on euery man; neither can the prodigalitie and largesse of any thing bee honest: especially that of benefites. For if thou giuist them without iudgement and discretion, they cease to bee benefites, and admit any other name whatsoeuer you will giue them. The sense following is wonderfull, which repairerth the indemnities of many benefites ill employed and lost, with one well bestowed. See, I pray you, whether this bee not more true, and more correspondent to the greatness of a Benefactor, to exhort him to giue, although hee were assured that hee should employ no one gift well: For that is false. That many things are to bee lost, because nothing is lost; the reason is for that hee who looseth, had numbered it already amongst his desperate debts. The respect and manner in employing good deedes is simple and plaine, they are only deliuered outif any one to whom they are trusted restore any thing, it is gained, if no man yeeld satisfaction, there is nothing lost: I lent the same to the only intent to giue it. No man registreth his good deedes in his booke of debtors. Neither is there any exacting vsurer (how extreme soeuer hee bee) that punctually impleadeth his debtor on the day and houre of his payment. An honourable Benefactor neuer thinketh on the good turne he doeth, except hee that hath receiued the same, refresh the memorie thereof by repaying him: Because otherwise it ceaseth to bee a benefite, and becommeth a debt. To bestow a fauour in hope to receiue an other, is a contemptible and base vsurie. How badly soeuer thy former fauours haue fallen	<i>The nature of a benefite is changed by the vse.</i> <i>Nothing is lost that is rightly giuen.</i> <i>Only satisfaction refresheth me more in a good benefactor.</i>
	B 2	out,

out, yet perseuer thou in bestowing vpon others. They are best hoarded in the handes of the vngratefull, whom either shame, or occasion, or imitation, may at length fashion to bee gratefull. Perseuer continually, and cease not to bee bountifull: Accomplish that good worke which thou hast begonne, and performe the dutie of a good man. Reloeue this man with thy goodes, an other with thy credit, that man by thy fauour, this with thy good counsailes, and holsofne precepts.

C H A P. III.

Benefits redoubled on water the most vngratefull to satisfaction.



Wld Beasts (yea even they that are most sauadge) acknowledge the good that is done vnto them. Neither is there any liuing creature so vntramed and vntractable, that with gentle handling, and careful nourishing, is not made gentle and familiar. Such as haue the keeping and charge of the Lyons, may muffle and handle them without harme or danger: Meate so much humblyeth the fiercenesse and haughtie courage of Elephants, that they refuse no seruile and base burthens. Finally, all these brute beaſts, ſo deficient in vnderſtanding, and eſteeme of the benefites they receiue, at length are tamed and made humble by the frequent and daily acceſſe of the ſame. Is he vngratefull for one good turne ſhappily he will acknowledge a ſecond. Haſt he forgotten two? the third may perhaps bring him to remembrance of all the reſt: Hee looſeth the good that hee doth, that beleeueth that hee hath ouer-quikly loſt the ſame. But hee that perſeuereth in well-doing, and redoubleth his benefites one vpon the necke of the other, exhorteth an acknowledgement from the moſt obdurate and forgetfulleſt receiuer. Hee dare not liſt vp his eyes againſt many good turnes. Whether ſo euer hee turneth himſelfe in ſeeking to betray his owne memorie, there let him ſee thee belanger him on euery ſide by thy bountie: The force and properties whereof I will diſcouer vnto thee, if firſt of all thou giue mee licence to expalliate in a word or two, and to touch certaine things impertinent to this matter. Why is it that the Ancients haue ſained that there are three * Graces, that they are Siſters, hauing their handes in handes? and why are they pictured laughing, yong, and tender in yeares, Virgins, attired in looſe garments, cleare and transparent? To this ſome anſwere, That there ought to be three, becauſe the one of them repreſenteth him that beſtoweth; the other, him that Receiueth; the other, him that gratifieth and remunerateth the Benefit. Others ſay, that there are three kindes of benefites, the one of thoſe who beſtow the ſame, the other of thoſe that reſtore the ſame, and the third of thoſe that receiue, and therewithall require good turnes. Of theſe things iudge as thou pleaſeſt, the knowledge hereof full little profiteth vs. What meaneth this dance of theirs, in which hand in hand they trip it alwaies in a round? To this intent it is, Becauſe the order and proceſſe of benefites (that paſſe through their handes that giue the ſame) is ſuch, that they returne againe to the giuer, and ſhould wholly looſe the grace of all which they ſhould effect, if euer they ſhould bee interrupted: contrariwiſe, that they alwaies retain their beautie, when they are vinited and hand-ſaſted together, and when they are reſtored and acknowledged in their time. Therefore paint they them laughing, Becauſe the countenances of thoſe that

* The Poets ſaine then to be three Maidens, who-as they ſay were Daughters of IVPITER, and VENVS, The Goddeſſes call them Charities, and the Latines Graces. CHRYSOSTOMVS opinion.

that will deſerue well at any mans handes, ſhould be ſmiling and pleaſant, ſuch as theirs is, who are wont to giue or receiue benefites. They paint them yong, becauſe the memorie of benefites ſhould not waxe old. They ſaine them Virgins; becauſe they are incorruptible, ſincere, holy, and profitable vnto all men; Their garments ſhining, and transparent, becauſe good works would be ſeene. Let him that will admire this miracle, inuented by the fabulous Grecians; let him, that liſt maintaine that they are neceſſarie and profitable: yet is there no man that will iuſtifie, that the names which *Hefiodus* hath giuen them are any waies pertinent to this ſable, or that purpoſe; or that knoweth why hee termed the eldeſt of them *Aglais*, the ſecond *Euphrasine*, and the third *Thalia*. Each one hath thought good to wreſt the interpretation of theſe wordes according to his owne phantaſie, and hath laboured to falſhion them, and conformance them to ſome congruencie of reaſon. Notwithſtanding *Hefiodus* hath giuen theſe yong Maidens that name, which was beſt likeliſt to his humour. *Homer* alſo changed one of their names, and called her *Paphia*, and ſaith, that ſhee was married and eſpouſed to a huſband, to the end thou ſhouldeſt know that they were no Virgins. I will finde you out another Poet that deſcribeth them girt, and apparelled in thicke and groſſe robes. *Mercurius* alſo is painted by them; not for that deuſe and good diſcourſe giueth any luſtre or eſteeme to benefites, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed the painter to deſcribe them. *Chriſippus* likewiſe (whole vnderſtanding is ſo ſharpe and ſubtile, and that ſearcheth and ſoundeth the very depth and ſecret of matters, he that pretendeth to ſpeake of good cuſtomes, and conſorteth his ſtile to euery mans vnderſtanding) farceſh his whole booke with theſe follies, in ſo much as he ſpeaketh very little of the manner of giuing, receiuing, or reſtoring benefites, in ſuch ſort as he mixeth not his fables amidſt his diſcourſe, but rather mixeth his diſcourſe amidſt his fables. For, beſides theſe things which *Hecaton* hath written, *Chriſippus* maintaineth, That the three Graces are the Daughters of *Iupiter* and *Eurimone*, ſomewhat yonger, but fairer than the *Hours*, for which cauſe they were giuen for companions to the Goddeſſe *Venus*. *Chriſippus* likewiſe maketh a myſterie of the name of the Mother of theſe Graces, ſaying; That for this occaſion ſhee was called *Eurimone* (which in Greeke ſignifieth a good patrimonie) becauſe it is the proprietie of a great and ample patrimonie to know well how to employ and beſtow benefites; as if it were a matter of cuſtome to giue the name of Mother after that ſhee had children; or as if the Poets assigned the true name of all things whereof they in-treated. For euen as the *Nymen-Clators* or Beadles (whole office it is to relate their names that ought to be ſolicited to purchaſe ſome dignitie) ſometimes make vie of their boldneſſe, in ſtead of their memorie, and forgetting the proper names of ſuch as they ſhould certifie, forge an other according to their owne phantaſie: So Poets thinke it not pertinent to the matter to ſpeake truth, but either compelled by neceſſitie, or ſurpriſed with affection of conſonancie, command each thing to be termed by that name that beſt beſcometh the harmonic and cadencie of their Verſes. Neither are they to be blamed herein, becauſe they enlarge the matter with ſome new deuice of their owne: for the firſt Poet that ſhall ſpeake of them, will giue them what name he pleaſeth. And to proue this to be true, behold this name of *Thalia* (whereof principally all of them make mention) which in *Hefiodus* is one of the three Graces, and in *Homer* one of the nine Muſes.

Vident opera
victis bona,

The Poets ſaine
the Sunne had a
certaine number
of hand-maides,
which hee called
the Hours, ſaying
Ouid.

There were in
Rome certaine
men whoſe office
it was to carrie
by heart the
names of the Ci-
tizengs, who dur-
ing the election
of public officers
were alwaies of
ſtate.

The vanitie of
Poets.

CHAP. IIII.

Hee praiſeth here
taxeth the Gre-
cians inſolent

BUt least I should seeme to incurre the same fault my selfe, which I reprehend in others, I will relinquish all these things, which are so far from the matter, that they no waies concerne the same, I only pray thee to defend my cause, if any man shall tax and reprehend me for this, that among the rest I have not spared to reprove *Chrippus*, being a man so great, (but yet a Grecian) whose vnderstanding is so acute and subtle, that it oftentimes confoundeth and puzzleth it selfe: for euen then when he seemeth to aime at the best, and to affect any thing: hee only pricketh, but pierceth not; toucheth, but teacheth not. And what subtiltie or sharpnesse, I pray you, is herein? Of benefites then we are to intreat, and to set downe an order and direction in this vertue, which chiefly concerneth humane societie: we are to preſcribe and set downe a law of liuing, least inconsiderate facilitie in giuing, grow in fauour vnder the colour of benignitie; least this oblation, whilst it temperateth liberalitie, (which must neither be defectiue nor superfluous) restrain the same wholly. Men are to be taught to receiue with thankfulness, and to restore with the same correspondence, and to procure (in regard of those that oblige them with any benefite) not only to be equal with them in will, but to ouer-come them with greater gratitie: because that hee who is obliged to acknowledge a good turne, requiteth not the same, except his remuneration exceede the giuers merit. These are to be taught to impute nothing; they to owe more; the one not to vpbraid, the other more and more to acknowledge. To this most honest contention of ouercomming one benefite by another so doth *Chrippus* exhort vs, that he saith, that it is to be feared, least because the *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter*, it be reputed sacriledge to grow vnthankfull for good turnes, and iniurie be thereby offered to so amiable Damocles.

*Chrippus tri-
umphant*

Teach thou mee somewhat that may make mee more forward to doe good vnto all men, and more thankfull vnto those that haue done mee good offices. Tell vs something whereby the will of those that oblige by their bountie, and of those who are obliged, are answerable, and made competent: so as the benefactors keepe no account or memorie of their good deedes, and those that shall receiue the same, put them not in obliuion, but perpetually remember them. And let vs leaue these follies and toies to Poets, whose proiect is to delight the ear, and to inuent a pleasing fable. But they that will heale mens disordered and vicious minds, that serue to maintaine faith in humane things, and desire to engraue the memorie of good turnes in the hearts of men; Let them speake seriously, and employ their vtmost forces: except thou happily thinke that it is possible by a slight and fabulous discourse, and by old wines tales, that a thing so pernicious, and so much abhominable in the world, (as is the generall abolition of debts, and an acquittance of all good deedes) may be prohibited.

CHAP. V.

Hee vttereth this
the matter.

BUt as I insinuat on those things which are of small importance, so is it likewise necessarie that I inducure my selfe to make this well knowne, that first of all wee ought to learne how much wee are obliged, when wee haue receiued a benefite. One man acknowledgeth himselfe indebted for the money hee hath receiued

ued, another for a Consulate, another for the office of Priesthood, another for the government of a Prouince; yet no one of these things is properly a benefite, but only the mark and sign of a benefite or merit. A benefite cannot be touched by the hand, but is carried in the heart.

Bountie is not
the object of the
sense, but is en-
gaged in the
heart.

There is much difference betwixt the matter of bounty and bounty it selfe: For this cause neither gold nor silver, (nor any other thing we receiue at our friends hands) is the true and real benefite, except his will only that belongeth the same. The rude and ignorant sort obserue only that which is seene by the eyes, or thrust into the hands, or which is deliuered them, or they possesse; and contrariwise, they make little account of that which in realitie of truth they ought most to prize & praise also. These things which we possesse, these things which we see, and wherein our conueties is so engaged, are fragile and incertaine: & either fortune, or iniustice can take them from vs: but a benefite remaineth, although the matter whereby it is made manifest, be lost and extinguished. Vndoubtedly that thing is well done which no force can defeat or diminish. I haue redeemed (saist thou) my friend from the hands of pirates, and him hath an other enemy surprized and put in prison. Although this enemy hath defrauded and acquitted mee of the vse of this good worke, yet can he not extinguish the good worke it selfe. I haue saved some mens children from shipwracke, or haue deliuered them from the force of the fire, and these hath cyther some sicknesse or other casual iniurie violently taken from mee. Yet remaineth that without them, which is giuen in them. All those things then which improperly vsurpe the name of Benefites, are but the means and instruments, by the which the will of a good friend is expressed. The like appeareth in many other things, so as it falleth out, that the true thing is in one place, and the signe and resemblance thereof in another. The Emperour or Chieftaine of an army giueth a chaine of gold to some one souldier of his that approued his valour in some difficult enterprise, morall or ciuill: a Crowne vnto another that first scaled the enemies wall, or for that he saved a Citizens life. I aske you now what precious thing hath this Crowne in it? what is this embroydered gowne or garment which is giuen to Noble mens children? These enignes of magistracie, the axe and rods, what value are they of? what profiteth the Iudges Tribunal, or his painted Caroch? None of all these things are honor, but onely signes of honor. In the like manner that which is offered to the eye, is not the good worke or benefite, but onely a lustre and signe of the same.

The perpetuall
of a benefite.

CHAP. VI.

WHat therefore is a benefite? It is a beneuolent action which causeth and yeeldeth pleasure by that good it communicateth to others, inclined and disposed of it selfe, and of her proper motion, to that she doth. A benefite therefore consisteth not in that which is either done or giuen, but in the minde of him that either giueth or doeth the pleasure. And hereby mayest thou vnderstand, that there is a great difference betwixt these two, because the beneuolence is alwaies good; but that which is done, or giuen, is neither good nor euill. It is the mind that valueth small things; illustrateth and exemplifieth obscure things; and contrariwise, setteth light by those things which are most esteemed and precious. Those things which wee desire and long after most, haue

What a benefite
is, and wherein
it consisteth.

The minde and
heart are they
that prize or dis-
esteem things.

a neu-

A comparison to
this gift.

a neutrall and indifferent nature, and are neither good nor euill. That which is most materially to be considered, is, whether the minde that governeth them aimeth and impelleth them, from which all things haue their forme. That then which is reckoned, or giuen, is not the benefite, no more than the honor of the Gods dependeth not on those beasts that are sacrificed vnto them, (how costly and sumptuously soeuer they be) but in the pietie and rectitude of those minds which worship them. For which cause the good and vertuous men, who haue nothing to present the gods with but a cake & an earthen vessell, are held for religious. And contrariwise, the worser sort are not exempted and acquitted of impietie, although they haue imbrewed the altars with much blood and sacrifice.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth his
assertion.

This hath some
consequence with
the almes which
the widdow and
the Pharisæe
giue in the tem-
ple.
Arguments of
true pietie and
vauities.

IF benefites consisted in those things which we receiue, and not in the will wherewith they are giuen: so much the more greater should they be, the greater the good turnes are which wee haue receiued. But this is false, for sometime he obligeth vs more that hath giuen a little magnificently; that hath equaled the riches of Kings by his vauiew and richer mind: that giueth a little, but freely; that forgetteth his owne pouertie and necessitie; whilst he respecteth mine; that had not only a will to help me, but a great desire to fauour me; that when he gaue a benefite, thought that he receiued the same; that gaue without hope of recompence, and receiued as though he had not giuen; that not onely sought occasion to do good, but laid hold on the opportunitie, whereby he might profit others: Contrariwise these things which either are extorted from the giuer, or seeme to fall from his hands that giueth them: although they seeme highly prized and of great appearance, yet, as I said, they are vnworthy of thanks, because a gift is much more gratefully accepted and reckoned of that cometh from a free and liberall hand, than from a full and rich-fisted penny-father. It is but a small thing he hath giuen me, but he could not giue me more. But that which the other hath giuen me, is farre more worth: Yet doubted he; yet delayed he when he should giue; yet grumbled he in bestowing; yet gaue he presumptuously, excusing himselfe by many circumstances, and would not please him to whom he lent his goods. Finally, that which he gaue mee, was not so much to giue it me, as to bestow it on his ambitious thoughts.

A selfe-esse of
the age if you
note it.

CHAP. VIII.

WHen as many men offered many presents to *Socrates*, each one according to their possessions and possibilities: one of his poorest scholars, whose name was *Aschines*, came vnto him, & said; I find nothing worthy thy selfe, that I may giue vnto thy selfe: and in this one only kind I find my selfe to be poore. That one thing therefore which is only in my possession, I offer thee, which is my selfe, beseeching thee to accept of this gift such as it is, and to consider that they which haue giuen thee many things haue referred much more to thyselfe. To this *Socrates* answered: Who doubteth but that thou hast offered me a great present, were

it

it not that thou valuest and esteemest thy selfe so little, I will therefore take care to restore thy person to thy selfe, better than at this time I receiue him from thee. By this present of his, *Aschines* exceeded *Alcibiades* (a man as mightie in minde as in meutes) and all the liberalities of all the most richly yoong men of Greece.

CHAP. IX.

Thou seest how a good minde findeth matter of libertie, euen in the greatest gall and torment of miserie. *Aschines* (mee thinkest) reasoneth thus in himselfe: I thinke not Fortune, that thou hast preuailed any thing against me in making me poore, be thou neuer so refractarie; yet will I finde a present that is worthie thee; and since I can not giue any thing that is thine; or thou hast giuen mee; I will giue mine owne, my selfe, and the best of me: You must not thinke that *Aschines* vauiewed himselfe basely to himselfe, that knew none more worthie present besides himselfe without himselfe. This ingenious young man found out the meanes, how he might make *Socrates* his, by giuing him what he wauied. We are not to respect the vauiew of these things that are giuen; but the vertue of him that giueth. A subtilie and politike man willingly giueth audience to those that demand and propose vnreasonable suites; and intending no wayes to helpe indeede, nourisheth their fraudulent hope with deceitfull wordes. But yet worse is his opinion; that with proud language, graue and seuerer looks, hath disdainfully set out the summe of his riches. For they that make a shew to respect and reuerence a man on whom Fortune smileth, are the first that detest and seeke to doe him mischief; and such notwithstanding, that if they had the power, would themselves doe that which the other did. * Some there are that not priuately and behind their backs, but openly and to their faces haue scorned and mocked at other mens wiuues, and yet haue abandoned their owne to those that loued them. There are women likewise, that in these dayes accept those married men rustique, inhumane, and of froward condition; that will not suffer their wiuues to get vp into their Caroches, and prance through the streets to be gazed at by the passers by. * That man who is not noted for intertaining a Miltiris, or for courting his neighbours wife, him doe these Matrons accompt base in condition and heart; base in choice and election; and only worthie to court their basest Chamber-maids. Hence is it, that in these dayes adulterie is reputed the most honestest methode and manner (that is) to wed a woman. Some had rather consent neuer to entertaine marriage, than not to haue such a woman to his wife, that was not debauched from her husband. There is neither measure nor rule in mens expence. They contemne another mans pouertie, and feare none but their owne: they dread no other euill, they neuer pardon iniurie, they tyrannize ouer the weaker sort, and outrage them by force or feare. For to see Provinces sacked, the chaire of Iustice fold, and iudgements set to sale to him that will giue most, is not to be wondered at, since it is permitted by the Law of Nations to sell that thou hast bought.

* In this place
Lipstus and A-
næstus offere
a selfe which
may be conside-
red by the small
conformitie bet-
weene the ante-
cedent and sub-
sequent relations.
* A faine more
imputed in this
age than any
veritie.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

*A notable lesson
of an exhortation
for all good
Christians.*

*Ingratum dico
enim, & omnia
dicitis.*

BV T the subiect whereof I intreate, hath so much distracted and transported me, that it hath carried mee further than I thought, Let vs in such fort endeavour to depart out of this life, that our sins may not seeme to bee rooted and seled in the same. Hereof our Ancestours and Predecessors complained, hereat wee our selues are agrieved; and for this will our Successors sigh, because good customes are abolished, impieties haue preheminentce, and humane affaires grow worse and worse, and men leaue no wickednes or sinne vnought after. And the worst is that these vices doe, and shall remaine in the same place, although they be a little moued here and there, as the Flouds of the Sea, which when the tide cometh, are carried out into the Ocean, and vpon the ebbe are contained a while on the brimme and banke of the riuier. In this time shall adulteries bee more frequent than any other vice, and modellie shall turne loose and Libertine. In another Age the furie of Banqueting shall flourish, and the vndecent aboundance of Kitchins: the shops wherein so infamous mens Patrimonies are sold and bartered. Another time shall come of immortable and vnbrideled curiositie in apprelling the bodie, and painting the face, which externall fuke shewes how foule and filthie the soule is internally. At this time great men abusing their authoritie, shalbe both audacious and insolent. At another time men shall flesh themselves with publike and priuate cruelties, and in the furious madnesse of ciuill dissention, whereby euery sacred and sanctified thing is prophaned. The time will come wherein drunkennesse shall bee honored, and he shalbe esteemed most vertuous and gallant that hath sucked in the greatest exesse of wine. Vices continue not alwayes in one and the same place, they agree not well together, they change time and place, they vrge and giue chace one to another. In a word, we may alwayes boldly say thus of our selues, that we are euill, that we haue bene euill, and (vnwillingly I speake it) we alwayes shall be. In all times there will be Murderers, Tyrants, Thieues, Adulterers, Robbers, Church-breakers, and Traitors, and the least of all these is the vngratefull man, except it be that all these are the children of ingratitude, without which scarcely any euill enterprise hath bene plotted or performed. Beware and esteeme thou this as the most grieuous and greatest of crimes; let him not take hold of thee; & in another man pardon the same as if it were the slightest of all others. For in effect all the iniurie that he did thee consisteth in this, that thou didst loose thy good deed: but comfort thy selfe with this, that thou didst not loose the better part thereof, which is, the honor to haue giuen the same. But euen as we ought to be well aduised, not to employ our fauours on those that will not heartily and freely acknowledge the same, so ought we sometimes to hazard a benefit, although we are out of hope of acknowledgement or satisfaction. And not onely when wee are afraid that they will be ingratefull, but also then when we shalbe most assured that they haue already bin approoued and knowne for vngratefull. Euen as if I can, I am vndoubtedly bound to restore vnto a father (provided that it be not with any hazard of mine owne fortunes) his children whom I had saued from a great perill: So likewise ought I to defend a vertuous and worthy man, and second him in the daunger wherein I shall find him, though it be with the losse and expence of mine owne blood. If likewise by my outcrie I can deliuer a man from the hands of thieues,

(al-

(although hee bee vnworthie of any fauour) I ought neuer to repent my selfe if by my wordes I haue saued a wicked mans life.

CHAP. XI.

T followeth now that wee declare what sorts of benefites wee ought to giue, and after what manner wee ought to giue them. First of all let vs giue things necessarie, then profitable, thirdly agreeable, and permanent. Let vs begin with that which is necessarie. For we accompt our selues farre more beholding to him that hath giuen vs our life, than to him that enlargeth our honours or instructeth vs in vertues. Neuer will he esteeme it a thing according to the value if he can easily slight it ouer, and say, take it to thee, I want it not, I am contented with mine owne. So doing thou wilt not be obliged to restore that which hath bin giuen thee, but thou wilt disdaine it and cast it away. But amongst those things which are necessarie some hold the first place, and they are those without which wee cannot liue. Others hold the second: and they are those without which wee ought not to liue; Others the third, without which wee would nor deserue to liue: The first of this note are, to bee deliuered out of the enemies handes, exempted from a tyrants wrath and proscription, and other perils, which being both diuers and incertaine beleager and besiege mans life. Which so euer of these we shall haue preuented or cut off, the more greater and terrible it is, the greater thanks shall we receiue. For they will be thinke them from what euils we haue deliuered them, and the precedent feare of danger which they haue had, reuiue their remembrance, and giue them life to the desert fore-past, when they be thinke themselves from how many miseries they are deliuered. Yet hereby is it not intended if wee should maliciously defer or denie our succours to him that is in any danger, to the end that feare should giue a greater weight to our benefit or merit. In the second ranke are those things without which truly we may liue, but liue so miserably, as death were better than the life; of which kind are libertie, modellie, and a good mind. In the last place we rancke those things, which alliance and parentage, familiar conuersations, and long vse, hath made vs alwaies repute and accompt most deare and precious: as our Children, our Wiues and houses, and all these things whereunto we haue so much addicted and dedicated our hearts and desires, that we had rather die than diuide our selues from their companie. After these necessarie things succcede those that are profitable, whose nature and argument is far more ample and diuers. Here entreath mony (not superfluous but sufficient to entertaine an honorable meanes of life) here entreath honour and the good carriage of affaires, to the end to attaine to greater matters. For nothing is more profitable than to be made profitable to a mans owne selfe. The next is but euen great abundance and superfluitie which spoileth men, and maketh them effeminate. But when we would intend to doe a pleasure, we must provide that the opportunitie may make it more pleasing; that the thing wee intend to present bee not common and ordinarie; that few men haue had the like in times past, and that as few yet in these our daies can match the patterne: and if it be not rich in it selfe, at least let the time and place, wherein wee giue the same, cause it to be more highly prized. Let vs be thinke our selues what present wee might make, that might yeeld some pleasure and contentment, that might bee more often-times scene and handled, to the end that so often as hee should

The necessarie.

The profitable.

Profit is first to be respected in regard of a mans particular, the agreeable.

should

should take my present into his handes, so oftentimes he should haue and hold mee in his remembrance. Wee ought likewise to beware that we send not vncemely presents; as to a woman, or an old and impotent man, toiles or other necessarie instruments of hunting; to a Countrey Clowne bookes, or nets to him that is studious and addicted to his booke. Contrariwise also wee ought to be very circumspect, least thinking to send some agreeable present, we send to euery one such thing as may reproch him of his infirmities; as wine to a drunken man, and medicines to a sick man. For this beginneth to resemble rather an outrage than a present. If that which is given doe tax the imperfection of him that receiveth the same.

CHAP. XII.

The permanent.

Things of continuance live longest in the remembrance of men.

IF it be in our election to bestow what we list, Let vs present such things as may continue longest, to the end that the good which we doe, and gifts wee bestow, may bee lasting and of long continuance. Because amongst those that receive, there are few so thankfull that they remember them of that they haue received, except they haue it alwaies in their sight. And the vngratefull also, when the present and fauour is alwaies in their eyes, are thereby drawne into the memorie thereof, which suffereth them not to forget themselues, but rendreth and redoubleth the memorie of him that gaue the same. So much the rather therefore let vs seeke out things that are of continuance, because we ought neuer to vbraide a benefit, but suffer the present it selfe to quicken and reuiue decaying memorie. More willingly will I giue silver plate than readie monie, more willingly statues, than apparell, and such things as in a short time are worne out by vse. Few there are that remember to giue thanks after they haue pocketed the present. Many there are that no longer make estimate of a good turne, than whilst they may make vse thereof. If therefore it possibly might bee so, I would not that my gift should be consummate, or worne out of memorie, my desire is it should be extant, and of long continuance, and accompanie my friend and liue ioynently with him. There is no man so foolish that had neede to be taught; that hee should not inuite his friend, and present him with the publique shewes of fencing, and baiting of sauage beasts, when as these proclaimed sports haue bene performed and shewen, or Sommer suites for Winter time, and Winter garments in heate of Sommer; wee neede no more than common sense to make vs know what is fitting and acceptable. Wee must respect the time, the places, the persons, because in the moments of time, or occasion, some things are gratefull and vngratefull. How much more acceptable is it if we giue that, which the person to whom wee giue hath not, than that where-with he is abundantly stored? if we present him with that which hee hath long sought and could not finde, than that which is merchandable and easily bought in euery place? Our gifts ought rather to be exquisite and rare, than precious and rich, and such and so extraordinary, that hee that seemeth to haue least want of any thing by reason of his abundance, may accept and hold them deare for their raritie and noueltie. Were they but common apples which in a short space by reason of their abundance would bee displeasing to the whole world, yet if a man make a present of them in their prime ripenesse, and when there is a scarcitie of them, they will bee farre more acceptable and esteemed. These presents

Raritie, be the present neuer so small maketh it acceptable.

presents likewise are not without honor, which either no man else hath presented them with, or we our selues haue not giuen to any other.

CHAP. XIII.

WHEN as Alexander of Macedon after his Orientall victories had raised his thoughts about humane reach; certaine Embassadors were sent vnto him in the behalfe of the Corinthians, to congratulate his victories, and to present him with the Title of a free Citizen of Corinth. Which offer of theirs when Alexander had scornefully derided, one of the Embassadors said vnto him: Consider, noble Prince, that we haue neuer imparted this priuilege of our Citie at any time to any else, but thy selfe, and inuincible Hercules. Which when Alexander had heard, hee thankfully entertained the honour they had offered him, sumptuously feasted, and gratefully embraced the Embassadors, conceiuing thus, and contemplating, not what they were who offered them their Citie, but who he was to whom they had first presented the same before him. This man who was so addicted, and drunken in glorie: (whereof hee neither knew the nature nor the measure,) following the traces of Hercules and Liber, yet not content himselfe to bound his ambition within the limits where they ceased, he respected what companions in honour the Corinthians had presented him with; And thereby finding himselfe to be compared with Hercules, he thought that already he was possessed of heauen, which vaine and fruitlesse hope hee foolishly embraced. For tell me, I pray you, wherein might this yong foole in any thing resemble or compare himselfe with Hercules, who had but happie temeritie in stead of resolution and value. Hercules atchieued no conquest for his owne particular interest, he trauersed the whole world, not desiring possessions, but reuenging injuries. What desire of conquest, or affection of profit, could this Enemy of euill men, this Protector of good men, this Pacifier both of Land and Sea in any sort conceiue or haue? But this man from his yong yeeres was a Thiefe, a Forager of Countreies, the ruine both of his Friends and Enemies, who held it for his chiefeit happinesse to bee a terror to all mortall men; remembering not that not only the most cruell beasts, but also the most feeble and coward, are redoubted, and feared for their pernicious venom.

The true difference between Hercules and Alexander.

CHAP. XIII.

ET vs now returne vnto our purpose. That benefit which is giuen to euery man, is gratefull to no man. No man will euer thinke that a Tauerner or Hostler entertaineth him as a friend. No man supposeth himselfe to be inuited by him that furnisheth a feast to entertaine a whole Citie. For a man may say, what pleasure hath he done me? he hath fauoured me no otherwise than hee would a stranger, or an enemy, or the basest fellow, or plaier, he might haue met withall. But hee thought me more worthie or better esteemed than any other; nothing lesse; that which hee hath done is but to content his owne humour and infirmities. If thou desirest that thy presents may be acceptable, make choise of some rare thing. Who will accompanie himselfe obliged for a curtesie which is done vnto euery

Mones to fifti-
on men to acco-
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every man? Let no man interpret these things in that nature as if I would re-
fraine mens liberalitie, and repress them more than reason required. I will
not fo bound the same that it may not bee general, or employed where a man
pleaseth; yet my desire is that it should not be extravagant or misimployed, but
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the same, that they who haue receiued them, although they bee many, may
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man haue some familiar note, whereby he that receiueh may coniecture that
he is more inwardly respected by him that bestoweth the benefit. Let vs giue
him an occasion to say; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but
that which was giuen me came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue re-
ceiued the same present which an other man had, yet I more speedily and rea-
dily than he, where as hee long before had merited the same. Some there are
that haue had the same fauours, yet not deliuered with the same gratulatorie
speeches, nor presented with the like curtesie from the Benefactor. This man
receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was besought to
accept the same. Such a man receiued a rich present; tis true: but hee could
more easily giue recompence; for being as hee is a man of many years, and
without heires, he promisseth great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I
receiued is of more esteeme, because that which he hath giuen me is without all
hope of restitution. Euen as a Curtizan so diuideth her selfe amongst many,
that each one hath a particular insinuation & prooffe to be more fauoured than
the rest: So he that desireth that his curtesies should be esteemed, ought to be-
thinke him, not only in what sort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how e-
very one may haue something whereby he may thinke that he is preferred be-
fore the rest. For mine owne part I desire not to restraints any man from distri-
buting his liberalities as him listeth: the more and greater his largesse is, the
more honourable and praise-worthy they be; yet with I notwithstanding that
his bountie should be bounded with iudgment. For these things that are gi-
uen rashly and without consideration, are neuer well reputed or accompted of.
For this cause if any man should thinke that in commanding this, I would by
this meanes banish and exterminate liberalitie, and should not afford the same
limits large enough; Vndoubtedly hee hath made but little vse and receiued
lesse profit of these my instructions. For is there any vertue that I haue more
prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appar-
taineth these exhortations and instructions more than to me, who by liberali-
tie would establish and assure a firme commerce and societie amongst men?

CHAP. XV.

Reason & iudge-
ment ought to ac-
companye liberali-
tie: prodigallitie
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Apply thou wilt enquire how farre Bountie ought to be limited,
for that it is certaine, that action or designe of the soule can be de-
cent or honest, although it hath had his originall from a iust will,
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art alhamed to name? Contrariwise, how much more agreeable are those good
turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted in our memo-
ries, (from whence they are inseparable) when they content vs, and make our
thoughts more pleasing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue recei-
ued? *Crispus Papienus* was accustomed to say, that he more esteemed other mens
iudgments, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and an-
nexed this example; *I had rather* (said he) *haue AYGVS TVS iudgement, yet*
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but in such manner as if thou hadst receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou
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should wee separate those things which are so vnited? because wee cannot
call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done
and giuen with heartinesse and deliberation. A great summe
of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a
will grounded on reason, is a treasure,
but no benefit.
Finally, there are many things which
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The end of the first Booke of Benefits.



Meane to fifti-
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of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a
will grounde on reason, is a treasure,
but no benefit.
Finally, there are many things which
wee may receiue, and yet not
bee obliged for
them.

The end of the first Booke of Benefits.



C 2

L V.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Argument of LVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE assumeth and intreateth of an other part, How Benefits are to be given. He giueth many precepts hereupon; that wee bestow them willingly, speedily, and without dubitation. That some things are to be given openly, other some things secretly. Then what they are which are hurtfull, if they be not given, although they be demanded, and yet not dishonest, and such as may breede future infamie. Then that the persons ought to be esteemed both of him that giueth, and him that receiveth, that both of them may be decent. An other part of the booke: How he that receiveth should behaue himselfe, from whom he receiveth, and how, especially gratefully. By occasion he decideth what it is that maketh men vngratefull: Pride, Auidice, Ennie: Finally, in many wordes he disputeth of gratitude, and proueth that it consisteth in will, where as wealth and meanes wanteth.

CHAP. I.



LET vs looke into and examine that (most worthy *Liberalis*) which as yet remaineth of the first that is to say: In what manner wee ought to bestow a benefit. To the better performance whereof I shall in my opinion set downe the most expedite way and meanes. So let vs giue as we would receiue a good turne. But about all things what we doe, let vs doe willingly, speedily, and without hesitation or doubting: Vngratefull is that benefit that hath long time stuck betwixt his fingers that giueth the same, that a man seemeth hardly to part withall; and deliuereth in such sort, as if he had robbed himselfe of it. Yea if wee cannot giue so soone as we would, and that we are enforced to delay our benefit, let vs stricke at leastwise by all the meanes possible, that it be not supposed, that we haue hung long time in deliberation or suspition, whether we should giue or no: Hee that doubteth, is next to him that denieth, and deferueth no thanks for the same.

He that delieth
or dallieth in his
bountie, loseth
his gift & merit.

*Willengeresse and
procurion are
the signs of a
free and liberrall
minde, delay and
dilatation of a
suspicious and
niggardly heart.*

*Yes, grace that
is purchased by
prayers.*

For since in a benefit there is nothing more agreeable than the will of him that giueth the same, hee that in delaying giueth vs to vnderstand that hee giueth against his will, in effect giueth nothing, but rather knew not how to keepe it from his clutches, that drew it from his handes. Diuers there are that are bountifull for shame sake; but those pleasures that are readily bestowed, that are giuen before they are demanded, that are vntended by any delay (except it bee the modestie of him that receiue the same) are farre more agreeable. First of all it behooueth vs to prevent euery mans desire, and afterwards to follow the same. But the best is to prevent and present our fauours before they be sought after. And for that an honest man blusheth alwaies for modestie when he demandeth any thing, whosoever he be that remitteth and excuseth him of this torment, redoubleth and multiplieth the pleasure. He receiued not gratis, that receiued when hee demanded. Because (according to the opinion of the grauest Authors and our Ancestors) there is nothing that costs so much, as that which is bought with prayers. Men would more sparingly tender their vows vnto the gods, if they should doe it openly; and rather desire wee in secret to pray and performe our vows vnto them, because our desire is that our thoughts should be only knowne vnto them.

CHAP. II.

THe wordes are distastfull, and full of disturbance, for a man of honour (with abashed and abased looke) to say, I beseech you. Labour thou then to excuse thy friend herein, and whomsoever else thou intendest to oblige vnto thee by thy bountie. How forwardly soever a man giue, that giueth after he is intreated, let him know this lesson, that hee giueth too late. Indeaueur therefore to diuine and fore-see euery mans will; and when thou vnderstandest the same, discharge him of the grieuous necessitie of asking. Know thou that that benefit is most pleasing, and of longest perpetuities in mans memorie, that comes vnsought for and vndemanded. And if happily thou hast not had the oportunitie to prevent his necessitie, yet at leastwise intercept the reasons and motiues which hee should vse in requesting thy curtesie: thou oughtest to make him beleue by thy readinesse and forwardnesse, that thou hadst a desire to doe him friendship before hee demanded the same. And as meate which is presented a sicke man in due season profiteth him much; And simple water being giuen in time of necessity, is sometimes of as much worth & value as a medicine; euen so a pleasure although it be but little and small in value, if it be freely and fitly giuen, if it be done in due time, and fitting to the occasion, valueth and commendeth it selfe the more, and surmounteth the estimate and worth of a rich and precious present, which hath bene long time desired and dreamt vpon. It is not to be doubted, but that hee who so readily distributed his largesse, performed the same as willingly. And therefore with ioyfulnesse fulfilleth he that he intended, and thereby giueth testimonie of his good minde.

CHAP.

*Prudentie in a
readiness inimi-
table by Christi-
ans, as the Chris-
tian world is
carried in these
times.*

CHAP. III.

THe immeasurable silence of some, and their slownesse in speech (the first-borne-breed of sillennes and sottish grauitie) hath made many men loose their benefits, notwithstanding their great worth and valew. For although they promise with their tongues, they deny in the carriage of their eyes. How farre better were it to accompany good workes with good words, and to giue credite to the good office thou doest with familiar and courteous language? Challenge him that requirerth aught at thy hands, for this cause, that hee hath deferred so long time to make vse of thee, in forming against him this familiar quarrell: I am much displeased with thee, for that thou hast not acquainted me sooner with that which thou desirest at my hands, for that thou hast vfed too many ceremonies and circumstances in requiring my helpe; for that thou hast employed a third meanes for that which thou mightest haue commaunded thy selfe: For mine owne part, I hold my selfe most happy and contented, that thou hast sought to make prooffe of the good affection I beare thee. From hence forth if thou be pressed with any necessitie, commaund and claime whatsoeuer is mine as thine owne: Let this one error passe, I pardon thy rusticitie. Hereby shalt thou make him esteem and valew thy noble mind more, than all that hee came to claime at thy hands, how precious soeuer it be. Then doth the benefactors vertue most manifestly appeare, then is his bountie remarkable, when as the other passing from him, shall depart muttering to himselfe: Great hath bene my gaines this day; I more contents mee that I haue found him such a man, than if the benefite had bene redoubled vnto me by any other way, for to a mind such as this is I shall neuer yeeld retribution or condigne satisfaction.

*Termes besting
a liberrall mind.*

CHAP. IIII.

BVt many there be, that by the bitternesse of their words, and the crabbednesse of their looks, make their fauours odious, by vsing such speech, and expresseing such pride, that it repenteth him that demanded the curtesie, that hee hath obtained it. It falleth out oftentimes likewise, that after the promise made, there are some delays and procrastinations: yet is there not any thing more loathsome and distastfull, than when a grace is once graunted, to be infored to go and redemaund it againe. The fauours wee intend, ought not to be deferred, which cost more sometimes in their recouerie than in their promise. This man must thou beseech to put his Lord in remembrance, that man to receiue the fauour for thee; thus one simple gift (by passing thorow many mens hands) is diminished and lessened very much, and hee hath least satisfaction that hath made promise thereof. For they, whom afterwards we must importune, get the better part of the thanks. If therefore thou wilt haue thy giftes to be acceptable and gratefull, thou must procure that they passe thorow their hands that sought the same vntouched and intire, and (as they say) without any deduction. Let no man intercept, let no man detain them; there is no man that in that which thou art to giue, can purchase any credit, but that he impaireth and diminisheth thine.

*The errors of
those that giue
after an euill
manner.*

*A lost curtesie is
receiued after
much straining.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

"Refusa" is bet-
ter. An inter-
lause.

A picture of a
proud counten-
ance.



Here is nothing more tedious and irksome to a man, than to hang long in suspense. There are some that had rather that the hopes of their pretensions were scanted, than delayed. And many there are (too slowly possessed of this vice) that with a deprauid ambition protract and deferre those things they have already promised, to no other end, but to encrease the number of those that solicit and sue to them. Such are these ministers of kingly maiesty, who take delight in the admiration, which other men conceive of their greatness and pompe, who thinke themselves disabled in their power, if by many delays and longer procrastinations they make not every man vnderstand how powerfull and graced they bee. They performe nothing speedily, they dispatch nothing at once. Their iniuries are headlong and sodaine, their benefits filly and flow. Wherefore thinke that most true which the Comicke Poet saith:

*Do'st thou not (so much of thy thanks diminish,
As thou delay'st thy benefite to finish?*

From thence arise those complaints which ingenious sorrow expresseth, *Do speedily, if thou wilt doe any thing; and nothing is more deare. I had rather thou shouldst haue vitterly denyed me.* Such manner of discourse vie they at that time that are wearied with a long delay, which maketh them already contemne and hate the good, which they heartily expected. Can they for this be esteemed vngratefull? Euen as that crueltye is the greatest that bringeth out and protracteth the paine, and to dispatch a man of life quickly, is in some occasions a kind and sort of mercy, (because in the end the last torment draweth with it selfe the remainder of it selfe, and the time precedent, is the greatest part of the punishment that succeedeth:) so the lesse time I am held in suspense, the greater thanks owe I for the fauour I receiue. The expectation of things, how good and honest soeuer they be, is both tedious and displeasent: and whereas there are many benefits which are a totall remedy to some instant necessity; he that suffereth the indigent either to be tortured by delay, whom forth with he could dispatch, or maketh him languish in expectation, and grow forlorne before he compasse the fauour, abusethe his owne benefit, and laies violent hands on his owne good worke. All true liberalitie is addressd and expedite, and it is the propertie of him that doth willingly, to doe quickly. He that giueth later than he should doe, and wearieth out both time and occasion, before he assist and succor the indigent, witnesseeth by his actions, that he had neuer a will to succor him. And by this meanes loofeth hee in one benefit two most important things, that is to say, time, and the argument of his friendly intention and will, because to wil a thing ouer-late, is not to will it at all.

CHAP. VI.

A fit similitude.



Nall affaires (*Liberalis*) that which importeth most, is the manner and fashion of speaking or doing any thing. Celeritie hath done much, Delay hath defrauded more. Euen as in weapons of all sorts, the edge and point both of the one and of the other, are of the same force and keenensse as the rest are; but there is a great difference

difference in them, if they be enforced by a brawnie and forcible arme, or managed by a faint and feeble arme. It is one and the same sword, that sleightly raceeth and rudely pierceth thorow: that which most importeth, is the strength of the arme that gouerneth it. The like may be said of that which a man giueth; the onely difference is, in the manner of giuing. Oh how precious, and how sweete a thing is it, to encounter with a Benefactor, that consenteth not to be clawed with acclamations and thanksgiuings; and that as soone as hee bestoweth a beneuolence, forgetteth the same! for to reprove him to whome thou arte most beneficiall, and to intermix iniuries and outrages with curses and good turnes, is no lesse than madnesse. Benefits therefore are not to be exasperated or intermedled with any distaste or misliking. Though happily thou haue something that thou haue reason to reprehend him in, reuerue it till an other time more proper and conuenient.

The manner of
giuing maketh
the gift either
pleasable or dis-
pleasable.

CHAP. VII.



ARIUS VERRUCOSVS called that disgracefull curtesie, which was presented by a niggardly hand, Grauelly and stale bread; which a hungrie man must of necessity take, yet can hardly eate. *Tiberius Caesar* being requested by *Marcus Allius* (who had been *Prætor*) to discharge him of those many debts, wherein hee was engaged: *Caesar* commaunded him to set downe the names of all his creditors. This is not properly to giue, but to summon them to whom he owed any thing to composition. As soone as hee had receiued the register of their number, he wrote a schedule wherein he commaunded to pay his prodigall nephews debt, and gaue it to him, and therewithall so bitter and contumelious a reprehension, as the poore man was so much dismayed, that hee neither knew that hee had receiued any money for his creditors, from the Emperours hands; or any fauour for himselfe: He deliuered him from his Creditors, but obliged not him vnto himselfe. Some motiue there was that guided *Tiberius* herein; and in my iudgement, that he did, was to the end, that no man should importune him more in such like requests; and this happily was an effectual way, thorow the shame and reproofe of one man to repress the disordinate desires of countenances in all other men. Yet hee that giueth a benefit, must absolutely follow a faire different way.

Enforced curtesie
is both no mer-
it.

He exhorteth
Tiberius in some
sort.

CHAP. VIII.



BY any meanes procure thou, that whatsoeuer thou intendest to giue, may be adorned with all that which either may make thy gift more acceptable, or better receiued: for otherwise thou dost no good worke, but disclose and reprehend an hidden error. And that I may expresse by the way (in my iudgement) what my opinion is herein, methinks it is a thing ill-becoming a Prince, to giue a fauour with an affront and infamie: neuertheless, for all this *Tiberius* could neuer by this manner of dealing flie that which hee feared: for many others came afterwards and besought him in the same sort, and for the same reliefe as *Allius* did, all whome he commaunded to informe the Senate, in what manner they had spent that money

ney they had borrowed, and thereupon gaue them certaine summes of mony. This is no liberalitie, but a censure; this is no succour, but a principall tribute. Because that cannot be esteemed a good worke, which I cannot call to memorie without blushing, and disgrace: I am sent to the Iudge, to obtaine that which I required, I was inforced to suffer a criminall proces.

CHAP. IX.

The two-fold
manner of em-
ploying benefite.

THe Wise men therefore, and such as are Authors of Wisedome, aduise, that some benefites are to be giuen openly, other some secretly. Those are openly to be giuen, which may honour and magnifie him that receiue them, such as are Militarie presents and dignities, and whatsoeuer other gift, which the more publicke and notorious it is, the more honorable it becommeth. Again, those gifts, which neither promote nor aduance a mans fortune, nor augment his reputation, but onely succour his infirmities, his necessitie, and ignominy: must be giuen so secretly, that hee onely may take notice thereof that hath the benefite and assistance thereby. And sometimes also we ought to deuiue him that wee intend to relieue, in such a sort as our gift may come vnto his hands, and yet he ignorant from whom he receiued the same.

CHAP. X.

He proueth by
example that
fauours are to be
done in secret.

AReeflatus (as it is reported) being aduertized, that a poore friend of his (who concealed his necessities, as much as in him lay) was fallen sicke, and yet notwithstanding would not discouer the povertie he indured in his sickenes; bethought him that he should not doe amisse, to relieue him secretly. For which cause, vnder colour to come and visite him, hee left a bagge full of money vnder the sicke mans pillow; to the end that the poore soule (being more ballfull than wise) might rather thinke that hee had found that which hee desired, than that hee receiued it as a benefite. What then? should hee not know (saieft thou) from whom the fauour came? No. At the first let him be ignorant thereof, sith the not knowing thereof is a better part of the good worke. Afterwards I will doe him many other pleasures, I will giue him so many other things, that in the end hee shall perceiue who was the first Author of them: Finally, hee shall not know that he hath receiued, and I shall vnderstand that I haue giuen. Mee thinkes thou tellest me, that this is nothing. I answer thee, That it is insufficient, if so it be, that by thy good worke thou seekest interest and praise: but if thou desirest to doe it in that kinde, that it may be more and better profitable to him that receiue the same, thou wouldest content thy selfe to be a witnesse, that thou thy selfe diddest it. Because thou seemest not to take pleasure in doing thy good worke, but desirest to make it knowne, that thou hast done the same: I will (saieft thou) that hee know that I did him the good turne. This is to seeke out a debtor. But my desire is (saieft thou) that he should knowe it. Tell mee why? If it bee more profitable for him that receiue

ceiue the benefite, not to know whence it cometh; if it be more honest, and more agreeable that he know it not; wilt thou not in this point be of our opinion? I will that hee know it. Thou wouldest not then saue a mans life if the night were darke. I deny not but that vpon some iust occasion it may be lawfull for a man to take some contentment in his thankfulness that hath receiued a benefite. But if then when it is needfull to assist and succour our friend, we perceiue that he should receiue some disgrace thereby, if the good that wee doe him, shall sort to his indignitie, except it be done secretly: We ought not to insinuate or make knowne our good turnes. Were it answerable to honesty to tell him that it was I that haue giuen it him? whereas by the precise and principall precepts I am forbidden at any time to vpbraide him, or to refresh the memorie of my fauour done vnto him: For this is an inuolable lawe betwixt him that giueh, and him that receiueh, that the one ought incontinently to forget the good he hath done, and the other ought to haue a continuall remembrance of that which he hath receiued. There is nothing that more thyreth and trauielerh a good mind, than to be oftentimes reproched and vpbraided with those pleasures which haue beene shewen him.

Does your chari-
tie secretly, that
you may be re-
warded openly.

An inuolable
lawe in doing
good.

CHAP. XI.

T contenteth me much to make a publique narration of that exclamation which a certaine Roman vsed, who had beene saued by one of *Cæsars* friends (during the time of the proscriptions of the Triumvicate) who being vnable any further to indure his pride, most manfully cried out thus; Redeliuer me I pray thee to *Cæsar*, and the power of Iustice: How long wilt thou reproach and vpbraide mee saying, I haue saued thee, I haue deliuered thee from death? If I forget not my selfe, I must confesse that thou gauest mee life; but if I remember mee of thy often reproches, I can not conceiue but that thou hast giuen mee death. I owe thee nothing; if thou hast saued me to no other end, but to make an ostentation of thy vanitie. How long wilt thou lead me about for a spectacle to men, and a torture to my selfe? how long will it be ere thou suffer me to forget my hard fortune? Had I beene led in triumph by the enemy, it had beene but one dayes miserable spectacle. Neuer ought wee to disclose that which wee haue giuen: hee that vpbraideth a curtesie redemandeth it. Wee must not importune; we ought neuer to refresh the memorie of a former pleasure, but by seconding it by another. Neither ought we to disclose it vnto others. Let him that hath done the good office, conceale it: let him that hath receiued the same, disclose it. Other wise it may be said vnto him as it was to one who publickly wanted and boasted of the pleasures hee had done, I happily (saieft hee) that had receiued the gift) thou wilt deny but that thou hast receiued againe that which thou gauest mee; And as the other asked him when? Hee answered; Many times, and in many places: As if he should say; As oftentimes, and in many places as thou hast wanted thereof vainly; what neede hadst thou to speake of it? of vaine vpon another mans office? Another man might haue done it more honestly; who reckoning vp the good, hee hath receiued at thy hands, might praise thee in diuers things, which thou canst not, or dost not discouer. At leastwise thou wilt say of mee; that I am vngratefull; and

Secretie must
accompany be-
nefit.

Secretie must
accompany be-
nefit.

conceal

None must be
accompanied
with love and
charitie.

Pride maketh
charitie holing.

Influence of
great fortune.

Homer hat's al
we see lone body
of worth his
craue.

concealing thine owne bountie and desert, I make it not knowne who haue received the same. But this ought not to be; but rather, if any should relate before thee, what good thou hast done me, and the euill I commit, in not confessing thy goodnes, thou oughtest presently to make this answer. *Truly be it most worthy of farre greater benefites, which I know that I haue better will, than power to performe.* Which speech wee ought to vtter, not with flattering dissimulation, or fained pretence, or as some men doe, who make a shew to reiect that which they would faine draw vnto them. Briefly, we ought to vse all kinde of sweetnesse and curtesie, as much as in vs lieth. The husbandman should loose all his labour, if after hee hath cast his come into the ground, he make no more reckoning of that which hee hath sowed. The come cannot come to maturitie without much manuring and regard, nothing can bring forth fruit, if from the beginning to the end it be not labored and handled with due industrie. The same condition is of all benefites. Can there be a greater care, and more circumspect diligence in this world, than that which the parents haue ouer their children? and yet their pains should be lost, if so be they should abandon them in their infancie: if their deuoure and paternall pietie should not nourish them long, and tenderly protect that vnto the end which Nature hath recommended vnto them. All other benefites are of the selfe same condition; except thou helpest them, thou loost them. It is a small matter to haue giuen them. Wee must likewise nourish them. If thou wilt haue them thankfull who are obliged vnto thee, thou must not onely giue them bountifully, but loue them heartily. But especially (as I said) let vs haue a care that we offend not their eares; admonition is tedious, reproach ingendreth hatred. There is nothing so much to bee auoyded in giuing a benefite, as for a man to shew him selfe proud. Whereof serueth an arrogant and disdainefull looke? to what end are swelling and reprochfull words? Thine owne good workes will sufficiently praise thee: wee ought to alien from vs all vaine boasting. The actions will expresse themselves when wee are silent. That which a man giueth proudly, is not onely displeasing, but also odious.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar gaue Pompeius Pennus his life (if it may be said, that hee giueth life that taketh it not away.) Afterwards, when he had absolved him; and the other humbled himselfe to giue thanks; Cæsar presented him his left foote to kisse. They that pretend to excuse him, and deny that it was done by way of insolence, say, that hee did it but to shew his gilded Buskins; or rather, or more rightly, his buskins of gold, enchaced and enriched with precious pearles. In so doing, what outrage might there be? What euill was it for a man (although in former times he had bene Consul) to kisse gold and pearle, since no better place might bee found more seemely and honest in Cæsars person for him to kisse? A man only borne to change and reduce the manners of an absolute and free State into seruitude, worse than that of the *Persians*; he thought it a small matter that an old Senator, who in times past had been graced with so many and great honours, should in the presence of Princes in submissiue sort lie prostrate before him, after the manner of a vanquished Epemie before the feet of the Conqueror.

Conqueror.

Conqueror. This was he that endeoured to finde something out more baser than the knee, whereby he might subiect and suppress the libertie of Rome: Is not this to treade the Maiestic of a Common-wealth vnder foot? Yea with a left foot will some men say (and very answerable to the purpose.) For he had not shewed himselfe villainously furious and insolent enough, to haue taken his faire buskins to assist and sit in iudgement vpon the life of one who had bene a Consul, if the Emperour had not also thrust his studs and golden buttons into a Senators mouth.

CHAP. XIII.



Pride of great fortune! O pernicious folly! O how happie is hee that is not constrained to receiue any pleasure at thy handes! O how well art thou instructed to conuert each benefit into iniurie! How much art thou delighted in outrage and excess! O how ill doe all things becommeth them! O how highlie raisedst thou thy selfe, to abase thy selfe more lowly! O how approachst thou, that thou acknowledgest not those goods wherein thou takest so much pride! Thou corruptest whatsoeuer thou giuest. I would aske thee therefore for what cause thou thus forgettest thy selfe? what peruertereth both thy lookes and the habit of thy countenance? Hadst thou rather goe masked than shew thy face open? Most pleasing are those curtesies which are giuen with a kinde, smiling, and pleasing countenance, which when my Superiour gaue me, he exulted not ouer me; but as much as in him lay shewed me all the benignitie & fauour that he could imagine, and abasing himselfe so farre as to equal himselfe with me, he disclosed his gifts of all kinde of pompe, he obscured a fit time, wherein rather hee might helpe me vpon occasion, than in necessitie. In one and the same sort, in my iudgement, wee may perswade these men that they looke not their benefites through insolence, if we shall proue vnto them that their benefites do not therefore seeme more great, because they haue been giuen with insolent and tumultuous speeches; and that they themselves cannot for so doing seeme greater in any mans eyes; and that the greatnesse of pride is but vaine, and such, as that it draweth the things of most esteeme into hatred and contempt.

CHAP. XIII.



Some things there are which proue so harmefull and preiudiciall to those that receiue the same, that to denie them, and not to giue them, proueth to be fauour and benefit. This I say I, because we ought rather to intend the profit, than the affection and will of those that require our fauours. For oftentimes we with and labour for those things that are damageable vnto vs. Neither can wee iudge how harmefull it is, because our affection blindeth and perturbeth our iudgement; but when the desire is pacified and allaid, when that ardent impression and impulsion of the minde (which exileth from it selfe all good counsaile) is extinguished and abated, then abhorre we those pernicious Authors of those vnhappy and euill gifts. Euen as to licke men wee denie water, and to those that are melancholic and loath their liues, a knife; or to such as are in loue, all that which their

Discretion in be-
nevolence.

D

their inflamed and ardent affection, or rather desperation, doteth after. So ought we to perseuer diligently and humbly in denying and refusing all that which may doe much harme to those who miserably and blindly demand it at our hands. Furthermore, it importeth euery man to haue a care and obseruation, not onely of the beginning of his gifts, but of the end and issue also, which they ought to haue; and so procure, that they may be such things, that not onely giue content in the receiuing, but delight also when they are receiued. Many there are that say, *I know that this will not be profitable vnto him, but what shall I doe? He entreateth me, and I cannot denie his suit: let him looke vnto it, he shall complaine of himselfe, and not of me.* Thou abusest thy selfe, and art deceiued: it is of thee and none other (and that iustly) he will complaine, as soone as he shall recouer his senses and perfect wits; and that passion which perturbed and inflamed his mind, remitteth and ceaseth. And why should hee not hate such a man who assisted him to his damage and danger? To condescend vnto his request that asketh that which will be harmefull vnto him, is a cruell bountie, and a pleasing and affable hatred: Let vs giue such things as may please more and more by their vse, and that may neuer breede any damage. I will not giue money which in my knowledge shall be giuen vnto a harlot, because I desire not to be partaker in any dishonest action, or in euill counsell. If I can, I will at leastwise retyre him; if not, I will not bolster or further his sinne. Whether it be choller that transporteth him farther than becommeth him, or heat of ambition misleadeth him from the securest course, I will not so farre forget my selfe, that hereafter he may say, *He hath killed me with kindness.* Oftentimes there is verie little difference betwixt a friends gift and an enemies wishes and execution. All the mischief an enemy can wish vs, the foolish affection of a friend may bring vs: There is nothing more absurd (and yet this oftentimes falleth out) than not to know a difference betwixt hate and fauour.

CHAP. XV.

Let vs neuer giue any thing that may redound to our disgrace and damage. And since the greatest friendship we can intend to any man, is to make him equall with our selues, and suffer him in euery fort and ioyntly to enioy our goods and fortunes; so ought we equally to aduise him to the good and honour of vs both. I will giue vnto him in his necessitie, yet in such manner and measure, that I will shunne mine owne miserie: if I see him in danger of life, I will succour him; provided alwaies, that I be ascertained of mine owne securitie: except I shall be the ransom of some great man, or some affaire of greater importance. I will do no good turne that I would be ashamed to aske: I will not greene that which is of small value; neither will I consent, that such a thing, which in it selfe is of much worth, should be receiued with little estimation: For such as he loseth the grace and remuneration of his good worke, that registreth the same in the booke of his accounts; so he that sheweth how great the pleasure is which he hath done, priset not, but reprocheth and dispraiseth his pleasure he hath done. Let euery man haue a respect to his facultie and forces, least either wee giue more or succour lesse than is answerable to our abilities. Let vs also haue a respect and esteeme of the person and qualitie of him to whom wee giue;

Limitations in bountie.

Proximus vniuersique sibi.

Respect of persons.

giue; because there are some gifts that are of lesse value than the greatnesse of him that giueth the same requireth; and other some which are not answerable to the merit of him that receiue the same. Conserue therefore and compare with thy selfe the conditions of him that giueth, and him that receiue, and examine the qualities of that which is giuen (whether it be little or much) in respect of him that giueth the same; and whether likewise thy present be too little for him that receiue, or whether he be incapable of so much.

CHAP. XVI.

That furious and outrageous Alexander (who neuer settled his thoughts but on great and mightie enterprises) foolishly gaue a Citie to a certaine follower of his; who measuring his owne vniworthinesse, and desirous to discharge himselfe of the enemy hee might incur, by receiuing so great a benefit, came vnto Alexander, and told him, That neither in fortune or condition he deserved so much. To whom Alexander answered: I respect not what becommeth thee to receiue, but that which in honor becommeth me to giue: A speech that in appearance was both kingly and heroical, but in effect most fond and foolish. For all those things which are a mans owne, become not other men to receiue or accept; but it importeth vs to consider what that is which is giuen; to whom, when, why, in what place, and other circumstances, without which thou canst not iustifie thine action. O proud and insolent creature! If it becommeth not him to receiue this thy gift, as little befiteth it thee to giue the same. There ought to be a difference and proportion both of persons and dignities, as whereas there is a measure in vertues every wayes, as greatly sinne he that exceedeth, as he that giueth too little. And although this becommeth thee, and thy fortune hath rayled thee so high, that thy royall gifts are no lesse than Cities (which with how greater mind mightst thou not haue taken, than laudibly distributed) yet is there some more lesse, than that thou shouldest hide and burie a Citie in thy bosomes.

CHAP. XVII.

DIOGENES the Cinique required a talent at Antigonus hands, and being repulsed by him, besought a penny: To which he answered, That it was too little for a Cinique to aske, or a King to giue. This was but a bare and idle cuill: For hereby found he out an inuention to giue neither: in the penny he respected and had reference to his Kingly maiestie; in the talent to the Cinique: whereas he might haue giuen a penny as to a Cinique, and a talent as he was a King. I must needsly grunt, that there are some things of so great value, that they should not be giuen vnto a Cinique, yet is there nothing likewise so little, that a liberal and courteous King cannot honestly giue. But if thou aske my opinion herein, I cannot but allow Antigonus action: For it is an intolerable error in those who make profession to contemne money, afterwards to beg it shamefully. Thou hast proclaimed open warre against wealth and riches, thou hast publicly protested thy hatred against money: This habit hast thou taken on thee,

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thee,

Alexander indiscretion in giving is the cause why he is taxed in this place.

Circumstances in giving.

* Although these Pagans had not a perfect knowledge of the worth of wisdom, yet had they some resemblance and smacke thereof; and in particular there was a Set of them called Ciniques, that were of this profession, amongst whom this Diogenes was one that required this talent at Antigonus hands.

There must be a proportion in good waikes be tween the giuer and the receiuer

thee, and this needly must thou personate. Vnworthily and wickedly shalt thou doe to hunt and haunt after money, vnder pretence of so laudable a poudertie and necessitie as thou protestest. It concerneth each man therefore to haue as great a regard and respect of himselfe, as of him to whom he would doe a pleasure. I will vse our friend *Chrysippus* limilitude of the play at ball, which vndoubtedly falleth either through his default that serueth the game, or his that receiueth it: Then doth the ball keepe his due course, when as betwixt the hands of both the gamesters, it sily flyeth to and fro, being serued by the one, and reinforced backe againe by the other: yet ought a good Tennis-player to serue either eally or strongly, according as he perceiueth his companion to be further or neerer off him. The same reason is there in good deedes: for if they be not answerably applied to the person of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, they will neuer slip from the hands of the one, or come into the possession of the other, according as they ought to doe. If we passe the time with an exercised and cunning gamester, we will strike the ball more boldly and stiffe: for on which side fouer it is banded, an expedite and nimble hand will returne and strike it backe. Contrariwise, if wee play with a nouice and young learner, we neither will strike it so stiffe, nor leuell it so strongly, but seruing and striking it gently, we will giue the ball to his hand; and if he rebounde it backe, we returne it as gently. The same manner must wee obserue in doing our good works: Let vs teach some how to receiue them, and iudge it a sufficient recompence, if they endeavor themselves to be thankfull; if they are, if they will be thankfull. For oftentimes wee make them vngatefull, and helpe to keepe them so, as if our good turnes were euery way so great, that there might not be a thankfulness which might in any sort equall them. The same pretend those malicious gamesters, that deceiue and chase their contrarie partie here and there, to the spoyle of the game, which cannot be maintained and continue, except there be consent and conformitie between them both. There are diuers of so peruerse and diuellish a nature, so proud, and imputatiue in that they bestow, that they had rather looke that which they lent, than to seeme that they haue receiued the same. Were it not a more better and friendly course to suffer them to acquit their deuoir towards vs, and to fauor and succour them, when they would acknowledge the goods which they haue receiued at our hands? To take all in good part, and at such time as they should onely giue thanks in words, to giue them as favorable audience as if they satisfied vs, and to allow that he who findeth himselfe obliged to vs, should haue the means to recompence vs? That Vsurer is commonly hardly thought of, if he exact his debts rudely. He likewise is worse thought of, if then when his money is tendered him, he will not receiue it, but deferreth to admit the payment. A benefite is as worthily receiued backe againe when it is returned, as it is giuen honestly, when it is vndemanded. The best well-doer is he, that hath done a courtesie freely, and neuer sought requital; that tooke a pleasure when as any man could freely repay that which he had friendly lent and giuen, and vterly forgotten, and that receiueth not as a returne of his fauor, but as a grace and remuneration.

CHAP.

The conditions of a vertue and absolute will-giuer.

CHAP. XVIII.

SOME there are that not onely giue a benefite proudly, but also receiue it disdainfully, which ought to be auoided. But now let vs passe ouer to that other part, and entreat therein, how men should behaue themselves in receiuing benefites. What fouer act of vertue consisteth on two persons, exacteth as much from the one, as from the other: when as thou hast diligently examined what the father ought to be, thou shalt find it no lesse difficult to conceiue what the sonne ought to be. There are some duties belonging to the husband, and some also that appertaine vnto the wife. These deserue one and the same rule and measure, which (as *Hecaton* sayth) is very hard to obserue and keepe. A hard matter is it to performe that which honestie commandeth, yea that also which neereft approacheth honestie: For we are not onely tied to performe the same, but to performe it with reason. She it is that must be our guide in the way we are to hold. The things of smallest moment, and those of greatest importance, are to be gouerned by her counsaile: and as the counsaileth, so ought we to giue. And first of all she will aduise vs this, That we ought not to receiue a fauour at euery mans hands. From whom then shall we receiue? To answer thee in a word, It is from those to whom wee would haue giuen. For more carefully ought wee to make choice of those from whom wee would receiue, than of those to whom we would giue: For least many inconueniences happen (which are wont to follow) know this, that it is a grievous torment to be indebted and obliged to him, to whom thou wouldest owe nothing. And contrariwise, it is a thing most pleasing and agreeable, to haue receiued a benefite at his hands, whom although he should offer thee hard measure, thou couldest both loue and affect: But the greatest miserie for a good and shamefast man is to loue and to be obliged to such a man as he can neither fancie nor fauour. Here must I needly and oftentimes aduertise thee, that I speake not of those truly wise and vertuous men, which take pleasure in that which they ought to doe, and are Lords of their owne mindes; that prefixe such Lawes vnto themselves as best liketh them; and hauing prefixed them, keepe them: but of these imperfect men, that are willing to follow vertue, whose affections and passions are forcibly impelled to obey reason. I ought then to make an especiall election and choise of him from whom I would receiue a pleasure; and it concerneth me much more carefully to chuse and diligently seeke out such a one to whom I will impart my benefite, than such a one to whom I will trust my money: because that to the one I am not bound to restore any more than I haue receiued, and hauing repayed my debt, I am acquitted and discharged out of his bookes: but to the other I must repay more than I haue receiued, and hauing recompensed the good he hath done me, yet is not this my entire obligation: the friendship must continue and flourish betwene vs. For after I haue remunerated his kindnesse, I am tied to renew and refresh it againe: And about all things the law of friendship admonisheth me, That I receiue not a kindnesse from any that is vnworthie. Such is the right, such is the sacred law of Benefits (from whence friendship taketh his originall.) It is not alwaies in our choise (as *Hecaton* sayth) to refuse a pleasure, and to say I will not accept it: We ought sometimes to receiue a benefite against our mindes. A Tyrant will giue thee somewhat; and so cruell and outrageous is he, that if thou refuse

There beginneth the proofe, that we ought not to receiue at euery mans hands.

Reason is the guide and disposer of liberalitie.

lest his present, he will account it no lesse than an iniurie and indignitie: To this wilt thou say, I shall I not accept the same? make reckoning that this King is a Theefe, and a Pirate, (since in minde he is no better than a Theefe, or a Pirate) what shall I doe in this case? I see that he is vnworthy that I should owe him any thing. To this I answer then, when I say that thou art to make thy choise of him, to whom thou wilt be obliged, it is not intended in a case of so great violence and feare; because where these preuaile, election perisheth: but if thou be at thine owne choise, if thou hast libertie to elect what thou likest, then hast thou meanes to make vse of that which best pleaseth thee. But if the necessitie of occasion restraine thy election, know this, that thou doest not receiue, but obay: no man is obliged in receiuing a thing which hee cannot refuse; if thou desirest to know, if I would haue that thou giuest mee, bring to passe that I may refuse what thou offerest mee: But hee gaue thee thy life: it killeth not what the thing is which is giuen, but whether hee that gaue, and he that receiued the gift, gaue and receiued the same willingly. Thou art not therefore my defender, because thou hast saued mee. Poyson sometimes hath bene a medicine, and yet for all that it is not numbred amongst those things that are holosome. Some things there are, which although they profit vs much, yet they oblige vs not.

CHAP. XIX.



Certain man that came with a resolution to kill a Tyrant, gaue him a stroke whereby hee opened him a dangerous impostume. For this the Tyrant gaue him no thanks, although by wounding him hee had healed him of a sicknesse, whereon his Physicians durst not lay their handes. Thou seest there is no great moment in the thing it selfe, because hee seemed not to haue giuen a benefite, who with an euill intention procured his profit. Fortune it was that wrought the good, and from the man it was the iniurie came: we haue beheld a Lyon in the Amphitheater, who calling to memorie one of those who had bene condemned to fight against wild beasts (because in times past he had bene his Governour) protected him from the furie of the rest. Shall wee not then say that the succours which the Lyon gaue was a benefite? No; Because he neither had will to doe it, neither did it to the intent to doe good. Wee are to repute and ranc him with this beast, who attempted to cut off the Tyrants life. Both this gaue life, and the other also, but neither this nor that a benefite; because it is no benefite, or good worke, which I am inforced to receiue. It is no benefite that maketh mee indebted to him I would not. Firsh mult thou giue mee the freedome and power of my selfe, and next the benefite.

CHAP. XX.



Men haue oft-times debated and disputed of *Marcus Brutus*, whether he ought to accept a grace, and receiue a pardon at *Julius Caesars* handes, who in his iudgement deferred not to breath or liue. What reason moued *Brutus* to conspire and kill him, I will expresse and handle in another place. For mine owne part, although

though I esteemed *Brutus* in all other thinges a wife and vertuous man, yet me seemeth that in this he committed a great error, and neglected the Doctrine of the Stoicks; who either feared the name of a King, (whereas the best and most happiest estate of a Citie is to liue vnder a iust and vertuous Prince) or hoped that libertie would bee had there where so great a reward was prefixed to those that commanded, and those that serued; or imagined that such a Citie as this might repoesse her ancient honour, and former lustre, when vertue and the primitiue Lawes were either abolished, or wholly extinguished. Or that Iustice, Right, and Law, should be inuolably obscured in such a place; where he had seene so many thousand men at hocke and battell, not to the intent to discern whether they were to obay and serue, but to resolute them vnder whom they ought to serue and obay. O how great obliuion possessed this man! how much forgot he both the nature of affaires, and the state of his Citie! to suppose that by the death of one man there should not some other start vp after him, that would vsurpe ouer the common weale; whereas after so many Kings slaughtered, either by the sword, or by lightning; they grew Vassalls and Subjects to a tyrannous *Tarquinius*; yet ought he to haue accepted his life, and yet for all this notwithstanding was he not obliged to repute and esteeme him as his Father, for that iniuriouly and against all right he had vsurped the authoritie, to giue him his life: For he saued him not, who slew him nor, neither gaue hee him life, but dismissed him from dying.

CHAP. XXI.



His rather, and more rightly, may be drawne into some question, what a poore captiue should doe, when as a man prostituted in body, infamous and dishonest in speech, offereth to pay downe the price of his ranfome? Shall I suffer my selfe to be redeemed by so impure and base a wretch? and againe, when I am discharged, what thanks shall I returne him? Shall I liue with an impudent and curriolous fellow? shall I not liue with him that hath redeemed mee? no truly, for herein thus standeth my opinion. Euen from any such a one would I receiue the money which I would employ for my redemption, yet so would I receiue it as money vpon interest, not as an act of curtesie. I will repay him his money, and if after that I shall finde him in any danger, or pressed by necessitie, I will relieue his wants, prevent his danger, yet contract no such friendship with him, as should bee correspondent betwixt men of equal vertue. Neither will I reckon him for such a one as hath saued my life, but make account of him as an vsurer, to whom I know I must repay back againe that which I haue borrowed. Contrariwise, if there bee some worthy and vertuous person, from whom I should receiue a curtesie, yet ought I not receiue the same, if I knew that thereby hee should incurre any detriment, because that I am assured that he is addressed (though it be to his owne hinderance, nay which is more, to the hazard of his life) to doe me a pleasure. I vnderstand that he is resolute (knowing me to be accused of a capitall crime) to plead my cause, and to vndertake my defence, though it be to his disgrace, and the displeasure of his Prince. I should shew my selfe an enemy vnto him (if in deuouring himselfe to vndergoe danger for my sake.) I should not performe that which is most easie for mee to accomplish, that is, to entertaine the damage my selfe, without his detriment or danger.

danger. Here *Hecaton* setteth downe an example (which is no waies answerable to the purpose) of *Archelaus*, who would not receiue a certaine summe of money which was offered him by a young man, who was subiect to the government of his Father, because hee would not offend the courteous and niggardly parent. What did *Archelaus* herein that was worthy praise? Is it because hee would not receiue that which was stolen from his Father? Is it because hee would not entertaine the gift, least he should be tied to recompence, and restore it againe? What modestie or vertue vsed he in not accepting other mens monie? But leauing this, if it be necessarie to set downe an example of a generous mind, let vs make vse of *Gracius Iulius*, a man of rare vertue; whom *Caius Caesar* put to death for this cause only; in that he was a better and honeste man, than any one ought to be, who should liue with and vnder a Tyrant. This man, at such time as he receiued a certaine quantitie of money from the hands of his friends (who contributed and leuied the same to defray the charge and expence of those publicke playes which he prepared) refused a great summe of money which ** Fabius Persicus* sent vnto him. His friends which respected not him that sent the money, but only the money that was sent, reprobued him, because he would not accept the same. *Will you* (said he) *haue me receiue a benefit from such a man, whom I would not pledge, although he offered me the cup?* And when as ** Rebellus* (one who sometimes had bene Consul, yet of no lesse infamie) had sent him a greater summe of money, and instantly intreated him to command his seruants to receiue the same. *I pray you* (said he) *par' on me, for Persicus offered me the same, and yet I accepted it not.* Whether is this to receiue presents, or to examine the receiuiers?

CHAP. XXII.

WHen as we determine to receiue any thing, let vs receiue it with a glad some countenance, expressing thereby the pleasure which we take, and manifesting to the Benefactor how thankfully we accept the same, to the end that hee may gather the present fruit of his good worke. For it is a iust cause of gladnesse to see a mans friend contented; and more iust to bee the cause of his contentment. Let vs make it knowne vnto him that his presents were very pleasing vnto vs, let vs expresse the affections of our will, not only in his owne hearing, but in euery place where we focuser we be. For he that receiueh a good turne with glad some acceptance, hath already satisfied the first payment of the requital.

CHAP. XXIII.

Some there are that will not receiue but in secret, they admit not witness of the good which is done vnto them. Beleneueth that such men haue very bad and base minds: Euen as he that doeth a good turne, ought not to publish the same, or make it knowne, but in as much as hee knoweth that hee that receiueh the same will conceiue a contentment thereby: so hee also that receiueh the same ought to make it publickly knowne. Receiue not that which thou art ashamed to owe. Some there are that secretly, and in corners, and by whisperings

* This Fabius Persicus was Consul under Tiberius, a man of great note in Rome.
* This Rebellus was Consul vnder Iulius Caesar, and Augustus Caesar, who died in his Conspiracy, to here undoubtedly some reasons are deficient whence growth this question, as may be gathered by the little commentie it hath been before.
See Pincianus vpon this place.

He that covertly desires to receive a kindness hath lost an excellent intention.

rings in the care, giue thanks for the good they haue receiued: This is not modestie and shamefastnesse, but an vndoubted signe of their will and intent to denie the benefit. Hee that giueh thanks in secret, and admitteth no witnesses of the good he hath receiued, is vngratefull. Some there are that will borrow money, provided that it be not in their owne names, neither certified by obligation, nor signed by witnesses. They that will not that any man should haue notice of the good is done vnto them, resemble such men. They are afraid to make it knowne, to the intent they may bee thought rather to haue obtained the same by their owne vertue, than by an other mans liberallitie and assistance. Such as these are, are least officious vnto those by whom they hold their liues and dignities, and whilst they feare to be esteemed for such as are bounden and obliged to their Benefactors, they vndergoe a more grievous imputation, and are iustly called vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIV.

Some other there are that detracke and scandalize their benefactors, and of these there are some, whom it were better to offend curiously, than befriend curiously. For shewing themselves openly to be our mortall enemies, they pretend thereby to make men thinke that they are obliged to vs in nothing. Of these is nothing that more carefully wee ought to intend, than this; that the memorie of those who haue in any sort succoured vs, bee not at any time extinguished in vs, we must from time to time renew and refresh it. He cannot giue thanks, that forgetteth what he hath receiued; and he that carrieth a good turne in memorie hath already satisfied it: neither ought we to receiue a curtesie nicely, neither submissly or humbly: for if in receiuing a man shew himselfe cold and negligent, (whereas the benefit that cometh last, is the most pleasing and acceptable) what will hee doe afterward when hee sheweth himselfe so cold in the greatest heate of that which he hath receiued? An other receiueh disdainfully, as if he said; *I had no neede, but since thou so farre pressest me, I will doe what thou requirest.* An other receiueh so carelessly that he leaueth his benefactor in suspense, whether hee saw or felt what was giuen him. An other scarce moueth his lips, and proueth more vngratefull than if hee had hold his peace. That waight should our wordes haue as the greatnesse of our benefit requireth, and boldly should we say; *Thou hast obliged me more than thou thinkest.* For there is no man that is not contented to heare his curtesies amplified, and made great by good reports: *Thou canst not imagine how great the pleasure is thou hast done me, yet hope I to make it knowne vnto thee, how much more I prize thy good turne, than thou esteemest.* He that burdeneth himselfe with that which he hath receiued, is instantly gratefull as if hee said thus. So much esteeme I the benefit which I haue receiued at your handes, that I shall neuer haue the meanes to make you satisfaction, at leastwise I will publish this in all companies, that if I requite it not before I die, it shall only bee for this cause that I want meanes to make requitall.

An admonition against the vice of ingratitude.

CHAP. XXV.

This Fulvius
was furnished
Caius, and was
Consul in Rome
In the yere 1126

FANIVS neuer wonne *Augustus* Caesars heart more, or knew better by any meanes to make him his owne (whereby he might compass all that which hee demanded at his hands) than at that time, when (having obtained his fathers pardon, who had beene a partie in *Antonius* action) he said vnto him: *Onely this one iniurie* (Great *Caesar*) *hane I receiued at thy hands, which is, that by thy meanes I liue, and by thy meanes I die, without gratefull acknowledgement of that thanks I owe thee.* What mind may be more thankfull than his, who in no sort satisfieth himselfe with his owne thankfulness, but vtterly despaireth to equall the good he hath receiued? By these and such like speeches let vs so endeavour, that our will be not restrained or hidden, but be apparant and manifest euerie way. And although silence obscure our wordes, yet if we be so affected as we ought to be, our interior thoughts will appeare in our outward countenance. He that will be thankfull, no sooner receiue the courtelie, but conceiue and be-thinketh him how he may make requitall. *Chrippus* saith, That he that accepteth any friendship, resembleth him that is addressed and readie to runne for a wager, and standeth in the List, expecting the signall, whereupon hee might speedily set forward. And truly, he that receiue, had need to be a swift footman and a great competitor, to the intent he may ouertake his benefactor, who began the race before him.

CHAP. XXVI.

Three principall
causes of ingrati-
tude, selfeopi-
non, counten-
nesse, and enuie.

ET vs now consider and examine what most of all maketh men ingratefull. Truly it is either an over-weening of our selues, and an ingrafted error in men to admire and applaud both themselves and their actions, or else it is couetousnesse or enuie. Let vs begin with the first. There is no man but is a partiall and fauourable iudge of himselfe: And thence it is, that he supposeth that hee hath deserved all things, and if any thing be giuen him, he receiue it as a debt or dutie; and moreover, supposeth himselfe to be disgraced, and vnder-valued. He gaue me this (saith he) how late? But with how much traualle and entreatie? How many more things might I haue obtained in the meane while, had I but fawned on such a man? or attended that? Or had I intended mine owne profit? I look not for this, I am numbred amongst the baser sort: Supposed he that my value and merit deserved so little? More honestly had hee dealt with me, had he presented me nothing at all.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ten thousand
English crownes
by our compari-
son.

NEVVS LENTVLVS the Augur, whose wealth and riches no man could equall, before that his Franklins waxing wealchie and great, made him seeme poore, and in the wayning (for this man saw foure thousand *Sestertie* of his owne; and sely said I so, for he did no more than see them) was as shallow in wit, as base in mind

mind and courage: For although he were as couerous as Couetousnesse it selfe, yet sooner vented he his money than his words; so weake and wanting was he in vttering what he should. This man being obliged to *Augustus* for all his advancement and fortunes (to whose seruice he had brought nothing but distressed beggerie, vnder the title of Nobility) having obtained the government in the Citie (both for the fauour he had with the Emperour, and the money held in his owne possession) was wont oftentimes to complaine himselfe vnto *Caesar*; That he had rettyred him from his studies, and that he had not giuen him so much as he himselfe had lost by giuing vp his studie of eloquence. And yet amongst other graces, *Augustus* had done this for him, that he had deliuered him from other mens scornes, and his owne fruitlesse labour. *But Couetousnesse consenteth not that a man should be thankfull: For vnbredid hope is neuer satisfied with that which is giuen. The more wee haue, the more wee couet; and couetousnesse engaged amidst a heape and multitude of riches, is more incensed and forward. Euen as the force of a flame is a thousand times more fiercer, the more violent and greater the fire is from whence it blazeth: So ambition suffereth not a man to rest vpon the measure of that honor which heretofore he would haue beene ashamed to haue wished for. No man giueth thanks for being advanced to a Tribuneship, but complaineth, that he is not preferred to the dignitie of a Prætor: Neither doth this suffice him, but that he must needs be Consul: Neither will the Consulate content him, except he possesse it more than once. Ambition still presteth forward, and vnderstandeth not her owne felicitie, because she respecteth not whence shee came, but whither she is addressed. Of all these vices which hinder our gratuitie, the most importunate and vehement is Enuie, which tormenteth and vexeth vs with comparisons of this nature: He bestowed thus much on me, but more vpon him, and more speedily also. Finally, the enuious man negotiateth no mans business, but fauoureth himselfe against all men.

CHAP. XXVIII.



Ow much more wisely and vertuously were it done, to engreaten and dignifie a good turne receiued, and to consider and know, that no man is euer so well esteemed by another, as he esteemeth and prizeth himselfe. I should haue receiued farre more; but it was not for his ease to giue mee more: his liberality was to extend to more than my selfe. This is but a beginning: Let vs take it in good part, and vrge on his to further fauors, by shewing our selues thankfull for the good we haue receiued: He hath done but a little, but he will doe it often: He hath preferred that man before me, and me also hath he preferred before many others. This man cannot equall me either in vertue or honesty, yet in his carriage and actions he hath something more pleasing than is in me. By complaining my selfe I shall neuer be held worthe of a greater good, but shall rather shew, that I am vnworthe of that which I haue already receiued. There was more courtelie done to those lewd fellows: What is this to the purpose? How feldome is Fortune bountifull with iudgement? We daily complaine, that men that are least vertuous are most fortunate. Oft times the hayle and tempest that ouer-passed the lands of a wicked and vngodly man, hath beat downe the corne of the best and vprightest men. Each man (as in all other things,

*This agreeeth
with S. Grego-
ries saying, and
that of S. Irenæus,
Crecit amor
nummi quan-
tum ipsa pecu-
nia crecet.

He enuie
desire of more is
neuer glitied
nor satisfied.

Remedies a-
gainst the errors
of those that re-
ceiue unthank-
fully.

things, (so in friendship) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit so fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugn and detract; there is no curtelie so scant and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplifie. Thou shalt neuer want a subiect or cause to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worser side.

CHAP. XXIX.

Ec, I pray you, how some men (yea, euen those who make a profession of wisdom) haue vniually censured, and vniindifferently esteemed the goods, and those graces which they haue bestowed vpon vs. They complaine because we equall not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force. They complaine that beafts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fairer haire, the Beare a thicker skinn, the Beuer a softer. They complaine that Dogges ouer-come vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crows in out-living, and many other beafts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that some properties should bee vnitied in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightinesse in strength) they suppose themselves iniured, because man was not composed of these diuers and dissident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue, and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of things to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselves from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits which we haue receiued at their handes, and to yeld them thanks, for that it hath pleased them to allot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly things? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beafts, wherof wee haue the foueraigntie? All whatsoeuer nature denieth vs, shee cannot conueniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoever thou art that doest so vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bebinke thee how great blessings our foueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beafts more forcible than our selues haue we yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? how farre more swifter creatures haue we ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue we receiued, so many artes, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that very instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attaineth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plentie of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of things heaped one vpon another. Although thou take a view of all things, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou hadest rather bee, pick out such seuerall thinges as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well weighed the louing kindnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so it is indeede. The immortal Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could bee giuen) they

These will be the better words should it wee note that which Calpurnius, in the beginning of his Treatise de vitiis paritum, where he saith, That those creatures whom nature endowd with forces to defend themselves from their enemies, are vs endowd with swiftnesse to flee, as it appereth in the Elephant. And contrariwise to those there hath deuicd forces to defend themselves, these hath free vantage of swiftnesse to flee from their contrarie, as for example the Hart and Hare.

* It is not intended that the same thing which the fault doeth should presently counter-balance, but that by the means, and facilitie, which is indubitably found in the fault, it may enoy and use the same in some manner.

they haue placed vs next vnto themselves. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

CHAP. XXX.

Here things (my *Liberallie*) haue I thought necessarie to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits when we were discouraging on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great and worthie the requiring, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whome will hee confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoever therefore giueth instructions of thankfulness vnto men, negotiateth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpruiced of nothing, and freed from the desire of affecting or coueting any thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thanklesse mind vpon his owne weaknesse or pouertie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou listest, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoeuer, because that he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same.

He answereth to a sect of obliuion

CHAP. XXXI.

In my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoickes place amongst their extraordinary Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulness, and vprightnesse, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate an act, yet may he be thankfull euen with his will and heart. As oft as any one compasseth and obtaineth his purpose, so often he reapeth the fruit of his labor. What purposeth he that bestoweth a benefit? To profite him to whom he giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If he hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with joy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it bene no benefit, but a bargain. Well hath he sayd that hath attained the Hauens wherunto he shaped his courle. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: He that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thankfully; if it be well taken, he hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit

He disputeth whether an interior thanksgiving is sufficient to satisfy a benefit received.

E

whose

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SEE, I pray you, how some men (yea, euen those who make a profession of wisdom) haue vnually censured, and vniindifferently esteemed the goods, and those graces which they haue bestowed vpon vs. They complaine because wee equal our Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force. They complaine that beasts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fairer haire, the Beare a thicker skinn, the Beuer a softer. They complaine that Dogges ouer-come vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crows in out-living, and many other beasts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that some properties should bee vnited in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightinesse in strength) they suppose themselves injured, because man was not composed of these diuers and dissident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue, and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of things to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselves from hating nature for making vs inferior to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits which we haue receiued at their hands, and to yeeld them thanks, for that it hath pleased them to allot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly things? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beasts, wherof wee haue the soueraigntie? All whatsoever nature denieth vs, there cannot conveniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoever thou art that doest so vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bethinke thee how great blessings our soueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beasts more forcible than our selues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? how farre more swifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue wee receiued, so many arts, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that very instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attaineth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plentie of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of things heaped one vpon another. Although thou take a view of all things, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou hadest rather bee, pick out such seuerall things as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well weighed the louing kindnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so it is indeede. The immortal Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could bee giuen) they

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the answereth to aforesaid obiect

Hee disputeth whether an intention is sufficient to satisfy a benefactor.

whose propertie is to thinke no wayes of remuneration: That which I receiued, if I accepted and entertained the same with the like good affection as it was giuen me, I haue requited it: otherwise the thing that of it selfe is best, were in worst case. To the end I should be thankfull, I am sent to Fortune: if I cannot satisfie for want of her fcouour, my good minde shall satisfie a good minde. What then? Shall I not endeavor my selfe to the vttermost to make recompence? Shall I not seeke opportunitie of time and matter, and labour to fill the bosome of him, at whose hands I haue receiued anything? Yes. But yet the world went ill with good doing, if a man might not be thankfull, even with emptie hands.

CHAP. XXXII.



That receiue a good turne (sayth he) although he hath taken it with neuer so thankfull a mind, yet hath hee not consumed and performed his dutie: for there is a part which remaineth, which is of restitution. As at a Tennis-play it is somewhat to receiue the ball cunningly and diligently; but he is not rearmet a good gamester, except he be such a one as returneth and striketh backe the same as fitly and readily, as it was serued to him. This example is farre different and impertinent: And why? because the praise hereof is in the motion and agilitie of the bodie, not in the mind. And therefore it is requisite, that the whole should be layd forth at large, where the eye must be judge: Yet will I not for all that denie him to be a good gamester that receiue the ball as he ought to doe; though he strike it not againe, so the fault bee not in himselfe. But although (sayth he) there be nothing deficient in the art of him that playeth, because he hath performed a part, and can likewise performe that part which he hath not done, yet is the game it selfe imperfect, which is consummated in taking and returning the ball backe againe by turnes. * I will no longer retell this; let vs suppose it to be so; let somewhat be deficient in the game, and not in the gamester: So in this also, whereof wee dispute, there wanteth somewhat in respect of the thing that was giuen, to which some condigne satisfaction is due, although in respect of the mind there be nothing deficient. * He that hath gotten a mind answerable to his owne, hath performed as much as in him lyeth that which he would.

CHAP. XXXIII.



He hath giuen me a benefit, and I haue accepted it no otherwise than he himselfe would haue it receiued: Now hath he the thing that he sought, and the onely thing that he sought, I am grateful. After this there remaineth the vse of me, and some profit from a grateful man. This is not the remnant of an imperfect dutie, but an in-come and accession to a perfect one. *Phidias* maketh an Image: the fruit of his art and knowledge is one thing, the commoditie of his workmanship and labour another: The propertie of his art is to haue made the Statue, but of the workmanship to haue made it with profit. *Phidias* hath perfited his worke, although he hath not fold it: A three-fold profit reapeth he by his worke;

That is Christip-
pus.
An oblation &
similitude a-
gainst the prece-
dent Paradox of
the Stoicks.

* Here he re-
solveth this que-
stion by Chris-
tipus ex-
ample.
a The bounti-
full minde that
is rewarded by a
thankfull and
grateful minde,
hath for his owne
part all that
which he to be
desired by him.

worke; the one in his conscience and conceit, and this he receiueh as soone as his worke is finished; the other of his fame; the third of his profit, which shall accrue vnto him either by fauour, or by sale, or by some other means. So the first fruit of a benefit is the conscience and contentment a man conceiueh, that he hath well finished the same; the second is of reputation; the third of those things which may be made reciprocal one vnto another. When as therefore a benefit is thankfully accepted; hee that bestowed it, hath alreadie receiued recompence, but not satisfaction as yet: I therefore owe that which is without the benefit, and in receiuing it kindly and thankfully, I haue satisfied the same.

CHAP. XXXIIII.



What then? (sayth he) hath he requited a fauor that hath done nothing? He hath done much, he hath repaid good will with as great good will, and (which is a certaine signe of friendship) he hath done it with an equall affection. Morouer, a debt is satisfied one way, and a benefit another. Thou art not to expect that I will shew thee my payment. This affaire is managed from will to will. That which I say vnto thee shall not seeme harsh and distastfull to thee, although at first it fight against thine opinion, if thou conforme thy selfe vnto me, and imagine that there are more things than wordes. There are a great number of things without name, which we note not by their proper titles, but such as are both forraine and borrowed: We call the foot whereon we walke, a foot; the foot of a Bed, the foot of a Hanging, and the foot of a Verse: We call by the name of Dog, both a Hound, a Filth, and a Star: For we haue not wordes enow to giue a proper name vnto euery thing; and therefore when wee haue neede we borrow. Fortitude is a vertue that contemneth just dangers; or it is a Science to repell perils, or to know how to sustaine them, or how to prouoke them: yet say wee, that a Fencer is a stout man, and a wicked slaue, whome rathnesse hath animated and enforced to contempt of death. Parsimonie is a Science to auoid extraordinarie expence, or an art to vse a mans estate and substance moderately; and yet we call him a very sparing man, which is of a niggardly and pinching mind, whereas notwithstanding there is infinite odde betweene moderation and niggardize. These are of diuers natures; and yet for want of wordes we are enforced to call both the one and the other a Sparer; and him likewise strong who despiseth casualties with reason, as that other also, who runnes headlong vpon dangers without iudgement. So a benefit, as wee haue said, is a bounteous action, and that very thing which is giuen by that action, as money, a house, a garment; the name of them both is all one, but the vertue and power of them farre different.

CHAP. XXXV.



Iue care therefore, and thou shalt presently perceiue, that I say nothing that is contrarie to thy opinion. That benefit or good turne which is finished in the doing of it, is requited, if we take it thankfully. But for that other which is contained in the thing, we haue not yet requited it, but we intend to requite it: we haue

Grateful accep-
tance is a kinde
of satisfaction.

Confirmation of
the precedent
Paradox.

A benefit is not
only signified by a
bounteous action,
but the thing
whatsoever that
is bountifully
bestowed.

* A Stoicall
opinion.

satisfied good will with good will, and we owe still a thing for a thing. Therefore, although we say, that he hath giuen thanks that hath willingly receiued a benefit, yet will wee him that hath receiued to restore some such like thing as he hath receiued. Some of the things we speake doe differ from common custome, and afterwards another way they grow in vse and custome againe. We denie, that a wife man receiue any wrong, and yet the man that striketh him with his fist, shall be condemned of injurie and wrong doing. We denie, that a foole hath any goods of his owne, and yet if a man steale any thing from a foole, we will condemne him of felonie. * We say that all fooles be mad, and yet we cure them not all by *Eleborus*. Euen vnto those very men whome wee tearme mad we commit both Suffrages and Iurisdiction. So likewise say wee that he hath requited a good turne that hath receiued it with a good minde; but yet neuertheless wee leaue him still in debt, to make recompence euen when he hath requited. Our so saying is an exhortation, and not a remitting of the good turne. Let vs not feare, neither (being depressed with an intolerable burthen) let vs faint in mind. Goods are giuen me; my good name is defended, my miserie is taken from me, I enjoy life and libertie, deerer than life: And how shall I requite these things? When will the day come that I may shew him my good will againe? This is the day wherein he hath shewed his. Take vp the good turne, embrace it and be glad, make account that thou owest not that which thou hast receiued, but that which thou mayest requite. Thou shalt not aduenture on so great a thing, as that mischance may make thee vnthankfull. I will propose no difficultie vnto thee: be of good courage, shrinke not for feare of paines and long seruitude: I delay thee not, it may be done with things that thou hast alreadie. Thou shalt neuer be thankfull except thou be instantly: What wilt thou therefore doe? Must thou take armes? Perchance thou must: Must thou sayle ouer seas? Likely yes: and euen then also when the stormes threaten thee with shipwracke. But wilt thou restore a benefit?

Take it thankfully, and thou hast requited it; not so
as thou shouldst thinke that thou hast payed
the same, but so as thou mayest
owe it with the more
hearts-ease.

The end of the second Booke.

LV.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE THIRD Booke.

The Argument of I. IV. V. LIB. 3.

HE discourseth of vngratefull men, what they be, and whether they are to be punished, or called before the Iudge. He denieth it by a curious disputation, and addeth, that their punishment is in hatred, infamie, and in the minde it selfe. Afterwards upon occasion hee debateth whether a Lord should be gratefull to his slave? Of receiving a benefit in his handes? He affirmeth, and this very plentifully, because in those daies there was often use of seruants. Hereunto he addeth, whether the same giueth his Father a benefit? He disputeth on both sides, but affirmeth the affirmatiue.

CHAP. I.



NOT to render thanks for benefits receiued (my *Asinius Liberallus*) is both lothsome in it selfe, and hatefull in all mens opinion. And therefore such as are themselves vngratefull, complaine of vngratefull men: and so are we fashioned and addressed to the contrarie of that we ought to doe, that there are some who become our Capitall enemies, not only after benefits receiued, but for the very fauours they receive. I cannot denie but that this hapneth vnto some by reason of the corruption of their nature: to many, because that the interposition of time extinguisheth the remembrance. For those things that were fresh in memorie with them, while they were newly done, doe in proceesse of time weare out of remembrance. Concerning which sort of men, I know that thou and I haue otherwhiles disputed, whereas thou maintainedst that it were better to call them forgetfull than vngratefull. Shall be therefore be excused of ingratitude because he hath forgotten, when as no man can forget, except he be vngratefull? There are many sorts of vngratefull men, as there are of Theeves and Murderers; whose fault is one, but in the parts there is great varietie. Ingratefull is he who denieth that hee hath receiued a good turne, which hath bene done him:

That which is
complained of by
all men, is exer-
cised by most
men.

He termeth all
sorts equal, ac-
cording to the
doctrine of the
Stoicks, but all
the Fathers and
Christians religion
teacheth other-
wise.

him: Ingratefull is he that dissembleth: Ingratefull is he that maketh not restitution: and the most vngatefull of all is he, that forgetteth a fauour hath bene shewen him. For they, although they requite not, yet are they indebted, and some certaine impression of the good turne (hoarded vp in their corrupt consciences) is extant with them. And vpon some cause they may at length dispose themselves to gratitie, if either shame shall put them in minde, or some sodaine desire to proceede honourably: such as for a time is wont to awaken it selfe in men of the worst disposition, if any easie occasion should inuite them. But neuer can hee become thankfull who hath forgotten the whole benefit. And whether thinkest thou him worse, in whom the thanks of a good turne is lost, or him in whom the very remembrance perisheth? Faultie are those eies that feare the light, but blind are they that see not at all. Not to recurrence and loue ones Parents is impietie, and not to acknowledge them is madnesse. Who is more vngatefull than hee, who hauing receiued such a curtesie as hee ought to treasure vp in the forme of his memorie, and continually meditate thereon, hath laid it so farre a-side, and neglected it, that he groweth wholly ignorant thereof? It appeareth that he neuer bethought him of restitution, that suffered obliuion so farre to vsurpe vpon him.

CHAP. II.

IN a word, to the requiting of a good turne there needeth vertue, time, abilitie, and fauourable fortune. Hee that remembereth a friend is thankfull without expence: Hee that performeth not this (which to achieve neither requireth labour, nor charge, nor felicitie) hath no court or patronage to conceale himselfe in. For neuer meant he to be thankfull, who cast a benefit so farre from him, that it neither suruiued in his sight, nor his remembrance. Euen as those things which are in vse, and are managed and handled daily, are neuer in danger of soile or rusting; and those which are out of sight, and vse (so as they haue lien by, as vnnecessarie) doe gather soile by continuance of time: So that which frequent cogitation exerciseth and reneweth, is neuer wrought out of memorie, which looleth and forgetteth nothing, but that, which shee respecteth and looketh not back vnto verie often.

CHAP. III.

Esidies this cause there are other also, which sometimes conceale the greatest merits from vs. The first and chiefest cause of all others, is this; that being alwaies continually busied with new desires, we haue an eie and regard, not to that we haue, but what we require, intenuite, not on that which is in our present possession, but on that wee affect and fancie most. For whatsoever is at our command, is base and contemptible. Whence it followeth, that as soone as the desire of new things hath made that light which wee haue receiued, the Author also thereof is slenderly respected. So long as those things which a great Lord hath giuen vs, haue bene pleasing and well-liking vnto vs, we haue loued and courted him, and confessed openly that our state was founded and raised by him,

An apt comparison.

Besides forgetfulness, here set forth diuine causes of ingratitude.

him; but if any new ambition assault vs, if our minde fall into admiration of other things, and earnestly affect the same, (as the manner of mortall men is, after great things to desire greater) we straight waies forget that which in times past we called a benefit: we either respect or looke into those things; which haue advanced vs before others, but those things only wherein other men haue had the fortune to outstrip vs. But it is impossible for any man, both to repine and enuie, and to be thankfull: for to enuie, is the propertie of a complaining and discontented man, but to giue thanks is the propertie of him that is well pleased. The second cause of ingratitude is, because none of vs make any account, but of that present time, which speedily passeth and fleeteth before our eyes; and few or none are they that call back their minds to thinke on things past. By means hereof it falls out, that Schoole-masters, and their good deedes, are buried in obliuion, because we wholly loose the remembrance of our infancy. Hereby it cometh to passe, that wee forget all those things which are bestowed vpon vs in our youth, because we neuer thinke vpon the same. No man accompteth that which he hath bene, as it were a thing past; but as a thing lost. Thus the desire and apprehension of things to come, defaceth the memorie of things past.

CHAP. IIII.

IN this place must I giue testimonie of the Epicures vpriht iudgement, who continually complaineth, for that we are ingratefull in regard of things past, for that we recall not to memorie whatsoever benefits we haue receiued, neither number them among what pleasures, when as there is none more certaine contentment, than that which cannot any more be taken from vs. The goods and pleasures that are present are not as yet wholly assured; some casualtie may intercept and cut them off. Those things that are to come, are vncertaine and doubtful: That which is past is laid a-side amongst those things that are in safetie. How then can any man acknowledge the good that is done him, who hath forgotten the whole course of his life? The apprehension and consideration of things present, and the memorie of things past, maketh a man gratefull; He that attributeth most to Hope, yeeldeth least to Memorie.

CHAP. V.

Euen as (my *Liberalis*) there are certaine things which being once apprehended, continue still in memorie; and some things that to know them, it is not sufficient to haue learned them; (for the science of them is forgotten, except it bee continued) I meane Geometrie, and the course of Coelestiall things; and of such which by their subtiltie doe easily slip out of our memories: So the greatest of some benefits suffer them not to bee forgotten. Some lesse and more in number, and diuers in time, are easily buried in obliuion. Because, as I said, we handle them not often, neither willingly acknowledge what we owe vnto euerie man. Hearken what speeches tutors and suppliants vse: There is not any of them, but faith, that hee will for euer keepe in minde the fauour done him;

curey

The remembrance of kindness, must be renewed, ought to be numbered among the greatest pleasures.

euery man protesteth and voweth himselfe to be at commandement, and if any more submitteth speech, whereby he may engage himselfe, may be found out, he spareth it not. But within a little while after, those Gallants esteeme their former wordes as too base and illiberal: and finally they grow to that point (which as I suppose euery one the lewdest, and most vngratefulllest attaineth vnto) that is, to forget the same. For euery vngratefull is hee that forgetteth, as he is gratefull that remembereth him of a benefit.

CHAP. VI.

YEt the question is whether this so hatefull vice should bee left vnpunished, and whether this law which is exercised in declamatorie Schooles, should be ratified also in the Citie; whereby a man may call an ingratefull man in question? Sure it seemeth a matter worthe the censure of iustice, in all mens iudgements. Why not? since certaine Cities also, haue reproched other Cities for the loanes and fauours they haue done them, and redemand from posteritie that which they haue lent to their predecessours. Our Ancestors, those mightie and virtuous men, required satisfaction only from their enemies; as for their benefites, they gaue them with a great minde, and lost them with as great. There is not any Nation in the world, except the Medes, that haue thought fit to impleade an ingratefull man, or call him in question. And this is a great reason why none should be granted, because by mutuall consent we punish misdeeds, and for Murder, Witchcraft, Parricide, and breach of Religion, haue here and there enacted diuers punishments, and in all places some: but this most frequent crime is no where punished, and euery where improved. Neither absolute we the same; but whereas the iudgement of a thing vncertaine is difficult, wee haue only condemned it with hatred, and left it amongst those things which we referre to the iustice and iudgement of the Gods.

CHAP. VII.

BUt many reasons offer themselves vnto mee, whereby it appeareth that this error and crime is not punishable by Law. First of all, the better part of the benefit should perish, if a man should haue an action allowed him, as hee hath for lending money, or for bargaines of hyring, and letting out. For this is the greatest grace of a benefit, that we haue given it, although we should loose it, that we haue referred all to the curtesie of the receiuers. If I arrest him, and call him before the Iudge, it beginneth to bee a debt, and not a benefit. Again, whereas it is a most commendable thing to requite, it ceaseth to be honest, if it be of necessitie. For no man will commend a thankfull person, more than him that hath restored a thing which was committed him to keepe, or discharged his debt without being sued. Thus corrupt and deface wee two thinges (than which in humane life there is nothing more worthe) that is to say, a gratefull man, and a bountifull giuer. For what honour, I pray you, shall hee haue in this, if hee giueth not a benefit, but lendeth it? or in that, if hee requite, not because hee will, but because hee must of necessitie? It is no glorious thing to bee gratefull.

He concludes the negative part, the approach that which is concluded.

Reasons to approve that ingratitide is not punishable by Law.

gratefull, except it be a matter vnpunishable to be vngratefull: moreover, this inconuenience would ensue, that all Courts would scarcely serue, and suffice this one law only: who is he that might not sue? who is he that might not bee sued? all men prize and praise their owne doings, all men enlarge those thinges they haue employed vpon others, be they neuer so little. Besides, whatsoever thinges fall into knowledge of the Iudges, may bee comprehended by them without giuing them infinite licence and libertie. And therefore the condition of a good cause seemeth to be better if it be restored to a Iudge, than if it bee remitted to compromise, because the Iudge is bound vnto an order, and hath his certaine bounds limited him, which he may not exceede; But the Vmpires conscience being free and tied to no termes, may both adde, and take away, and order the sentence, not as law and iustice counsaileth, but according as humanitie and pittie shall moue. An action of ingratitude would not oblige the Iudge, but set him at libertie to rule thinges as he listed. For it is not certaine what a benefit is; againe, how great foucer it bee, it were much to the matter how fauourably the Iudge would construe it. No law defineth what an vnthankfull person is. Oft-times he that hath restored as much as he hath receiued, is vnthankfull, and hee that hath not required, is thankfull. There bee some matters also which some vnskillfull Iudge may dismiss the Court of, as in cases where the parties confesse a deede, or no deede, where the opening of the euidence dispatcheth all doubts. But when as Reason must giue iudgment betwene two persons which debate, there ought our vnderstanding to vse coniecture and diuination: and when as a thing which only wisdome ought to determine, falleth in controuersie, a man cannot (in that case) take a Iudge of the number of those whom the Praetor chooseth, and such a one as is intolled in the Register of the Iudges; because he hath therents and riches which a Romaine Knight ought to haue.

CHAP. VIII.

THis thing therefore seemed not to bee very vnmeet to bee made a matter in law, but that no man could be found to be a competent Iudge in the case; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider thoroughly what puzzell and difficultie her should finde who should enter into the ouer-ruling of such cases. Some one hath giuen a great summe of money, but such a one as is rich; but such a one as shall not feele the want thereof. Another hath giuen, but with the hazard of forgoing his whole inheritance. The summes are a-like, but the benefit is not the same: Yea, let vs adde yet further; This man laid downe money for him that was adjudged a slaue vnto his creditour, but where hee had it at home lying by him. That other gaue as much, but hee tooke it vpon interest; or borrowed it with much intreatie; or deeply endangered himselfe to him that lent it. I thinkest thou that there was no difference betwixt him that bestowed his benefit at his ease, and that other that borrowed to giue the same? Some thinges are made great in time, and not the greatest. It is a benefit to giue a possession whose fertilitie may ease the dearth of coine; one of base of bread in time of scarcitie is a benefit. It is a benefit to giue whole Regions, through which many Riuers may runne able to beare ships. It is a benefit to those that are dried vp with thirst, and scarce able to draw them breath through their dried

The Romaine Praetor was wont to commit some affaires of importance to bee determined to a certain number of chosen men, called out of the order of Knights.

dried jawes to shew them a fountaine: who shall distinguish these one from another? who shall weigh them thoroughly? hard is the determination of that case, which requireth the force of a thing, and not the thing it selfe. Although they be the same, yet being differently giuen, they weigh not alike. This man did me a good turne, but he did it unwillingly; but hee complained that he gaue it, but he beheld me more proudly than he was accustomed, but he gaue it so late, that it had bene better for me if he had quickly denied me. How can a Iudge make an estimate of these things? whereas the speech, the doubt, and the countenance of a man may destroy the grace of his merit?

CHAP. IX.

WHat shall wee say of some things, which because they are much desired, are held for benefits? and of others, which are not esteemed by the common sort, for such, although they are greater then they seeme. Thou callest it a benefit to haue giuen a man the freedome of a most rich and wealthy Citie, to haue made a man a Knight, and to haue placed him in the *fourteenth scaffold, destinated for the Romaine Knights, to behold the plaies and publike spectacles? and to haue defended him vpon an indictment of life and death: but what thinke you off it to haue giuen a man good counsaile? to haue hindered him from executing a wicked enterprize? to haue wrung the sword out of his hand, where-with hee would haue slaine himselfe? to haue comforted him in his sorrow by holosome counsailes? and to haue brought him back to the fellowship of life, from his willfull seeking and longing to accompanie his deceased friends in death: what thinke you it to be, to sit by a sick-mans bed, and since his euill came by fits and at certaine houres, to haue waigthed a fit time to giue him meate? and to haue bathed his veines with wine when he fainted? to haue brought him a Philitian cunen then when hee expected to die? who is hee that can iustly value these things? what Iudge shall he be that shall command these benefits to be recompenced with the like? Some man perchance hath giuen thee a house, but I haue foretold thee that thine owne is falling downe on thy head. Hee hath giuen thee a patrimonie: but I a planck to floate vpon, and faue thy life in shipwrack. He hath fought and hath bene wounded for thy cause: but I haue giuen thee thy life by my silence on the rack. Whereas a benefit is giuen one way, and recompenced another: it is a hard matter to make them equall.

CHAP. X.

Furthermore, there is no day limited for recompencing a good turne, as there is for money lent: he therefore that hath not as yet required, may require. For tell me in what time may a man discover an other to be vngratefull? The greatest benefits haue no probation at all, they for the most part are hidden in the consciences of two. Shall wee bring the world to that passe that wee may not doe a good turne without testimonie? What punishment then shall we destinate for the vnthankfull? shall we prefixe one for all, where the benefits are different? or vnquall punishments, either greater or lesser, according to each mans benefit?

* Those degrees or places of Knights, and although the Romanes were not obtained by antiquitie, but diligence and favour: so may you gather from our Author here, and from Iustus Lipsius, lib. de Amphitheatro cap. 14.

nesse? Goe to then; let the penaltie bee pecuniarie: why? Some benefits concerne life and are more greater, than life; what penaltie wilt thou propose to gainst them? lesse than the benefit? that were not indifferent: equall, and not capital? what more inhumane, than that the issue of benefits should be bloudie?

CHAP. XI.

Extraine priuiledges (saith he) are giuen vnto Parents. And as there is an extraordinarie consideration had of these, so is it reasonable also that a respect should be had to other benefits. We haue followed and sacred the condition of Parents; because it was expedient that children should be bred and brought up. They were to be encouraged to this trauell, because they were to vndergoe an vncertaine fortune. It could not be said vnto them, which is spoken vnto those that giue benefits. *Be warie in thy choice to whom thou giuest: if thou hast bene once deceived, seek out hence-forward such a one as is worthy of thy benefits, and succour him.* In breeding and bringing vp children, the Parents indigence preuaileth little, all that they may doe is but to wish well, and hope the best. Therefore that they might the more willingly aduerture this chance, it was reason that some prerogative should be giuen them. Again, the case standeth otherwise with Parents, for they both doe and will bestow benefits vpon their children; although they haue done neuer so much for them already: and it is not to be feared that they will belie themselves in giuing. In others it ought to be examined, not only whether they haue received; but also whether they haue giuen. But the merits of these consist in their confession; and because it is requisite for youth to be ruled, we haue constituted, as it were, certaine domesticall Magistrates ouer them, vnder whose gouernement they should bee restrained. Again, the benefits of all Parents was equall and alike, and therefore it might be valued after one rate, but the rest were diuers, vnlike, and infinite oddes was betweene them, and therefore could they fall vnder no compasse of Law; so that it was more fitting to let them all alone, than to make them all equall.

CHAP. XII.

Some things cost the giuers much; and some are much worth to the receiuers, and yet stand the giuers in nothing. Certaine curiosities are done to friends, some to strangers, and (although the gift be one) yet is it better imployed on him that then thou beganst to know, when thou undertookst to succour him. This man giueth succours, that ornament; these other consolations. Thou shalt finde some that imagine nothing more pleasing in this world, or more great and agreeable, than to haue a friend that may succour, and to whom hee may discover his miseries and calamities. Again, you shall finde some man more ielous of his Honour, than his Securitie, and other some that suppose themselves more indebted to him, by whose meanes they may liue in repose, than to him by whose meanes they might liue in some honor and estimation. These things therefore would fall out greater or lesser, according as the Iudges minde were bent to the one, or to

As the qualities of benefits are diuers: so also are they diuersly esteemed by those that receive them.

to the other. Besides I choose my selfe a creditor: I often-times receiue a benefit at his handes, from whom I would not; and sometimes I am obliged ere I know thereof. What wilt thou doe? wilt thou call him vngratefull that had a good turne cast vpon him before hee knew it, and if hee had knowne thereof would not haue receiued it? and wilt thou not terme him vnthankefull which howfocuer he receiued thy good turne, in no fort requited it?

CHAP. XIII.

SOME man hath done mee a friendship, and afterwards the same man hath offered me an injurie. Whether am I tied by one courtesy to suffer all injuries? or shall I be acquit, as if I had acknowledged the same, because hee hath defaced his former benefit by his succeeding injurie? how then canst thou determine whether the pleasure he hath receiued be greater, or the outrage that is afterwards offered him? The day would faile me if I should attempt to prosecute euery difficultie. Wee (saith hee) make men slower to doe good, when wee challenge not the things that are given, but suffer the deniers to escape unpunished. But you must bethinke your selfe of this also on the contrarie part, that men will bee much loather to receiue benefits, if they should stand in perill of proceesse thereby, and if their innocence be no waies assured. Moreover, by this meanes we our selues shall become loather to doe men good, for no man willingly giueth vnto those, who are vnwilling to receiue. But whosoeuer is prouoked to pleasure others of his owne good nature, and for the worthinesse of the thing it selfe, will giue willingly also euen vnto such as shall thinke themselves no more beholding to him than they list: For the glorie of that office is diminished, which carrieth a promise with it.

CHAP. XIII.

SO shall there be fewer benefits; yea but they shall be truer. And what harme is it to haue the rashnesse of benefiting restrained? For this cūcintended they that constituted no law for the same: that we should more circumspectly giue, and carefully choose those on whom wee bestowed our fauours. Consider diligently to whom thou giuest, so shall there be no suing, so shall there be no calling backe or repetition. Thou art deceived if thou thinke that any Iudge can helpe thee. There is no Law that is able to set thee cleare againe. Only haue thou an eye to the thankfulness of the receiuer. By these meanes benefits hold their authoritie, and are magnificent: thou desirest them if thou make them a matter of law: In debt it is a most iustifiable speech, and answerable to the law of all Nations, to say, Pay that which thou owest. But this is the foulest word in benefiting that can be, to say, Pay: For what shall he pay? He oweth his Life, his Gratiſſime, his Honours, the assurance of his Fortune, his Health. The greatest things cannot be requited. At leastwise (saith he) let him repay somewhat of like value. This is it that I said, that the estimation of so noble a thing should perish, if we make a merchandize of benefits. The minde is not to be incited to Auarice, to Proceſſe,

If vngratefull
receiuers should
be punished, few
would entertaine
benefits.

ceſſe, or Debate: he runneth into these things of his owne accord. Let vs withstand them as much as we can, and cut off the occasions of complaining.

CHAP. XVI.

WOULD so God we could perswade them not to receiue against the money they had lent, saue only of such as were willing to repay. Would to God the buyers were neuer obliged to the sellers by any promise, nor bargaines and couenants were ratified vnder hand and seale; but that faith should rather keepe them, and a minde obseruing equitie. But men haue preferred profit before honestie, and had rather inforce others to be faithfull, than behold them faithfull. Wickednesse are employed, both on the one and the other side. This man lendeth his money vpon interest to many, whom he causerh to be bound by publike instruments. That other is not contented with sureties, except he haue a pawne in hand. O loathsome confession of humane fraud, and publike wickednesse. Our scales are more set by than our soules. To what purpose are these Worshipfull men called to record? why set they to their handes? namely, least hee should denie that which he had receiued. Thinkest thou these men to bee vpright, and that they would maintaine a truth? yea, but if they themselves would instantly borrow money of any man, they cannot get it, except they be obliged after the same manner. Had it not bene more honestie to let some passe with the breach of their credit, than that all men should be mistrusted of vnthankfulness, and perfidiousnesse. Auarice wanteth but one only thing, which is, That we should doe no man good without suretiship: It is the propertie of a generous and magnificent minde to helpe and profit others; he that giueth benefits, imitateth the Gods; he that redemandeth them, is as the Vsurers. Why then abate wee our selues to those vilest sort of rake-hells, by resembling them?

He reprehendeth
the little faith
and double dealing
of men.

CHAP. XVI.

BUT if no action be liable against an vngratefull person, the number of the vngratefull will bee the more? nay rather they will bee the lesse; for men will bee more aduised in bestowing their benefits. Again, it is not expedient to haue it knowne to the world, what a number of vnthankefull persons there be: For the multitude of offenders will take away the shame of the deed, and a common crime will cease to be accounted a reproch: Is there almost any woman in these daies that is ashamed of diuorce, since the time that certaine of the noble Ladies, and Gentlewomen, haue made accompt of their yeares, not by the number of Consuls, but by the number of their husbands; and depart from them to bee married, and are married to bee diuorced? So long as diuorce was rare, so long was it feared, but after that few or no marriages were continued without diuorce, the often hearing of it taught them to vset it. Is any woman now ashamed of whoredome, since the world is growne to that passe, that few take a husband but to cloake their whoredomes? Chastitie is an argument of desolamitie, where shall a man finde a woman so miserable; or so loathsome, that will

The multitude
of offenders
cloudeth and
maketh the
crime lesse
odious.

*I pray God these
Vagant errors in-
gular with di-
uorce bee not
crept into En-
gland.*

content her selfe with one paire of adulterers: except thee haue for euery houre one, and yet the day is not long enough to suffice all, except thee bee carried to one friend, and dine with an other, may thee doeth, and is too much of the old stampe, that knowes not that the keeping of one Lemman is good wedlocke. Like as the shame of these faults is vanisht at this day, being the sinne beganne to get large scope, so shalt thou make the thanklesse fort both more and more bold, if they may once beginne to number themselves.

CHAP. XVII.



Hat then? shall the thanklesse person escape unpunished? what then? shall he be vnchastised that hath no pietie: the malicious, the courteous, hee that followeth and feedeth his owne desires, hee that delighteth in crueltie? I thinkest thou that they shall be unpunished which are so. hateful? or supposest thou that any punishment is more gricuous than publique hatred? It is a punishment that he dare not take a good turne at any mans handes, that hee dare not doe a good turne to any, that he is a gazing-stock to all men, or at least will suppose himselfe to be so, and that he hath lost the vnderstanding of the thing that was singularly good, and singularly sweet. Callest thou him vnhappy that wanteth his eye-light? or him whose eares are deafened by the meanes of sicknesse? and dost thou not accompt him wretched, that hath lost the force of benefites? He feareth the Gods, who are witness against all vngratefull men, the knowledge he hath how he is intercepted and excluded from benefitting, or doing curtesies, burneth and vexeth him inwardly: finally, this very punishment is great enough for him, that (as I said before) hee cannot reape the fruit and enjoy so pleasant a thing. But he that is delighted, and contented in that he hath receiued a good turne, enjoyeth equal and perpetuall pleasure, and rejoyceth in beholding the mind of him that gaue, and not the thing was giuen. A good turne continually delighteth a thankfull man, an vngratefull man but once. Besides this, let either of their liues bee compared with other. The one is alwaies sad and sorrowfull, and walketh like a cheater, and fraudulent person, who respecteth not the dutie hee oweth to his Parents which begot him, nor of those friends that bred him vp, nor of those Masters which instructed him. The other is alwaies joyfull and merrie, expecting an occasion to yeeld satisfaction, and conceiuing a great ioy in this very affection, not seeking meanes to make that appeare lesse which he hath receiued, but how hee may satisfie more fully and honorably, not only his Parents and Friends, but also other persons of meane reckoning. For although hee hath receiued a benefite at his bond-mans hands, he considereth not from whom, but what he hath receiued.

CHAP. XVIII.



Although it be a question amongst some (amongst whom *Heaton* is one) whether a bond-man can benefit his Master or no. For there are some that distinguish after this manner. That certaine things are benefites; certaine, duties, and certaine, seruices. They say that we ought to call that a benefite which we receiue from a stranger,

*The punishment
of ingratitude
is contempt of
all men.*

*The miserie of
an vngratefull
rectiuer.*

stranger, and we terme him a stranger that is not borne to doe vs any pleasure, except he please: They name that, dutie, which appertaineth properly to a Sonne, a Wife, and those persons who are prouoked by alliance, and tied by offices, to assist. They terme that, seruice, which belongeth to a slaue or bond-man, who is brought to this exigent by the condition of his fortune, so that he cannot in any sort challenge his Superiour for any thing, whatsoever hee hath done vnto him. This notwithstanding who soeuer denieth, that bond-men may not sometimes doe their Masters a good turne, is ignorant of the Law of Nature, for it concerneth vs to consider, of what minde he is that giueth the benefite, not of what state or calling. Vertue hideth her selfe from no man, shee entertaineth and accepteth all men, shee inuiterh all; Gentlemen, Franchlins, Bond-men, Kings, and banished Men; shee chooseth neither house nor reuenue, but is contented with the bare name. For what safeguard should there be against casualties, or what great thing could the minde promise it selfe, if fortune could change a certaine and seled vertue? if the bond-man giueth not a benefite to his Master, neither doth any Subject to his King, nor Souldier to his Captaine, for what skilleth it, in what state of subiection a man be, if he be vnder one which is Soueraigne? For if necessitie, and feare of extremitie doe barre a bond-man from attaining the name of desert, the same also will barre him that is vnder a King, or a Captaine, who haue the like power ouer him, although it be vnder a different Title: but men gratifie their Kings, and giue benefites to their Capitaines, therefore slaues may doe curtesies to their Masters: A bond-man may be iust, valiant, and couragious; *Ergo*, he may also giue a benefite. For this proceedeth only from vertue, and so may bond-men giue their Masters benefites, as they haue often times made them their benefites. There is no doubt but that a bond-man may doe a curtesie to any man, why then may he not giue fauour and pleasure to his owne Master?

CHAP. XIX.



Ea use (saith he) hee cannot become his Masters creditor, if hee should giue him his money; yet otherwise he daily obligeth his Master vnto him: he followeth him in his iournies, he ministrerh vnto him in his sicknesses, hee reuerenceth him with great care, and labour: yet all these (which would bee thought benefites if an other should doe them) are but seruices as long as a bond-man doeth them. For that is a benefite (and is only rightly so called) that a man doeth, who was at libertie not to doe it. But a bond-man hath not the power of refusal, thus giueth he, and lendeth he nothing, but is only obedient to that which is commanded him: neither can hee boast of his doing, because he could not refuse to doe the same. Euen vnder these termes will I conquer thee, and confute thy opinion, and so farre will I plead the bond-mans cause, that in diuers acts hee shall be esteemed free. Meane while, I pray you tell me, if I shew you a slaue fighting courageously without feare of death, in defence of his Masters life, and without respect of his owne, wounded with infinite blowes, yet suffering his blood to stream from his deepe wounds, euen to the last and vttermost drop; to the end that his Master in the meane time may finde an opportunitie to escape, purchasing the meanes by his owne death, to winne so much time as

*He reprehend
this opinion and
proueth the
contrarie.*

*Obiects a-
gainst the aboue
said reasons.*

*All good vnto
in a slaue are his
duties and no
benefits.*

he may to saue his Masters life: Wouldst thou denie that he did his Master a friendship, because he is his bond-man? If I shew thee one, that by no tyrannicall premises could be corrupted, or threats terrified, or torments feared, to be wray his Masters secrets; but as much as in him lay, remoued all suspicions that were surmised, and employed all his forces to expresse his faith: wouldst thou denie (because he was a bond-man) that he did his Master a good turne? See rather, if it be not so much the greater kindnes, as the example of vertue is rather in bond-mens & consequently, so much the more worthy thanks: for that whereas superiority is commonly hated, and all constraint esteemed grievous, yet the loue of some one toward his Master, hath surmounted the common hatred of bondage. So then, for that cause it ceaseth not to be a benefite because it proceeded from a bond-man: but therefore is it greater, because bondage it selfe could not deterre him from doing the same.

CHAP. XX.



He is deceived, who soeuer thinketh that seruitude taketh possession ouer the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are bred and subiect to their Masters, but the minde is priuiledged in it selfe: it is so free and restless, that it cannot be restrained in this prison, wherein it is inclosed: it cannot be held from vsing his forces, & performing great matters, & passing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celestiall Gods. It is the body therefore that Fortune hath submitted to the Master, This bought he, this selleth he: that interior part cannot be bought or sold, or suffer seruitude. What soeuer issueth from that is free: for neyther can we command them all things, neyther can our bond-men be compelled to obey vs in all things: they are not bound to execute that which shall be preiudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to assist any wicked and insolent action.

CHAP. XXI.



Here are certaine things which the lawes neither command, nor forbid to be done: in these hath a bond-man matter of benefite. As long as he doth that which his Master may iustly command him to do, it is called and is seruice; when more then is necessary for a seruant to doe, a benefite: when it passeth into the affection of a friend, it ceaseth to be called a seruice. There are certaine things which a Master is bound to furnish his seruant with, namely, with meate, and drinke, and rayment: but no man will call this a benefite. But if he haue giuen him all that he would, if he haue nourished him as a free-man, if he haue instructed him in the liberall sciences: this ought to be called a benefite. The same contrariwise may be said in the person of a bond-man: whatsoeuer it be that exceedeth the duty and rule of a bond-mans seruice, it is not done of awe and command, but voluntarily and willingly, is a benefite, provided alwayes, that it be such, that it may meritt the name, when another forraine person shall do it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.



Bondman (as *Chrysippus* saith) is a perpetuall hireling, now euen as he giueth a benefite, when he performeth more then that daies worke to which he was hired, so when as the bond-man (by reason of the loue and affection hee beareth his Master) surpasseth the termes of his miserable fortune, and performeth some extraordinary and braue enterprize, which might bee held honorable in one more happily borne, and surmounteth the hope and expectation of his Master, then is it a benefite, which is found in his owne house. Seemeth it a matter iust and indifferent to thee, that if wee bee displeased with those that doe lesse then their dutie, we should not be thankfull vnto them, that performe more then either they should or are accustomed? wilt thou know when it is no benefite? then it is, when it may be said, what if he would not doe it? But when he performeth that which he might lawfully refuse, it is praise-worthie in him that he had a will to doe it. A benefite and an injurie are contraries. The slaue may pleasure his Master, if he may receiue an injurie at his hands: And yet there is an expresse Iudge appointed to heare the complaint of bond-men against their Masters, who may contrarie and repress their crueltie, lust, and hard dealing; and chastise the couetousnesse of those Lords, who refuse to allow their slaues ordinarie food, and necessarie garments. What then? doth the Master receiue a benefite at his bond-mans hands? yea, a man, from a man: To conclude, he hath done that which was in his power, hee hath giuen his Master a benefite; it is in thy choice whether thou wilt receiue it from a bond-man. But who is so great whom fortune may not compell to stand in need euen of the basest and poorest of his people? Now will I relate many and different examples of benefits, and some also contrarie to one another. Some one slaue hath saued his Masters life, another also gaue him his death. Another hath deliuered his Master at the instant when he should die, and (if this be but a small matter) by loosing his owne life hath saued his Masters. Thers haue bene some that haue helped their deaths, and others that haue preserved them by beguiling them.

CHAP. XXIII.



LAVDIUS QUADRIGARIUS in the eighteenth Booke of his *Chronicles* reporteth, that when the Citie *Grumentum* was beleagred, and brought into a desperate estate and extreme miserie: that two slaues fled vnto the Enemies camp, and performed an action worthie their labour and perill: For after the Citie was taken, and the victorious enemy ranged and reuelled euerywhere, these two slaues (who knew all the by-wates) were the first that set forward to make bootie of that house wherein they had serued. And hauing surprised their Mistris, they rudely droue her before them: And being demanded what woman shee was: they answered that it was their Mistris, who had in times past most cruelly handled them; and that they dragged her out, to bring her to her death: and by this pollicie hauing gotten her out of the Citie, they carefully hid her: But afterwards when the Roman Souldiers were satisfied with

with pillage, and reduced to their former discipline and manners, these slaves likewise returned to their former servitude, and gave their Mistress her wonted libertie. In acknowledgement whereof shee presently set them both at libertie, and was not ashamed to receive her life at their hands, over whom they had absolute power both of life and death: Could shee have more cause of contentment than hereby? for had shee beene otherwise preferred, shee had but received an ordinarie curtesie and vulgar clemencie, (which is many times vsuall amongst Souldiers) but being preferred after this manner, it was a noble storie, and an euerslasting example, to both the Cities. In so great confusion of the surpris'd Citie, when euery one minded his particular safetie, all fled from her, except her owne fugitiues. And they to expresse, with what minde and intention they practis'd their former flight; fled from the Conquerors, to the Captiue; pretending the countenance of Murderers, which was the greatest point in that benefit. So much thought they it better to seeme Murderers of their Mistress, lest than that shee should haue beene murdered indeede: It is not beleue me, it is not I tell you, the act of a seruile minde, to buy a noble action by the fame and opinion they gaine of their wickednesse: *Caius Vettius* the Prator of the Mares, was led vnto his death; his bond-man drew the sword of that very Souldier that dragged him, and first of all slew his Master, and afterwards (it is time, saith he, to enfranchise and deliuer my selfe, since now alreadie I haue set my Master at libertie) at one stroke thrust himselfe through. Shew me any man that hath preferred his Master more magnificently.

See Lipsius notes, why this Translation is vsed contrarie to the original.

CHAP. XXIII.



ÆsAR besieged * *Corfinium*, and *Domitius* was shut vp in the same, who considering his danger, commanded a slave of his (who was practised in Phisique) to giue him poison: And perceiving that by all meanes he sought occasion not to do it, *Why delayest thou (saith he) as if all this were in thy power? armed, I treat thee, to yeeld me death.* Hereupon his slave promised to performe it, and gaue him a harmelesse potion to drinke vp, wherewith being laid a sleepe, hee came vnto his sonne and said. *Command me to be kept in sure hold, till by the euents thou vnderstandest, whether I haue giuen thy Father poison or no.* *DOMITIUS* liued, and was faued by *Cæsar*; but yet his bond-man had saued him first.

CHAP. XXV.



During the time of the ciuill Warres, a bond-man bid his Master who was profcribed, and hauing fitted his rings on his fingers, and put on his garment, he presented himselfe to the Sergeants, and told them that hee required no fauour at their hands, but that they boldly might performe that which they were commanded; and therewithall held out his necke for them to hew off. How great a mans part was this for a slave to be willing to die for his Master in such a time, as it were rare fidelitie not to with his Masters death? in publique crueltie to bee found gentle? in publique perfidioussesse faithfull? when great rewards were published

lished for euery one that would betray, to desire death as the reward of his fidelitie?

CHAP. XXVI.



Will not ouerslip the examples of our Age: vnder *Tiberius Cæsar* there was an ordinarie licence, and almost a publicke rage in appeaching and acculing, which (farre more grieuous than any ciuill Warre) consumed and destroyed both the Senate and Nobilitie. Exceptions were taken against drunken mens wordes, and things spoken in ielt were censured in earnest: nothing was secure, and all occasion of crueltie was pleasing; neither now expected men what their penaltie should be who were accused, where all were punished after the same sort. In that time *Paulus* who had beene a Prator before-times, supped at a certaine banquet, hauing on his finger a rich stone, whereon was engrauen the Image of the Emperour *Tiberius*: I should play the foole too much if I should seeke for some more cleanly words to expresse vnto you, how hee tooke the chamber-pot: This was presently observed by *Maro* (who was one of the Spies), and most noted informers of that time.) But his slave (against whom this treason was plotted) secretly stole away the ring from his Masters finger who was drunke: and when as *Maro* afterwards would take witness of those that were at the banquet, how *Paulus* had handled his members (not to be named without modestie) with the Emperours Image, and importuning them to subscribe to that accusation, the slave shewed before all the companie, that his Masters ring was on his finger: Whofoeuer shall tearme this man a slave, he should also call that other Spie an honest guest.

CHAP. XXVII.



Under *Augustus Cæsar*, mens wordes were not as yet dangerous vnto them; yet beganne they alreadie to displease: *Rufus* a Senator, as hee sate at supper, wished that *Cæsar* might not returne in safetie and health from that progresse hee then intended; and added this further-more, That all the Bulls and Calues of the Countrie desired no lesse: Some there were that diligently observed his words: The next morning, as soone as it was day, a seruant and bond-man of his, that had attended at his feete, reported vnto him those words he had spoken in his drunkenesse the night before, and counsailed him presently to goe and seeke out *Cæsar*, and to bee his owne first accuser. According to this counsaile his Master met *Cæsar* at his first coming downe. And when he had sworne vnto him that he was not well in his wits ouer night, and wished that the euill he had vttered might fall vpon him, and vpon his children, and besought *Cæsar* that he would pardon him, and receive him into his fauour againe: After that the Emperour had assured him that hee would willingly doe it, *no man will beleue, said Rufus, that thou hast admitted mee againe into thy fauour, except thou giue mee somewhat*, and thereupon hee required no small summe of money, at reconciled *Cæsar*'s hands, and obtained the same, who therewithall said vnto him. *For mine owne sake I will endeavour neuer to bee angry with thee without*

without an occasion. Cæsar behaued himselfe honestly in pardoning him, and besides annexed this liberality to his clemencie. Whosoeuer shall heare this example reported, he must needly praise Cæsar, but it must be after he hath praised the bond-man. Except you mean that I should shew you that he was made free for this seruice he did. He was so; but not without ranfome, for Cæsar had payed the money for his freedome.

CHAP. XXVIII.

After so many examples, is there any doubt but that a Master may sometimes receive a benefit at his bond-mans hands? why should the person rather lessen the dignitie of a thing, then the thing ennobles the person? All men haue the same beginnings, and the same original; no man is more noble then another, except it be such an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to good Arts. They that set forth their Pedigrees, and their ancestors in a long row, interlined with many branches of collateral descendents on the forefront of their houses, are rather noted then noble: we haue all of vs but one parent, which is the world, whether it be by famous, or bare descent; euery man conueyes his first pedigree from it. There is no cause why these should deceiue thee, who when they reckon vp their ancestors: where soeuer fume noble name faileth them, they presently faime a god. Despise no man, though his pedigree be worne out of remembrance, and hee finally furthered by vnfriendly fortune, whether our predecessors were freemen, or bond, or forrainers. Couragiously aduance ye your mindes; and whatsoeuer basenesse lieth in the way, leape ye ouer it. Great nobilitie attendeth for you at the last. Why with pride are we lifted vp vnto so great vanitie, that from seruants we disdain to receiue benefits; and looke vpon their sort, forgetting defects? Dost thou call any one a seruant, thou being a seruant of lust and of gluttonie, and of an adulteresse, yea a common slaue of adulteresses? Callest thou any one a seruant? Whither now art thou dragged by these groomes, who beare about this thy litter? Whether do these in livery-cloaks, who counterfeite a souldier-like, and no vulgar attire indeed? Whither, I say, doe these carrie thee abroad? to the doore of some doore-keeper, to the gardens of some, who doth not indeed beare office in ordinarie. And yet deniest thou, that a benefit can bee giuen to thee by thy seruant, to whom it is a benefit to haue a kisse from the seruant of another man? What so great discord of minde is this? At the same time thou despisest and reuerencest seruants. Within doores thou art imperious and out-ragious, base abroad; and as well contemned, as contemning. For neuer doe any more abate their minds, then they who wickedly lift them vp; and none are more readie to treade vpon other men, then they who haue learned to proffer reuolt, by receiuing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

These things were to be spoken to repress the insolencie of men depending vpon fortune, and to approoue the right of a benefit to be giuen by a seruant, that also it might be approoued to be giuen by a son. For it is in question, whether children at any time can giue greater benefits to their parents, then they haue receiued. This is granted, that many children haue bene greater, and more mightie then their

their parents, as also better and more vertuous then they: which being true; it may be also that they haue done more for them that bred them; whereas both their fortune was greater, and their will better: But what soeuer it be (saith he) that the sonne giueth the father, it is lesse then his father hath done for him, because of duty he oweth this power of giuing to his father. So as hee can neuer properly be overcome in benefits who hath giuen another the meanes to exceed him in the same. For somethings take their beginning from others, and yet they are greater then their beginnings, neither is any thing therefore greater then that from whence it had his beginning, for that it could not haue growne to that greatnes except it had begun. There is almost nothing but far exceedeth his first original. Seedes and graines are the causes of all that which groweth in this world; yet are they the least parts of those things which come of them. Looke vpon the Rhine, looke vpon Euphrates, finally doe but obserue all other riuers so renowned, and what are they if you estimate them by their head-springs from whence they flow? what soeuer they be feared for, wherein soeuer they be renowned, they haue purchased it in their course and progresse. Take away rootes and the Forrests will neuer grow nor ouerspread, neither shall the toppes of the mountaines be couered with woods. Looke vpon these Timber-trees, whether you regard their great height, or their wonderfull solidity and broad spreading of their branches, how small a thing, in comparison of these, is that which the roote in small and tender spreadings comprehendeth. The Temples are builded vpon their foundations, as also these great walles of Rome, are, and yet that which was first laide to sustaine this whole worke, lies hidden vnder earth. The like falleth out in all other things. The greatnest that they attaine vnto in time, doth alwaies obscure their beginnings. I could not haue attained to any thing, if the benefite of my parents had not gone before; yet followeth it not for all this, that that which I haue obtayned is lesse then that same which gaue mee the meanes to acquire it: Except my nurse had suckled mee in infancy, I could haue performed none of those things, which I haue since acted by my counsell and valour, neither should I haue obtained this dignitie and honour, which I haue risen vnto by ciuill and militarie demerit: but wilt thou for this cause more prize my nurses first endeuours, then the great actes I haue atchieued by my so many vertuous attempts. And then what difference wilt thou find herein, considering that I could not encrease in honor, without the tender care of my nurse, no lesse then without my fathers benefit?

CHAP. XXX.

But if I owe wholly to my beginning, whatsoeuer I more can do, thinke you that neither my father is my true beginning, nor my Grand-father indeed. For alwaies there will be somewhat more ancient, from which the original of the nearest original may descend. But no man is said to owe more to them that are vnknown; and to ancestors which haue bene before memorie of man; then to a father. But, I owe more, if my father, because he hath begotten me, owneth this very thing vnto his ancestors. Whatsoeuer I haue done for my father, how great soeuer it be, it is nothing to be esteemed in respect of the benefit he hath done me; for I had not bin, had he not begotten me. And by the same reason, if any man hath healed my father, being sicke and readie to die, I should be able to doe nothing for him

him that were not to be esteemed lesse, then the benefit he did vnto my father: for had he not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But see if this carie not a more likely hood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should be esteemed as mine own, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt finde it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preferred and kept my Father alieue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honour, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably achieved; but also haue giuen him an assured meanes to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his handes an easie meanes to obtayne much honour and glorie: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatsoeuer mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authority, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell me now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is altogether so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed onely to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen me that which is common to me, with brute beasts, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot eyther breed or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: in so doing likewise I haue surmounted thy benefit, because I know what I giue, and thou that which thou receiuest: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or with my pleasure, when seeing it is so much more estimable to be able to retain and conserue life, then to receiue the same, by how much it is lesse dreadfull and terrible to die, then to apprehend the feare and conceit of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou wert in danger of death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfit life: thou hast engendred mee deperued of reason and iudgement, and no otherwife but to be a burthen to others armes. Wilt thou know how small a benefite it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast mee forth, then in that case it had bene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefite that can be, except other things accompany it, that must prosecute the beginning of this benefite, and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say, I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this onely is thine, that I liue. If thou impute vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boastest thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou impute to me such a good, which is common as well to wormes and flies, as to me. Moreover, not to vaunt of any other thing, but onely in that I haue endeouored my selfe to learne the liberal sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue discreetly

A Christian doctrine from a Heauen Stoick.

discreetly by this meane, thou hast in this receiued a greater benefite then thou gauest mee. For thou gauest mee vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou mightest reioyce that thou hadst begotten me.

MY father nourished me, if I doe no lesse for him, herein I am more beneficiall vnto him, because he not onely conceiued me, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, & greater pleasure and contentment he receiue in my good will, then he doth in the gift it selfe. If the meate which he gaue me, onely nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so far aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiuarie, he should grow famous in forraigne countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so by his lustre dispelled the obscurity and cloudie darkenesse of his base birth: hath he not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vnestimable benefite vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne, *Ariston* and *Grillus*, had it not bene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their sons? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniscus* his name from oblition and death. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but in that their children eternized their memories by their own famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father, who after his sonnes greatness was scarcely knowne in *Rome*, giue a greater benefite, or *Agrippa* the son to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and were neuer equalled by any after? Whether did *Octavius* giue his son *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefite, or the Emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in some sort obscured the benefite of *Octavius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, he had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in security & peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleue the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom oblition had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreover, we enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? And although the examples of those which hitherto I haue related, do not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpass the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet Nature may make vs see, that hereafter, which hath not as yet bene seene by the ages forepast. If son onely benefite cannot surmount the greatness of parents deserts, it may be that many put together may outstrip them.

him that were not to be esteemed lesse, then the benefite he did vnto my father: for had he not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten mee. But see if this carie not a more likelyhood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should be esteemed as mine own, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt finde it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subject of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preferred and kept my Father aliuie. I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honour, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue ennobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably achieved; but also haue giuen him an assured meane to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his hands an easie meane to obayne much honour and glorie: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatsoever mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authority, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell me now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is also together so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed onely to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen me that which is common to me, with brute beasts, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot cyther breed or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: in so doing likewise I haue surmounted thy benefite, because I know what I giue, and thou that which thou receiuest: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or with my pleasure, when seeing it is so much more estimable to be able to retain and conferre life, then to receiue the same, by how much it is lesse dreadfull and terrible to die, then to apprehend the feare and conceit of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou wert in danger of death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfit life: thou hast engendred mee deprived of reason and iudgement, and no other wife but to be a burthen to others armes. Wilt thou know how small a benefite it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast mee forth, then in that case it had beene iniurie to haue begotten mee. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefite that can be, except other things accompany it, that must prosecute the beginning of this benefite, and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say, I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this onely is thine, that I liue. If thou impute it vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boaste thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou impute to me such a good, which is common as well to wormes and flies, as to me. Moreover, not to vaunt of any other thing, but onely in that I haue endeouored my selfe to learne the liberal sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue discreetly

A Christian doctrine from a Heathen Stoick.

discreetly by this meane, thou hast in this receiued a greater benefite then thou gauest mee. For thou gauest mee vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou maist reioyce that euer thou begottest me.

CHAP. XXXII.

MY father nourished me, if I doe no lesse for him, herein I am more beneficiall vnto him, because he not onely conceiued me, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, & greater pleasure and contentment he receiue in my good will, then he doth in the gift it selfe. If he meate which he gaue me, onely nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so far aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiuallrie, he should grow famous in forraigne countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so by his lustre dispelled the obscurity and cloudie darkenesse of his base birth: hath he not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vncalculable benefite vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne, *Arifon* and *Grullus*, had it not bene for *Arifon* and *Plato* their sons? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophocles* his name from obliuion and death. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but, in that their children eternized their memories, by their own famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his sonnes greatness was scarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefite, or *Agrippa* the son to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and were neuer equalled by any after? Whether did *Octauius* giue his son *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefite, or the Emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in some sort obscured the benefite of *Octauius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, he had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in security & peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleue the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom obliuion had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory, had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreover, we enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands, but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? And although the examples of those which I haue related, do not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpasse the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet Nature may make vs see, that hereafter, which hath not as yet bene seene by the ages fore passed. If onely benefite cannot surmount the greatnesse of parents deserts, it may be that many put together may out-strip them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

SciPIO then but a boy, in a certaine battell, set spurs to his horse, and charging the enemy, saved his fathers life: And is it but a small matter, when, to make good the place where his father fought, he contemned so many dangers, that he pressed so many great Capitaines, that he brake through as many opposites as he found before him: in the first service that euer he had scene, and being as yet but a raw souldier, he set forward and charged before the oldest scruiours, and performed many valorous actions, farre exceeding the forces of his age? Adde hereunto, that he defended his father, being accused of a capitall crime, and deliuered him from the conspiracy of his mighty enemies, that he gaue him a second and third consulate, and other honours also, which they who before time haue beene Consuls, might with and craue for: and seeing him poore, gaue him those goods which he had gotten by right of warre; and that which a man who maketh profession of armes esteemeth most honourable also: hee enriched him with those spoiles which he had gotten from his enemies. If this as yet seeme but little vnto thee, thou mayst adde the Prouinces which he gaue him, and the gouernments and extraordinary charges, which were afterwards continued vnto him by his meanes. Adde further, that after he had razed so many great cities, how this braue man (the defender & founder of the Roman Empire, that was to be extended from the East vnto the West, without a Riual) enobled him the more, who was already noble. Say that he was *Scipios* father, yet vndoubtedly the common and ordinary good that parents doe in begetting children, hath beene farre surmounted by *Scipios* incomparable piety and vertue, who I know not whether he brought the Citie more defence or honor.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Then if these examples seeme little vnto thee; admit that some man hath deliuered his father from torments, suppose that hee himselfe hath suffered the same to deliuer him. For thou maist dilate and extend the childrens benefits as farre as thou wilt. Whereas contrariwise the fathers benefit in procreation is not only simple and easie, but further not voluntarie also in him that giueth: what neede we so many words? The father hath giuen being to those, to whom he knoweth not, whether he hath giuen being or no, wherein he hath his wife a comfort and partaker, wherein he respecteth the law of his Countrey, the praise and reward of Parents, the perpetuities of his house and familie, and all things rather then him to whom he gaue the same: what if any one (hauing obtained wisdom) hath informed and instructed his father therein, (shall wee now grow in question whether he hath giuen any thing greater then he receiued? Considering that hee hath giuen his father a happie life, hauing receiued at his fathers hands but a badde life only; but saith hee, it is the fathers benefit whatsoeuer thou doest, or whatsoeuer thou canst retorne vnto him againe. So is it the benefit of my Master, if I haue profited in liberall studies: and yet we may transcend and surpass these goodnes, we haue receiued from those, who haue taught vs, as we also doe their benefits, who haue taught vs to reade, and to know our first elements. And although without them no man can learne any thing, yet all

Lex Pappia,
or Poppaea.

all that which he hath afterwards learned is not the inferiour to the same: There is a great difference betwixt the first and the greatest things: neither therefore are the first comparable to the greatest; because without the first the greatest cannot be.

CHAP. XXXV.

It is time now, if I may so terme it, to produce some peeces of our owne coine. He that hath bestowed such a benefit, about which there may be somewhat found better, may bee ouercome in benefites: The Father gaue life vnto his Sonne; but there is something better then life, so the father may be ouercome in a benefit by the sonne, because the sonne may giue some thing better and greater than the father. Furthermore, hee that hath giuen life to an other man; if once or twice he were deliuered by the same man from death, he hath receiued a greater benefit then that which he gaue; so the father hath giuen life; but if he be oft-times deliuered from the perill of death by his sonne, hee shall receiue a greater benefit then he gaue him. He that hath receiued a good turne, the more he needeth that which he hath receiued, he hath receiued the greater good: but he that liueth, hath more want of life, then he that is not borne (as of whom he cannot properly say, to haue neede of any thing.) The father therefore hath receiued a greater good turne, if he hath receiued life at his sonnes hands, then the sonne from the father, in that he is borne. But the parents benefites cannot be surmounted by these good offices, the child performeth vnto him, why? because he hath receiued his life from his father, which had hee not receiued hee could not haue giuen a benefit. This is then but common to the father, and all those who haue at any time giuen life to any man. For had they not receiued life, they could not haue returned beneficiall gratitude: Therefore greater satisfaction is not intended to the Physitian, though the Physitian likewise went to giue life; nor to the Mariner though hee hath saved from shipwrack, for that a man may surmount the benefits both of the one and the other, who hath by any meanes saved our lives; and consequently then the benefits of our parents may be also exceeded: if any man hath done mee a good turne which serueth me to no vse, except it be assisted and seconded by the fauours of diuers other persons, and if afterwards I haue done him an other countreite, that hath no neede of other mens assistance, I haue giuen a greater good turne then that which I haue receiued: The father hath giuen life to his child, which he should loose instantly, were it not sustained by diuers other succours: But if the sonne hath saved his fathers life, he hath giuen him such a life, as hath no neede of any other assistance to sustaine it selfe of it selfe. Ergo the father receiuing life from his sonnes hands, receiue the greater benefit, then that was which the father hath giuen him.

Lex Pappia,
or Poppaea.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Note the au-
thors prudence.

THese things destroy not the reuerence which is due vnto parents, neither make they their children to become worse vnto them, but rather better: for vertue is of a glorious and noble disposition, and deserueth to out-strip the formost. The pietie and affection of children will be more forward, if they may hope to surmount the kindnesse and fauour their parents haue done them. If this should happen to parents willing and glad of the same (because in many things it is for our owne good to be ouer-come) whence can wee imagine to ensee so acceptable a contention, whence so great happinesse to parents, as to confesse that they cannot equall their childrens benefites? If we be not thus minded, we giue our children meanes to excuse themselves, and we shall make them more slow and retchlesse in acknowledging their fathers benefites, whereas we ought to excite them the more, and say vnto them, *Doe this worthy children.* An honest contention is raised betwixt parents and their children, to know which of them hath giuen the greatest benefites, or who hath receiued the most. The fathers haue not therefore preuailed, because they haue giuen the first. Take heart yong men worthy your selues, take heede you looke not your courage to ouer-come those who desire no other thing then to bee ouer-come: You want no Capitaines to vndertake so braue a conflict, and to encourage you to follow them, who command you but to goe the same course for to obtaine these victories, which they haue often gained against their parents.

CHAP. XXXVII.

MANUS over-came his father in curtesie, for his father carried him in his armes when hee was an Infant (a waighe neither dangerous nor heauie) when the other bare him on his shoulders, laden with age, through the midst of the armed enemy, and through the falling ruines of his Citie, at such time as the deuour old man embraced betwixt his armes his domestique Gods, and the sacred Reliques of his house, loding his sonnes shoulders with more then his owne person, yet went hee onward with much adoe: carrying him through the flames and ruines of the Citie (what is it not, but the pietie and loue of a sonne may preferre) and bringing him out of all danger, ranked him afterwards amongst the Gods, and placed him in the number of those first founders of the Roman Empire, to be honored and reuerenced with them. The yong men of *Sicily* over-came and surmounted their fathers. For at such time as Mount *Ætna* was so highly enflamed, that it vomited fire vpon the Cities and neighbouring Plaines, and had consumed the greater part of the Isle, they carried their fathers thence vpon their backs: It is beleued that the fire miraculously separated and diuided it selfe, and that the flames retiring themselves on both sides, opened a large passage to suffer those vertuous yong men to trauell through it, to the end that without danger they might safely performe their great attempt: *Antigonus* sonne also over-came in this kinde, who when as in a great battell he had discomfited his enemy, transferred the treasures & wealth of the conquest, to his father, and with it gaue him the Empire of *Cyprus*. This

Two yong men
of Sicily
are called Am-
phinomus, the
other Anaxipus.

is a Kingdome in minde to refuse gouernement, when it is in thy lands. *Titus Manlius* also over-came his Lordly and Imperious father; who although hee had bene driuen out of his fathers house for a time, and sent into the Country, because in his youth hee was somewhat hard in apprehension, yet came hee to the Tribune of the people (who had adioyned his father to appeare in person to answer to a capital crime) and asking him what time of appearance, he had assigned his father. The Tribune hoping that hee would betray his hated father, supposing that hee had done herein a thankfull office for the yong man, he suffered him to see, (amongst other crimes he accused him of) how hee had banished and driuen him out of his house: which when the yong man discouered, getting him alone in a secret place, he drew his dagger which he had hidden in his bosome, and said; *Except thou sweare to reuoke this personall adiournment of my fathers, I will thrust thee through with this weapon: It lyeth in thy power to chosse which of these two waies, my father shall haue no accuser.* The Tribune swore and kept touch with him: but hee made it knowne in an assembly of the Roman people, why he had desisted from this accusation. It had not bene possible for any other man to haue ouer-ruled the Tribune after this manner, and to escape vnpunished.

See Cicero 3.
de Officijs, and
Liuie in his 7.
Booke, as touch-
ing this Man-
lius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

DIuers examples might I produce of many other memorable children, who haue deliuered their parents from danger, that from a base degree haue raised them to high estate, and from the meanest and ignoblest race of men, haue giuen them eternall and indefinite honors: It cannot be expressed by any force of words or facultie of wit, how great a worke it is, how praise worthy, and how perdurable and lasting in mens memorie; iustly to be able to say, thus much I haue obeyed my parents: I haue fulfilled their commandments in whatsoever it were, either right, or wrong; I haue shewed my selfe obseruant and submissiue, in this only thing I haue bene wilfull, that I would not be ouer-come by them in benefites: Fight valiantly therefore, I pray you yong men, and though you were defeated, yet reinforce the fight anew. These that ouer-come shall be happy. They that shall bee ouer-come shall bee no lesse blessed; what person can euer receiue more honor, then that yong man, who may say vnto himselfe (for it is not lawfull for him to say it to an other) I haue ouer-come my father in well-doing? Is there any old man more happy, then he that may vaunt in all places, and before the whole world, that he hath bene ouer-come by his sonne in well-doing and benefiting? What greater happinesse is there for a man so to yeeld vnto himselfe?

The end of the third Booke.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handled curious matters for the most part, but (according to his vsuall custome) intermixed with those that are profitable. He demandeth whether a benefit or fauour may be simple in it self desired? He proueth the affirmatiue against the Epicures, who measured all things by their profit. Amongst other arguments he teacheth by this, that the Gods also giue benefits, which he proueth very amply against those that deny the Gods. Then he remoueth some objections, which seeme to teach, that profit is common in benefiting. And so he commeth to thanksgiuing; and sheweth that it is only to be yielded in regard of benefit, not of profit. Then he demandeth whether a benefit is to be giuen to him whom thou knowest will be vngratefull: he distinguisheth in this point, and partly affirmeth, and partly denieth.

CHAP. I.

All those things (my *Abutijs Liberalis*) whereof we haue entreated, there is nothing so necessarie to be knowne, or (as *Salust* saith) more carefully to bee taught, then that which is now in hand; namely, whether to giue a benefit, and to restore the like, be things which ought to bee desired for the loue of themselves. Some men there are which respect not honesty, but for profit sake, and admit not vertue without aduantage (which hath nothing magnificent in it selfe, if it hath any thing that is mercinarie.) For what is more loathsome, then for a man to make reckoning how much we ought to estimate an honest man, when as vertue is neither inuited with gaine, nor terrified with losse, and is so farre from corrupting any with hope or promise, that contrariwise she commandeth men to spend all their substance on her, and for her sake; and more often contenteth her selfe with that which is giuen freely without demand? To follow her, a man must tread all profit vnder foote: whether soeuer

euere the calleth, whither fouer she sendeth, hee ought to goe, without respect or interest of his estate or priuate affaires: and sometimes also hee must set forward with the hazard of his owne blood and life, neither must hee euer refuse her commandements. What reward shall I then haue fastest thou, if I doe this thing valiantly, or that thing gratefully? Onely this, that thou hast done it; vertue promisseth thee nothing beside her selfe. If any profit casually befall thee, account it amongst thine accessarie good happes. The price of honest things is in themselves, if then that which is honest be to be desired for it selfe, and a benefit being honest, the condition thereof cannot be different from honestie, because they are both of one nature. But that the thing which is honest is to be desired for it selfe, it is often and abundantly proued alreadye.

CHAP. II.

IN this point I must wage warre with the nice and effeminate troope of Epicures, that talke of Philosophie onely at their banquet, with whom vertue is the vassal and hand-maid of vicious pleasure; them shee obeyeth, them shee serueth, them shee beholdeth preferred above her selfe. There is no pleasure (saith he) without vertue. But why is voluptuousnesse advanced before vertue? Thinkest thou we dispute of the order betwene them, no, the question is of the whole matter, and the power thereof, it is not vertue if it dance attendance after delight. The chiefest place is hers, shee it is that must leade, command, and haue the chiefest place: thou biddest her aske the watch-word. What skilleth it thee, saith the Epicure? I also maintaine, that a blessed life cannot bee without vertue. I condemne and condemne the pleasure it selfe which I follow, and to which I haue made my selfe a bondslau, if vertue be removed from it. The onely question is in this, whether vertue be the cause of the chiefest good, or the chiefest good it selfe. Admit that this be the onely thing in question, thinkest thou that there is but the onely change of place and order onely betwene them, that breedeth the difference? This is a very confusion, this is a manifest blindness, to preferre the last before the first. I am not displeased because vertue is placed after pleasure, but because it is any wayes or at all compared, or paralleled with pleasures. Vertue is the despiser and enemy of delight, and estrangeth her selfe farre from her, more familiar with labour and sorrow, more fitly to be inserted into manly incommunities, then into this effeminate felicitie.

CHAP. III.

THese things (my *Liberall*) were to be spoken of, because a benefit, (whereof we now entreate) is an act of vertue, and soule shame it were to giue it for any other respect, then to haue giuen it onely. For if we do a curtesie in expectation of a recompence, then should we do it to the wealthiest, and not to the worthiest. Now we prefer a poore man vnable to requite, before a rich man. It is no benefit that hath reference to Fortune, or hope of interest. Besides, if onely profite should entice vs to do good, they should doe least good, that haue most meanes. Such as are rich men, powerfull men, and Kings, because they haue least need of other mens helpe.

helpe. But the Gods likewise should withdraw their so many liberalities, which, without intermission, day and night they powre vpon vs. For why, their proper nature and being sufficeth them in all things, and maketh them abundant, secure, and inuioable every way. To none therefore should they giue their benefits, if their only cause of giuing proceeded from no other intention, then to think on themselves and their own priuat commodities. This is no benefit, but a loane vpon vs, to respect not where you may best bestow it, but where you may place it most gainfully, whence you may most readily recieue it. Which intention, seeing it is farre estranged from the Gods: it followeth that they are diuinely liberrall. For if the only cause of giuing a benefit, were the giuers profit, and no profit is to be hoped or expected by God at our hands; there is no cause why God should be bountifull vnto vs.

CHAP. IIII.

IKnow well what answere is made hereunto, which is, that God bestoweth no good vpon vs, but is altogether carelesse and regardlesse of vs, and not daring to call his eyes vpon this world, busieth himselfe about other matters or (which seemeth to the Epicure to be the chiefest felicitie) hee doth nothing, neither do benefits or iniuries touch him. He that thus saith, heareth not the vowes of those that pray, neither the cries nor vowes which euery one maketh, as well in priuate, as in publike, lifting vp their ioyned hands vnto heauen: which vndoubtedly would not be done, neither would all mankind consent vnto this madnesse, to implore a deafe deitie, and inuocate such gods as had no power to helpe them, if they knew not assuredly that the Gods giue benefits, sometimes of their owne proper motion, otherwhiles vpon prayers, that it is they, from whom we recieue so many great graces in their due times and seasons, and that by their assistance we are put out of feare, of such imminent and eminent mischiefs, as daily threaten vs: who is hee that is so miserable, and reiectd by heauen? who is he that is so disgraced, and borne to continuall affliction and trauell? that hath not sometimes felt these great fauours and liberalities of the Gods? Doe but behold, I pray you, euē those who incessantly complaine of their miseries, and who liue so mal-contented with their fortunes, yet shalt thou finde, that they are not wholly exempted, and destitute of succours from heauen, and that there is no man on whom there hath not fallen some droppe from this sweet and gracious fountaine. Thinkest thou that it is a small matter which is equally distributed to all those that are borne in this world? Add (to omit those things which the Gods bestow at their pleasure, with all proportion of measure) is it a small matter that nature hath giuen vs, when she hath giuen vs her selfe?

CHAP. V.

Oth not God bestow all benefits vpon vs? From whence then hast thou all those things whereof thou art possessed? which thou giuest? which thou deniest? which thou keepst? which thou takest vniuſitly? From whence come the infinitesse of things that delight the eyes, affect the eare, and please the vnderstanding? From whence is this abundance, that furnisheth our royotous ex-

These are the Epicures reason, full of blaspemy and impiety.

In this Chapter followeth a noble contemplation of Gods benefits, and mens negligence and carelesse consideration thereof.

celse? For they haue not onely provided for our necessities, but we are tendered by them euen vnto delicacie also. From whence haue wee so many trees, bearing fundrie sorts of fauourie fruit, so many wholesome herbes, for the maintenance of our healths, such varietie of meats, strong for all seasons through the whole year, that an idle sluggard may finde by casualtie sufficient sustenance vpon the earth to feed and nourish him. Whence come so many forts of beasts? whereof some are bred on the earth, other some in the water, and others descending from the aire, to the end there might not be any part of nature, that should not be tributarie vnto vs of some rent? The Riuers likewise, whereof some enuiron the plaines, with their pleasant reuolutions and roundnesse, other streame thorow their hollow and naugable channels, bring vs merchandize from forren seas, of which some at certaine prefixed times take wonderfull encrease, so as the sudden force of the Sommers flood moisteneth and watereth those grounds which are situate and planted vnder the drougtie and burning Zoane. What shall I say of the vaines of some medicinable waters? What shall I speake of the bubling and boyling vp of hot Bathes euen vpon the verie shoares?

s. Georg.

*And what of thee O mightie Lake, and thee
Proud billowed Benae swelling like the Sea.*

CHAP. VI.

IF a man had giuen thee a few acres of land, thou wouldest say that thou hadst receiued a benefite at his hands, and deniest thou that the vnmeasurable extent of the barren earth is no benefite? If a man should giue thee money, and fill thy coffe (for that seemeth a great thing in thy sight) thou wouldest terme it a benefite. And thinkest thou it no fauour, that God hath hidden so many mettals in the earth, spread so many riuers on the sands, which floating, discouer ingots of masse gold, siluer, brasse, and iron, which he hath hidden euery where; that he hath giuen thee meanes and knowledge to finde it out, by setting markes of his couert riches on the vpper face of the earth? If a man should giue thee a house enriched with marble pillars, if the couer thereof were resplendent, and painted with gold and goodly colours, thou wouldest highly esteeme this present of his? God hath builded thee a great palace, without any danger of feare or falling downe, wherein thou seest not little peeces, smaller then the chizell it selfe, wherewith they were carued, but entire huge masses of precious stone, all fastened and fashioned after a diuers and different maner, the least peece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beautie of the same: the roofe whereof shineth after one sort by day, and after another by night: and wilt thou then deny that thou hast receiued any benefite at all? Again, whereas thou settest great store by that which thou hast, thinkest thou (which is the point of a thanklesse person) that thou art beholding to no body for them? Whence hast thou this breath which thou drawest? Whence cometh this light, whereby thou disposest and orderest the actions of thy life? From whence hast thou thy blood, in the motion and flowing whereof, thy naturall heate is maintained? Whence come these meates, which by their delicate tastes and pleasing fauours, invite thee to eate farre more then thy stomacke can digest? Whence come these things

things which awaken thy pleasures and delights, when thou art wearied? Whence cometh this quiet and repose, wherein thou restest and witherest away? Wilt thou not say, if thou beest thankfull:

*From God springs this repose, and euermore
Him for my God Ie honor and adore.
Vpon his Altar, to performe my vow,
A forsaking Lambe my pastures shall allow:
For he it is, as thou dost plainly see,
That yeelds my wandering heame their pasture free,
He lets me time at pleasure, as they feed,
My country layes vpon mine barren feed.*

Virg. Georg.

It is that God, which hath not onely permitted vs to feede a small number of meate, but that hath filled the whole world with great troopes of cattell, that nourisheth all beasts which wander here and there, in so many and diuers places; that giueth them new pastures in Sommer time, after they haue eaten vp their Winter prouision: which hath not onely taught vs to play vpon a reed, and after some mannet to tune a reede, and delightfully sing to it; but also hath inuented so many artes, so many varieties of voices, and so many sounds, to yeeld fundry tunes, some by force of our owne breath, and some by a borrowed and externall aire. For thou canst not call those things ours, which we haue inuented, no more then thou canst call it our owne doing that we grow, or that the bodie hath his full proportion, according to his determinate times. Now our teeth fall in our infancie, anone after wee passe into an age, which in a few yeares giueth vs all our encrease, againe, ripe age after our yong and springing yeares, making vs become more strong, fetleth vs in a perfect and manly age. Finally, we are come to the last period, which maketh an end of the care and course of our life. The seeds of all ages and sciences are hidden in vs from our birth, and that great work-man God produceth out of the hidden all naturall instincts.

CHAP. VII.

IT is nature, saith he, that communicateth and giueth me all these things. Vnderstandest thou not that in speaking after this manner, thou changeest the name of God? For what else is nature but God, and a diuine being and reason, which by his searching assistance resideth in the world, and alleth parts thereof? As often as thou listest thou mayest call him, sometimes the Author of all things, and sometimes Ioue, (most good and most mightie.) Thou mayest also well term him the Thunderer, and establisher, who had not that name giuen him, because (as the Historiographers write) that after the Romans had made their vowes vnto him, he reinforced their hearts, and discomfited armies in their belis: but because all things stand and are established by his benefite, he is therefore so called. Thou shalt not also lie, if thou call him Destiny, for whereas Fate and Destiny is but an immutable ordinance, which holdeth all causes tied and chained together: he it is that is the first of all, and he on whom all the rest thus follow doe depend. Thou mayest fit him with any other names which thou wilt,

wilt, provided that they signifie and containe the force and effects of celestiall things. In briebe, he may haue as many names, as he hath attributes of graces, wherewith he besteedeth vs.

CHAP. VIII.

Ur men likewise suppose that he is Father *Liber*, that he is *Hercules* and *Mercurie*. Father *Liber*, because all things haue had their being and originall from him. Because that by his meanes wee first of all found out, and knew the power and vertue of seeds, which should afterwards nourish vs with a sweete and honest pleasure. *Hercules*, because his force is inuincible, which when it shall be wearied in performing actions, and producing inferiour things, shall returne into fire. *Mercurie*, because it is hee from whom reason proceedeth, and the iudgement, numbers, ranckes and order of things, and all those sciences, which wee terme Libera. Whether sooner thou turnest thee, there shalt thou see him meete with thee: nothing is void of him. He himselfe fillet his worke to the full. Thou preuailest nothing then (thou vngratefulllest man of the world) when thou auowest, that thou art no wayes indebted to God, but to Nature: for neither is Nature without God, nor God without Nature. Both these two are but one, and differ not. If thou shouldst confesse that thou owest to *Annau* or to *Lucius*, that which *Seneca* hath lent thee, thou shouldst only change the name, but not the Creditour. For whether thou callest him by his name or surname, it is alwaies one man. Call him then as thou pleasest, either Nature or Fate, or Fortune, it makes no matter, because they all are the names of the selfe-same God, who diuersely vseth his diuine providence. Euen as Iustice, Integrity, Prudence, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and the goods and vertues of the soule, if any of these please thee, it is then the soule that pleaseth thee also.

CHAP. IX.

Be left by these discourses I should wander, I say that God bestoweth many and mightie benefits, expences without hope of interest or recompence: for he hath no need of our tributes, neither can we also giue him any thing. A benefit therefore ought to be desired, for the loue of it selfe, the only thing that is respected therein, is the profit of the receiver: herein let vs employ our selues, forgetting our owne private commodities. You say (saith he) that we ought to make diligent election of those on whom we will bestow our benefits, (considering the labourers and husband-men themselves, will not commit their seeds vnto the sands) which if it be true, we regard in giuing benefits, as we doe in labouring and sowing our land: for to sow is not a thing that should be desired onely of it selfe. Furthermore, you aske vs to whom we ought to giue our benefits: which should not be done, if to giue a benefit were a thing to be desired of it selfe, in what place soeuer, after what manner soeuer it was giuen, it was a benefit: for we follow that which is honest, for no other respect, but for the loue of it selfe. Yet although no other thing be to be followed, we require what we shall doe, and when, and how, for that honestie consisteth of these circumstances. When therefore

therefore I make choice of a man on whom I will bestow a courtesie, I doe it to the end that I may neuer faile to doe a benefit. Because if it be bestowed vpon an vnworthie man, it can be neither honest, nor a benefit.

CHAP. X.

Restore a thing which a man is put in trust withall, is a thing to be desired of it selfe, yet ought I not to restore it alwaies, nor in all places, nor at all times. Sometimes it skilleth not whether I deny, or whether I restore the same in all mens sight, I will respect his profit to whom I am to restore it, and perceiving that by my restitution I shall doe him iniurie, I will deny him his right. The same will I doe in a benefit: I will see when I giue, to whom I giue, how I giue, and why I giue. For nothing is to be done without reason: it is no good turne, except it be done vpon reason, because reason ought to accompany all honest things. How often haue we heard men, that haue reprobred their owne inconsiderate larges, and cast forth these words, *I had rather haue lost it, then to haue giuen it to such a one.* It is the most vilanous manner of losing that may be, for a man to giue foolishly and without consideration: and it is much more distastfull to haue employed a benefit badly, then not to haue receiued any. For it is another mans fault, if we receiue not, but it is our owne, that we made better election and choice in bestowing it. In making my choice, I will respect nothing lesse then thou thinkest, namely from whom I shall receive satisfaction. Oftentimes he that neuer requiteth is gratefull, and he vngratefull that hath made requittall; my estimation aimeth at nothing but the minde and heart. And therefore will I ouerpasse the rich vnworthy man, and will bestow my courtesies on the poore good man: for in his greatest wants he will be thankfull, and when all things faile him, his mind and true heart shall not faile him. I seeke to raise no profit for my courtesies, neither affect I pleasure or glory: I content my selfe that I can pleasure one man. I will giue to this onely intent and end, that I may giue that which I ought: and that which I ought to doe, is not to be done without choice and election; which, of what qualitie it shall be, doe you aske me the question?

CHAP. XI.

Will chuse an honest, simple, mindfull, and gratefull man, that vsurpeth not vpon another mans fortunes, nor niggardly hoardeth vp his owne, or intendeth euill vnto any man. When I haue made this election, although Fortune hath left this man no power to yeeld any satisfaction, yet haue I accomplished my desire, and obtained my wish. If profit or base consideration maketh me libera, if I profit no man, but to the end that he may pleasure me: I will not giue a gratiuitie to him that traileth into diuers and forren Countreies: I will not giue vnto him that will be alwaies absent; I will not giue vnto such a one, who is so sicke, that there is no hope of his recovery, I will not giue, whereas I am dying my selfe, for I shall haue no time to receiue friendship againe. But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be desired for the loue of it selfe: wee list our strangers, that are vpon the instant cast vpon our coasts, and will presently depart for another.

The method of restitution.

ther: we must giue and riggeship to such a one that hath suffered shipwrecke, that it may carie him backe againe into his owne country. He departeth suddenly, scarcely knowing him that was the author of his safetie, and making no reckoning euer more to return or resuilt him againe. He assigneth the payment of his debt vnto the gods, and beseecheth them, that since he hath no meanes of satisfaction, that it will please them to bee thankfull in his behalfe: meane while the conscience of a barren benefite doth content vs. Seest thou now, that at such time when we are at deaths dore, we make our last Will and Testament, and dispose our goods and possessions, although we can reape no profite thereby? How much time is spent: how long are we secretly deliberating how much and to whom we shall giue? For what skils it to whom we giue, if we shall receiue of none? And yet we neuer giue any thing more diligently, wee neuer trauel and racke our iudgements, then when as setting all profite aside, we onely set honestie before our eyes: for so long are we euill iudges of our owne offices, as long as hope, fear, and pleasure (the dishonestest vice of all) depraueth our iudgements. But when the assurance of death hath made vs lose the hope of all things, and hath sent a iust and vncorrupted Iudge to giue sentence, then seeke we out the most worthy, to whom we may deliuer our inheritance: neither dispose we any thing with more circumspection and regard, then those our possessions which appertaine no longer vnto vs.

CHAP. XII.

Nd vndoubtedly, euen then conceiue a man the greatest contentment, when he thinketh with himselfe; *I will make such a one more rich then he is, by giuing him a peece of my possessions: I will increase the honour and nobilitie of his house.* In briefe, if we neuer giue, but when we hope to receiue againe, we must die intestate. Thou maintaynest (saith he) that a benefite is a debt vnrepayable: but a debt is not a thing to be desired for it selfe, Ergo, benefiting or good doing, is not a thing to be desired of it selfe. When we call it a debt, we vse a comparison and translation. So likewise say we that the lawe is a rule of iust and vnjust, and yet the rule is not to be desired as a thing of it selfe, but we are constrained to vse these words, the better to expresse our intent and meaning. When I say a debt, it is to be vnderstood as a thing trusted. Wilt thou know all? I adde further, vnrepayable, which shall neuer be satisfied; although there be not any debt, but eithr may or ought to be paid. It is so farre from it, that we ought to doe a pleasure for our profite sake; that for the most part (as I haue said) we ought to doe it, though it were to our losse and perill. As for example, I rescue a man circumcised by the heathens, to the end he may be permitted to passe in security: I defend a guilty person, disgraced and oppressed by the credit of his aduersaries, and purchase to my selfe the displeasure and faction of great men for my labour, to receiue perchanee by the meanes of the same, accusers, the disgraces and miseries I freed the poore man of: whereas I might haue bene partie against him, or beheld a far off, and with all assurance the debates & contentions which were entertained by other men: I giue caution for my friend adjudged, and suffer not execution to be serued vpon his goods, but offer my selfe to be bound for him to his creditors, and to saue him from the prescription, I come in danger to be out-lawed my selfe. No man determineth to buy a place neere Tiber, or Tiburtine for his health sake,

or

* That is, our
siluer dreg. See
Lapetus his note.

Good deeds are
not to be done
and performed
either for affe-
ction or vani-
ty, but for
vertues sake.

or for the sweetnesse of the ayre, and auoyding the summer heats, that delateth for how many years he shall buy it: but when he hath bought it, he must keepe it. The same reason is in benefites. For if you shall aske me, what profite will accrue thereby: I will answer, a good conscience. Askest thou what profite is yeelded by benefiting? I aske thee likewise, what profite it is to doe iustly, to lue innocently, to be valiant and stout in honourable dangers, to lue chastly, to be temperate, if thou seekest any other interest then them selues?

CHAP. XIII.

O what end continueth the heauen his daily and vsuall course? To what end is it, that the Sunne enlargeth and shortneth the day? All these are but benefites, for they are made for our profite. Euen as it is the office of this Vniuerser, to turn about and dispose of the order of all things: as it is the office of the Sunne, where he may arise, and where he may set, and to performe all these faire, profitable, and wholsome effects for our sake, without hope of any profite from vs: so is it the dutie of one man, amongst other things, to doe good vnto another. Askest thou me, why he giueth these benefites? Forsooth to this end; that he may not be vpraied with giuing nothing, & that he may not lose the occasion of well-doing. But all your pleasure and delight, is to accustom your delicate bodides to a lazie idleness, and to long for a securitie, resembling that of sleepe, to couch and lie hidden vnder a close couert and arbor, and to entertaine the dulnesse of your decayed mindes, and to honor them with sweet and agreeable thoughts, which you call tranquillity, and repose of spirit, to pamper your vnweildy carcasses while they wax wanne with meates and drinks, in the caues and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwise, we feele a pleasure trily worthy a man in giuing benefites: although that they breed vs much sorrow and labour, provided they set them out of trouble for whom we doe them: although they be full of danger, provided that we relieue others from their miserie: although all be to the losse & diminution of our substance, provided that another mans pouertie and necessitie be relieved. What haue I doe to receiue benefites at another mans hands? When I haue receiued them, I must imploy and bestow them. A benefite respecteth not our particular, but onely his profite to whom it is giuen; otherwise we giue vnto our selues, and not vnto others. And by this reason manie things which breed another man great profit, lose their grace, because they are done for gaine. The Merchant is very profitable for the Citie, the Physician for the sicke, and the * Regrater for goods that are to be sold. But because all these are not profitable to any, but to enrich themselves, they oblige not those who receiue good by them.

CHAP. XIII.

It is no benefite that is imployed to profite. This will I giue, this will I take, is but open sale and chaffer. I will not call her most deist that repulset her louer, to the end to kinde his loue the greater, that feared the lawe or displeasure of her husband: for as Ouid saith, *She gave that did not giue because she could not.*

* Mango is one
that properly
selleth flowers,
young boys or
girls, as their old
custome was.

not

Not vnderstanded is she numbred amongst the dishonored women, that rather consecrate her honestie to feare, then to the respect of her owne selfe: In like manner he that hath giuen a benefite to the intent hee might receiue a requittall, hath not giuen it. Shall we say that we doe good vnto beasts, when wee fatten them for our seruice, or nourish them to yeeld vs foode? That we doe good to our fruit-trees, or the Gardens, wherein they grow; when wee digge about them, least through drynesse or hardnesse of the earth (if they were not well looked vnto, or timely, and oft-times remoued) they should grow barren & withered? no man manureth his fields for this cause only: because to labour is a thing good in it selfe: nor doth any other businesse, without hope of interest or gaine. A couetous thought, and addicted to gaine, will neuer breed in vs a desire to doe good: but a humane and liberrall heart, which after it hath giuen any thing, desireth still to giue more, and redouble new curtesies vpon the old: a heart that thinketh not what profit shall arise to him that giueth: for otherwise it is a base contemptible and abiect matter to do good vnto an other, for a mans particular interest and profit: what magnificence is it for a man to loue himselfe? to thinke on nothing but his owne thrift? to trauaile no waies but for himselfe? But the true desire of doing good vnto an other, withdraweth vs from all this; and laying hold on vs, draweth vs to our losse, and disdayning our particular good, highly reioyceth in the act of well-doing only.

CHAP. XV.



An it be doubted, but that iniurie is contrarie to a benefite? Like as to do an iniurie is a thing to be esteemed and shunned of it selfe; euen so to doe good is a thing to be coveted for it selfe. In the one the feare of dishonour hath more power ouer vs, then all the recompences that may moue vs to doe any thing that is euill: and in the other the appearance of honestie, which hath great power and efficacy of it selfe, sufficiently inuiceth vs. I shall not lie if I say that there is not any one but loueth his owne, and that there is not any man of so mortified a will, that conceiue not a great contentment, to see him whom he hath oft-times pleased, and hath not a desire to further him farther, because hee hath done for him once before. Which thing could neuer come to passe, except we naturally tooke pleasure in our goods decedes. How often-times maist thou heare some say, *I cannot abandon him whose life I haue saved, and whom I haue already drawne out of danger? he beseecheth me to maintaine his cause against his aduersaries, who haue great fauour and authority: I will not: but what shall I then doe?* See you not how in this case, there is a certaine peculiar vertue and power that constraineth vs to succour him, and further to doe him this good in his vtmost needfullitie; first, because it behoueth vs to doe it; secondly, because before times wee haue done him the like pleasure? And although at the beginning wee had no reason to succour him, yet at this time we will assaile him, because wee haue already done it at another time. So farre is it that profit should impell vs to doe a pleasure, that contrariwise we perseuer to maintayne and nourish those things that are vnprofitable, and conferre them for the only loue we beare to our owne benefites. And if we haue bene vnhappy in doing pleasure to any one, yet is there as great reason to pardon him, as to forgive our gracelesse children.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.



Hese Epicures confesse that they themselves do yeeld thanks, and yet for that it is honest so to doe, but because it is profitable, yet with little labour we may easily approue that it is laire otherwise. For by these very arguments, whereby we prouice, that to giue benefites is a thing to be desired in it selfe; by the same also we shall gather and conclude this: That it is a thing most assured, and from whence we gather all our proofes for all this dispute, that we prize not honestie, but only because it is honest. Who therefore dare draw it into question, that to remunerate a benefite is not an honest thing? who is hee that detesteth not an vngratefull man, who is only vnprofitable to himselfe? But what wilt thou say of him (when thou hearest it reported) who is vngratefull and vnthankfull to his friend for his many and mightie benefites? how wilt thou indure him, and interpret it, whether he haue plaied an vngratefull part in so doing, or that hee hath dealt fondly, in omitting that which was for his commoditie and profit? I thinke thou wilt accompt him a wicked man, and imagine that hee rather deserueth some punishment, then needeth an ouer-seer to order his estate to his profit. Which thing should not fall out so, vnlesse honestie were a thing both honest and to be desired of it selfe. Other things perhaps haue not their excellencie and dignity so apparant, and haue neede of an interpreter to expresse whether they be honest or no. But this is so apparant and so beautifull, that it can not be doubted, but that the clearenesse thereof will shine very brightly. What thing is so laudable, what so equally entertained and allowed in all mens iudgements, as to be thankful for benefites?

CHAP. XVII.



Ell me what cause induceth vs hereunto? Is it gaine? It is impossible, for he that despiseth not the same is vngratefull: Is it ambition? It cannot be, because to repay that which a man oweth, is no matter of glorie, or occasion to bring it. Is it feare? The vngratefull man hath none, and therefore the Common-wealth prescribeth no lawes for giuing thanks, because that nature hath sufficiently commanded vs, and enioyned vs to be gratefull. As also there is no law that bindeth vs to loue our parents, nor to tender and cherish children: It should be but labour to contraine vs, to doe that whereunto nature hath inclined vs of her selfe. And like as no man needeth to be incited to selfe loue, because hee hath it by kinde: so is no man to be exhorted to follow honestie, because honestie is so pleasing and gracious of her owne nature, that the wickedder sort also haue a certaine instinct to approue the better. Who is hee that would not seeme to be bountifull? who is hee that desireth not to be accounted good, even when he doth most wickednesse and wrong? and when he hath most exercised his crueltie and crueltie, would not shadow the same vnder some surface of amice, that striueth not also to make men thinke that hee hath done good vnto those whom he hath most of all offended? And therefore they suffer themselves to be entertained at their hands, whom they haue most of all afflicted, & faime themselves to be good and liberrall, because they cannot approue themselves such: which they

An vngratefull
man neither
feareth nor
oweth.

H 2

they would not doe, except the loue of honestie, which is to be desired for it selfe, compelled them to seeke a contrarie reputation to their corrupt manners, and to concale and cloake their wickednesse, the fruit whereof is desired, but the thing it selfe is shamefull and odious to them: neither is there any man so farre estranged and sequestred from the law of nature, and degenerated from manhood, that would bee naught for his mindes sake only. Aske any of these Gallants that liue by rapine and spoile, if they had not rather get their goods by any honest meanes, then by robbing and stealing? Hee that enricheth himselfe by spoiling and killing passengers, will rather wish to finde those things he hath purchased, then take them by force; you shall finde no man but had rather enioy the fruits of his wickednesse, without performing the wickednesse it selfe: wee haue this great benefite at natures hands, that vertue permitteth each mans minde to bee illuminated with her beames; and they which follow her not, haue a full view of her.

CHAP. XVIII.

And let thee know, that the affection of a gratefull minde is to be desired for it selfe, it is certaine that ingratitude ought to be fled and eschewed in it selfe. Because there is nothing that so much dismembeth and dissipateth mens friendship, as this vice. For in what other thing are we secure but in this, that we are helped by mutuall offices, and interchangeable friendships? by this one and only commerce, of benefits our liues are not only assured, but better defended against all sodaine incursions. Single vs alone, what are we? but a pray and sacrifice for rauenous beasts, neither is there any blood more vile or ealier to be spilt: for other beasts haue sufficient force to maintayne and defend themselves. Whatsoever beasts are bred to wander vp and downe, and to leade a solitarie and separated life, are armed, weaknesse girtheth in and gaulth man on euery side: the force of his nailes, the sharpnesse of his teeth hath not made him terrible to the rest, being naked and informe: Societie assureth and defendeth him. Two things hath these giuen him, to wit, reason and societie, which make him, (although he be exposed to all other dangers) most powerful and puissant. And thus he, that being alone and separated, was the least and feeblest of all the rest, is become the Master of all things. Societie gaue him the dominion ouer all liuing creatures, Societie whereas he was borne for the Land, hath transmitted him into a foueraignie of an other nature, and made him Lord of the Sea likewise. Societie hath repressed the violence of infirmities, purgaid succours and assistance for old age, and giuen comfort against sorrow. Shee it is that giueth vs forces, and animateth vs to resist fortune. Take Societie away, and thou shalt extinguish and cut off the vnitie of mankind, whereby life is sustained. But you take it away, if you bring to passe that a thanklesse minde is not to be esteemed for it selfe: but because that hee ought to feare, least a greater mischiefe befall him. For how many vngratefull men are they, that may bee vngratefull without punishment. To conclude, I call him vngratefull whosoever is gratefull for feare.

CHAP.

No man of sound vnderstanding hath euer feared the Gods, for it is a madnesse to feare those, from whom we receiue all our good and happinesse, neither doth any man loue those whom hee feareth. Finally, thou Epicure, thou hast disarmed God, thou hast dispoiled him of his armes and power, and least he should be feared by any man, thou hast turned him out of the world: Being then after this manner begit and inuironed with a strong and impregnable wall, separated and retired out of the sight, and touch of mortal men, thou oughtest to haue no feare of him, because he hath no meanes to doe either good or euill. But remaining alone betwixt the space and distance, which is betwene one Heauen and another, abandoned of all companie of creatures and men, disurnished of all things, hee is out of danger of the ruines of the world, which hee seeth fall about him, and about him, not making any reckoning of our vowes and prayers, neither hauing any care of vs. And yet such as he is, thy desire is that we should thinke that thou worshipsst him, and that thou owest him as much reuerence, as thou doest to thy father. All which thou doest, in my iudgement, to this end only, that thou might not be accounted vngratefull: Or if thou doest it not to this end, if thou wilt not haue vs suppose that thou art thankfull, because thou thinkest that thou hast receiued no benefite at his hands, and that happily thy little Atomes and mites, which thou hast fantasitically coined in thy braine, haue rashly and vnshurely formed and fashioned thee such as thou art, why doest thou worship him? It is (thou wilt answer) for the excellencie of his great Majestie, and for his wonderous nature; I put the case that this be thus, at least wile thou doest it without hope of any good; and without any perswasion or appearance of profit. There is therefore somewhat that is to be desired for it selfe, the dignitie whereof inuirteth and draweth thee to loue the same, and truly that is, honestie. For what is more honest then to bee gratefull? the matter of this vertue extendeth it selfe as farre as our life.

CHAP. XX.

BVe in this good, saith he, there is some profit likewise: for in what vertue is it not? But that is said to be desired for it selfe, which although it haue some commodities without it selfe, is notwithstanding well pleasing and acceptable, euen when those commodities be removed and taken away. It is profitable for me to bee thankfull, yet will I be thankfull although it bee to my harme: what seeketh he that is thankfull? Is it to the end that his acknowledged meite may get him new friends, and more benefits? what if in so doing he should purchase other mens displeasure? If a man bee assured that hee shall gaine nothing in restoring the good which he hath receiued, but contrariwise that hee shall lose much of that he hath already gotten, and hoarded vp in his coffers, would hee willingly light vpon this losse? vndoubtedly, that man is vngratefull that fixeth the eye of his desire vpon a second good turne, when hee satisfieth the first; hoping to make profit of that pleasure, whereof hee acquiteth himselfe: I call him vngratefull that sitteth by a sick man, and continually attendeth by him, because he is

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to

It is not intended that the just man hath no feare of God, if hee be taken for one of the fewen guests of the holy Ghost: but this place is to be understood that loue, which is not captiue with that loue whereunto good men loue God, but with him is a seruile feare, which is not of children, but of flouts.

to make his last will and testament, or hath so much leasure as to thinke of any inheritance or legacie. Although he doe all things which a good friend (or such a one as is mindfull of his duetie) ought to doe, if hee conceiue in himselfe any intereffable hope, he layeth a snare, or as a fisherman armeth his bait, if he expect and linger after the death of the partie, and houer about his carcase like a carion crowes, which stand spying neere at hand for the fall of some cattell by the rot, he will giue an occasion for each man to thinke, that he doth but expect the death of his good friend, and doth but houer and haunt about his person. A thankfull heart conceiue no pleasure, but in the only vertue of his good intent.

CHAP. XXI.



Il thou know that this is true, and that a thankfull man is not corrupted by profit: there are two sorts of thankfull men. He is said to be thankfull, that maketh satisfaction in some sort for that he hath receiued. This man peradventure may vaunt himselfe, he hath somewhat whereof to boast, and to speake of. He likewise is called thankfull, that hath receiued a benefit with a good minde, and oweth it with as good. This man hideth himselfe in his owne conscience: but what profit may he reape of an affection so deeply hidden? But that other man, although he wanteth meanes to do more, yet is he thankfull: he loueth, he oweth, he desireth to yeeld satisfaction, what aske you more! he is not wanting to himselfe. A workeman is a workeman, although he want his tooles to exercise his Art, and a cunning Musitian is a Musitian, although his very voice cannot be heard for muttering and noise that is made about him. I will giue thanks for the good that is done me: after this there remaineth something for me to doe, not that I may be thankfull, but really acquit of my obligation. For oftentimes hee that recompenceth is not thankfull, and contrariwise, many that doe it not, are thankfull. For as of all other vertues, so the whole estimation of this hath reference to the minde, if the be obseruant of that which concerneth her, whatsoeuer otherwise is deficient, is the error of Fortune. Euen as a man ceaseth not to be eloquent, although he be silent, nor strong, although his hands be bound and fettered, neither a good Pilate, although hee be vpon the firme land, because hee wanteth no perfection in his science, although there be some impediment that letteth them from vying the same. Euen so also is hee thankfull, that hath onely a will to be thankfull, and hath no other witness of his willingness, but himselfe. Nay I will say thus much more, sometimes euen he is thankfull, which seemeth vnthankfull, and whom misdeeming opinion traducth for the contrarie. Wherein then reposest this man his trust, but in his conscience, which reioyceth in it selfe, although it bee oppressed, which reclaimeth and gain-sayeth all that eloquence can vrge, or fauour detract: and repossesseth all things in her selfe? And though the seeth neuer so huge a multitude of men that reprove her intentions, she maketh no reckoning of the contrary opinions, but thinketh to iustifie her selfe in her owne secret iudgement. And albeit she perceiue, that her faithfulness beare the punishment of perfidioufnes, yet she abateth no whit of her courage, neither is abashed thereat, but standeth still aloft, aboue her punishment.

CHAP.

The mind and
intent crowmeth
the action.

A good conscience
contemmeth op-
pression being e-
rect and confir-
med in it selfe.



Haue (saith he) that which I would, and that which I desired: I haue not as yet repented me, neither will I euer repent my selfe: neither shall Fortune (how aduerso sheuer she be) be in this pusillanimitie, as to make time say, *What is that I intended? I haue it, but I haue my good will now professed me: it profiteth me when I am on the racke: it profiteth me being in the middle of the fire, which if it should be applied to euery member of my body, and by little and little should enuolue and deuoure the same on euery side, although my body (fringed with a good conscience) should be put into a flaming fire, and tortured and burned therein, yet would the fire be pleasing to me, because thorow it my spotless faith would shine and appeare. I will now once more reinforce that argument which I haue vied in times past. Why is it, that when we die we are desirous to be grateful? Why examine we euery particular mans defects? Why endeavour we to refresh the memorie of all our life past, to this intent, that we might seeme to be forgetfull of no mans kindnesse. At that time there remaineth nothing for hope to linger vpon, and yet standing at the pits brim, our desire is to depart this world, to euery mans satisfaction. The reason is, because the proper act of thanksgiving draweth with it a most great reward of it selfe, and the force of vertue is very great, to draw mens hearts vnto it, and the beautie of honestie so enuironeth and surpriseth mens mindes, that it rapiseth them with the admiration of the light and brightnesse thereof, yea many commodities ensue thereby. For the life of such as are honest is more secured and innocent, which is accompanied with a thankfull soule, and out of feare. Nature had dealt vniuersally with vs, if she had made vs partakers of so great a benefit, with miserie, danger and vncertainty. But, consider I pray you, although thou mightest easily, and without danger attaine very often to this vertue by an assured and easie way, whether thou couldst not find in thy heart to make thy way therunto, by vnaccessible rockes, through stony wayes, full of Serpents and sauage beasts?*

CHAP. XXIII.



Et ought we not to say, that a thing should not be desired for the loue of it selfe, because it is accompanied with some forraigne profit that attendeth it. For wee see almost daily, that the fairest things are accompanied with accessory endowments, but yet so as they draw these commodities after them, and they themselves goe before. May it be doubted, but that the course and circular motion of Sunne and Moone, doe temperate this dwelling place of mankind by their diuers changes? Or that by the heate of the Sunne, all bodies are cherished, the earth is relaxed and opened, superfluous moistures abated, and the irksomenes of Winter that bindeth all things allayed, or that by the effectfull and piercing warmth of the Moone the ripening fruits are moistened? Or that the fruitfulness of man is answerable and correspondent to her course: or that the Sunne by his proper motion maketh the yeare discernable, and the Moone by her circumvolution in shorter space maketh the month? But admit you take these vertues from the Moone, were not the Sunne of it selfe worthy to be beheld and admired

Innocence in all-
gore is confident,
in prosperitie
milde, in all en-
counters happy.

Admiration of
those things ac-
companied with
degradation, what
admirable effects
worketh they in the
Soule?

* A Stoicaller-
vor, who ascribe
Desire to the
Starrs.

admired in our sight, though he did but swiftly passe before our eyes. Were not the Moone to be admired by vs, although shee ranne by vs but as an idle Star? When the heauen by night time darreth out his lights, when we behold such an Infinitie of Starrs shine vpon vs, who is hee that is not rauished to behold them? Who is he that seeing himselfe to be surprised by so great a wonder, hath leisure at that time to thinke on the good and profit that they bring? Behold, those Starrs that glide aloft in the fill firmament, after what sort hide they their swiftnesse, vnder an appearance of a standing and immoueable worke? How much is done this night, which thou obseruest only for a reckoning and difference from the dayes? What a troope of things are vnfolded vnder this silence? What an order of destinies doth this certaine bound bring forth? These things, which thou beholdest no otherwise, but as matters disperled for beautifying, are euery one of them occupied in working. For thou canst not imagine that the seuen Planets onely haue their designed motions, and the rest stand fixed, will comprehend the motion of very fewe. But there is an infinite number of * gods, which are farre seuered and withdrawn from our sight, which both goe and come. And of those which are subiect to our sight there are diuers, that haue obscure motions and hidden courses. What then shouldst thou not be strooken with admiration to behold so huge a worke, yea though it ruled thee not, preferred thee not, cherished thee not, ingendered thee not by his winds, and moystned thee not by the ayre?

CHAP. XXIII.

NOW, euen as these things, although they haue their first and principal vses, and are both necessarie and profitable for our life yet it is the maiestic of them that occupieth the whole minde. Euen so all vertue (and especially the vertue of gratefulnesse) yeeldeth very much profit, yet will it not be loued for the same, for it hath yet a further thing in it, neither is it sufficiently vnderstood by him, which accounteth it amongst gainefull things. Is a man thankfull because it concerneth his owne profit? Ergo, also he is thankfull, but for so much as implieth his profit. Vertue entertaineth not a couetous and base minded Louer, shee will be courted with open hands and a liberrall heart. The vngratefull man thinketh thus: *I would faine requite the curtesie I haue receiued, but I feare the charge and expence, I feare the perill, I am affraide of displeasure, I will rather doe that which is more profitable and secure for me.* One and the same cause and reason, cannot make a man thankfull, and vngratefull: as their actions are diuers, so their intentions are different. The one is vngratefull although it behoueth him not, because it is for his profit, the other is gratefull although it bee against his profit, because he ought so to be.

CHAP. XXV.

WE are resolu'd to liue conformable and agreeable to nature, and to follow the example of the gods. But in all that whatsoeuer the gods doe, they follow nothing else, but the reason of doing that they doe, except haply thou imaginest, that they receiue the fruit of their labours out of the smoke of irrailes, and the odour

odour of the incense which is consumed in their sacrifices. Consider how great things they achieue and compasse daily, with what abundant fruites they replenish the earth, with how seasonable and fauourable winds (fitly seruing to conuey vs into all forraine Coasts) turne they and moue they the Seas, with how many and sudden showers mollifie they and moysten they the earth, and replenish the dried vaines and fountaines, and renew them by insulung nutriment, by the hidden and secret Spring-heads: All these things doe they without any recompence, and without any profit that may accrue vnto them. This example also ought our reason to obserue (if ite disagree not from this patterne and president) lest it follow honest things, as if hired and engaged. Let vs be ashamed to sell the least courtesie that we do. The Gods expect no recompence for that they doe. If thou wilt imitate the Gods (saith hee) thou must pleasure euen those that are vnthankfull: for the Sunne riseth vpon the wicked, and Pirats haue the sea open vnto them.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN this place they demand whether a good man may employ his benefits on an vnthankfull man, knowing him to be such a one? Giue me leave to speake somewhat by the way, lest I be engaged with a doubtfull question. There are, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, two sorts of vngratefull men. The one vngratefull, because he is a foole, and wanteth iudgement; but he that is a foole, is consequently euill, and an euill man is replenished with all kinds of vices, and therefore is vngratefull. In like manner wee terme euill men intemperate and dissolute, couetous, prodigall, and malicious, not that these great and notorious vices are incident to euery euill man, but because they may be, and are in them, though vndiscovered. The other is vngratefull, which in all mens iudgement and voices is termed so; and for that by nature he is prone and inclined thereto. To that vngratefull man, that so is not free from this vice, as he is free from no vice, a good man may doe a courtesie and kindnesse: for should he but reiect those of this condition, he should doe good vnto no man. But vnto this vngratefull man, which is a defrauder of benefits, who naturally hath his heart addicted to ingratitude, he shall no more giue a benefit, then to trust his money to a bawquerout, or leaue a pledge in his hands, who hath heretofore defrauded many others of their right. We call him coward who is a foole, for this followeth those wicked persons, who are indifferently feazed of all kinds of vices: but properly we account and call him a coward, who naturally is affrighted with the least trifling noice he heareth. So a foole hath all vices, but is not naturally wicked vnto all: one is subiect to auarice, the other to prodigalitie and outrageous expences, the other to shamelesse petulancie and wantonnesse.

CHAP. XXVII.

WHEY then are deceiued, who question with the Stoicks after this manner. What then, is *Achilles* a coward? What then, is *Aristides* to whom Iustice gaue his name? vnjust? What then, is *Fabius* (who by cunctations and delay, restored his decayed Common-wealth) rash? What then, feareth *Desius* death? Is

What a burthen
both iniquitie
his backe?

The description
of a coward.

For he was cal-
led Aristides
Iustus.

Mutius

An apt similitude.

Mutius a traitor? is *Camilus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say we that all sorts of vices are so inseparably united in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a foolish and wicked man is subiect and inclined to all vices, in so much as we acquit not the bold man of feare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his five senses, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Linus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordinate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in every man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousnesse, this man to lust, that man the addicte to wine, or if not as yet addicte, yet is he so formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seeds of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marieth her to a contumelious and often-disordered husband: and as hee is esteemed an ill husband and howholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and gouernment of his patrimony to one already condemned for ill managing his masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueth such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath bene a spoiler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee be reprobate to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choice of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will be lost.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Gods also (saith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but these, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill also, because they cannot be separated. And more reason is it to profit the euill for the goods sake, then to abandon the good for the euils sake. So those things thou speakest of the day, the Sun, the entercourse of Winter and Sommer, the temperate sweetenes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-springs, and the ordinarie blasts of winde, were deuised by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not seuer and separate them, onely for those they intended good to. The King giueth honors to those that are worthy, but he oftentimes yeeldeth publike larges, and presents of victuals to those that deserue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwayes that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, which is monthly giuen to the people of *Rome*, without respect of his manners, when there is any thing that is to be bestowed simply, as vpon a Cour-tizen, and not vpon a good Citizen, both the good and bad receiue the same indifferently. God likewise hath giuen some things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the winde should be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the seas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it should not as well water and ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniuist. There are certaine things which are common,

both

both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good, as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are published and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine ministrerth helpe euen to the most debauched. No man euer concealed the composition of wholesome medicines, for feare lest the vnworthie should bee healed. Seeke thou a strict account and valuation of persons, in those things which are giuen generally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in these things which confusedly admit the common sort. For there is a great difference betwixt chusing a man, and not repelling him. The law is open to all men, the murderers themselves eniue the peace, and they which haue stolne another mans goods, recover their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to strike any man in time of peace, are defended from the enemy with a wall in time of warre. Those that haue most oftentimes offended the lawes, are maintained and conserved with all assurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. In briefe there are some, though of that nature, that they could not be applied to some persons in particular, except they were granted vnto all in common. There is no cause therefore, why thou shouldst dispute of these things, whereunto we are publicly induced. That which in my choice and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully provide that I cast it not away on such a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIX.

Ill thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires: nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldst thou doe these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this point, or at least-wile I will endeavour to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concur in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who cuer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money, or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things do a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the balenes of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessity of the time maketh them needfull. Again, we ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I do it for loue of that person, to whom I would giue my benefit, and whom I account worthy to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feele in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for we bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelesly as small things, and we giue it not vnto the many, but vnto humanitie.

The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

ST. HUBERT. A. NATHAN.

An apt similitude.

Mutius a traitor? Is *Camillus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say we that all sorts of vices are so inseparably vnted in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a foolish and wicked man is subiect and enclined to all vices, in so much as we acquit not the bold man offeare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his five senses, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Linceus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordnate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in every man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousnesse, this man to lust, that man he addicth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is he so formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seeds of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marieth her to a contumelious and often-divorced husband: and as hee is esteemed an ill husband and howholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and government of his patrimony to one already condemned for ill managing his masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leauech such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath bene a spoiler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee be repured to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choice of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will be lost.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Gods also (saith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but these, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill also, because they cannot be separated. And more reason is it to profit the euill for the goods sake, then to abandon the good for the euils sake. So those things thou speakest of the day, the Sun, the entercourse of Winter and Sommer, the temperate sweetenes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-springs, and the ordinarie blaits of winde, were deuised by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not seuer and separate them, onely for those they intended good to. The King giueth honors to those that are worthie, but he oftentimes yceldeh publike larges, and presents of victuals to those that deserue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwayes that he bea Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, which is monthly giuen to the people of *Rome*, without respect of his manners, when there is any thing that is to be bestowed simply, as vpon a Cour-tizen, and not vpon a good Citizen, both the good and bad receiue the same indifferently. God likewise hath giuen some things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the winde should be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the seas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it should not as well water and ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniust. There are certaine things which are common,

both

both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good, as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are published and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine ministrerh helpe euen to the most debauched. No man euer concealed the composition of wholesome medicines, for feare lest the vnworthie should bee healed. Seeke thou a strict account and valuation of persons, in those things which are giuen suerally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in these things which consuedly admit the common sort. For there is a great difference betwixt chusing a man, and not repelling him. The law is open to all men, the murderers themselves eniue the peace, and they which haue stolne another mans goods, recover their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to strike any man in time of peace, are defended from the enemy with a wall in time of warre. Those that haue most oftentimes offended the lawes, are maintained and conserved with all assurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. In briefe there are some, though of that nature, that they could not be applied to some persons in particular, except they were granted vnto all in common. There is no cause therefore, why thou shouldest dispute of these things, whereunto we are publike induced. That which in my choice and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully prouide that I cast it not away on such a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIX.

Ill thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires: nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldest thou doe these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this point, or at least-wise I will endeavour to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concur in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who euer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money, or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things do a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the busines of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessitie of the time maketh them needfull. Again, we ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I do it for loue of that person, to whom I will giue my benefit, and whom I account worthy to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feele in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for we bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelesly as small things, and we giue it not vnto the many, but vnto humanitie.

The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

et maxime

CHAP. XXX.

Denie not but that sometimes I may bestow some things on those that are vnworthy for other mens sakes. As oft-times in the pursuit of honours and dignities, the ancient Nobilitie of houses hath bene the cause, that those men were preferred, who were vnprofitable, and of base estimation, before those that were learned and of good spirits. Not without cause is the memorie of great vertues sacred; and many men affect goodnesse with greater delight, when they perceiue that the honor of good men dieth not with them. What merit made *Ciceroes* sonne Confull, but the memorie of his father? What thing is it that caused *Cinna* of late (returning from the Enemies campe) to be honored with the Confullship? why was *Sextus Pompey*, and the rest, that haue borne the name of the *Pompeis*, preferred in the like maner, but for the excellencie and vertue of one onely man, whose greatnesse was so great, that his ruine & death could raise so many of his posteritie, to so worthe estimation? What made *Fabius Persicus* lately (that was so hateful in the most absolute mens eies, that they disdain'd to kisse him) attain vnto the Priesthood of so many Colledges, but only the fame of the *Verrucolians* and *Allobroges*, & of those three hundred, that opposed one familie against the intrusion of their enemies in their Countries defence? So much are we indebted vnto vertues, that we ought to respect them, not only while they be present, but also when they are most distant & out of sight. Euen as those vertues wrought this effect, that they profited not only one age, but left their benefits behinde them to all ages: so let vs not be gratefull to one age only. This man hath begotten noble children, he is then worthy of good turnes whatsoeuer he himselfe is, because he hath brought forth such. Another is borne of noble Ancestors, whatsoeuer he himselfe is, let him be shrouded vnder the shadow of his Ancestors. Like as obscure and vnclene places are lightened by the repercussion of the Sunne-beames, so let idle and vnworthy men be illuminated by the light of their forefathers.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN this place, my *Libertie*, I intend to excuse the goddess. For sometimes we are wont to say, Wherat aymed the prouidence of the goddess, when they committed the gouernement of a Kingdome to * *Aridaus* bandes? Thinkest thou it was giuen him? It befall him for his fathers and his brothers sake. Why gaue thee the Empire of the whole world to *Caius Caligula*, a man so insatiate of mans blood, that he commanded the fame to be shed before his eies, as if hee had a desire to drinke and deuoure it with his mouth? What, thinkst thou, that this greatnesse was giuen him for his owne merit? No, it was giuen to his father *Germanicus*; it was for his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers sake, and to others no lesse famous men their predecessors, although they led a priuate and ordinary life. What, when thou madest *Seuerus Mamereus* Confull, didst thou not know, that he receiued with open mouth the monthly excrement of his vnchaste chamber-maids? For did he diffemble? Would he seeme to be pure? I will relate vnto thee a speech of his owne, which was ordinarie in euery mans

mouth

mouth in my remembrance, and was commended in his owne presence: *Arimus Pollio* being on a time laid vpon his bed, he said vnto him (but with wordes vnworthy to be named) that he would do that vnto him, which he had rather suffer himselfe. And seeing that *Pollio* was displeased therewith, and that he began to bend his bedward, *Pollio* said vnto him, *I will not suffer thee to open me and my bed.* This saying of his he himselfe blabbed abroad, and thou admitted a man to openly flammelike & impudencie, so that the dignity and burial of Confulls? Verily, when thou be thought of, thou dost not suffer his face and posteritie to be abased or extinguisht.

CHAP. XXXII.

All it is for vs to percolue how the goddess deale morally fauorably with some for the merites and desert of their fathers, and predecessors, and with other some for the rewardnesse that shall be in their children, and childrens children; and in those that hereafter shall descend from their posteritie. For they know the excellent order of their workes, and they haue in infallible sciencie of all those things which are to passe thorow their hands, although they are farre remote from our knowledge and vnderstanding. The things that we suppose to be casual and sudden, are foreseene and familiar to them: Let theie be Kings (say they) because their ancestors haue not bene; but imagined it to be a true Kingdome, to be iust and abstinent. And because they haue not used the common-wealth for their profits, but dedicated their persons to the seruice and increase thereof. Let these men raigne because some good man was their great grandfather, whose mind was greater then his fortune, who in ciuill discentions chose rather to be vanquished, then to vanquish; because it stood with the profit of the Common-wealth. His goodnesse could not be required all this while. In respect of that man, let this man haue preheminence ouer others, not because he is of knowledge and ability how to vie it, but because the other hath deserved it for him: for peraduenture this man is in body maimed, in countenance lonesome, and will be a slander to the place and persons of his advancement. Now will men finde fault with me, and say, that I am blinde; and say, and ignorant where to bestow the things that are due to the chiefest and excellent persons. But I know that the giuing of this thing to the one is a satisfaction of it to the other, to whom it was due long since. Wherby dost thou knowe such a certaine man, who was such a contemner of glorie, when it followed him, that he aduentured vpon perill with the same countenance that others escape it, and that neuer made difference betwixt his owne profits, and the profits of the Common-wealth? Where is this man? who is he? how know you him? These reckonings of such receipts and payments are stricken out of my booke. I know what and to whom I owe. To some I make payment after long time, to other some I giue aforehand, or else I deale with them according as occasion and the vtility of my common-wealth requireth.

* This speech is objected you to Libertie, but to prouidence.

All these reasons he urges in the person of God.

* From hence, to the end of the chapter all is digressed.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Some things I will then giue to an vngratefull man, yet will I not giue it for his owne sake. But if (saith he) thou knowest not whether he be thankfull or vngratefull; wilt thou expect vntill thou know the same? or wilt thou not lose the opportunity of giuing the benefite? It is too long to expect: for (as *Plato* saith) it is hard to coniecture what a mans mind is, and not to expect is rashnesse. To him we will answer, that we will neuer expect a certaine comprehension and knowledge of things, because it is a difficult matter to finde out the truth; but that we follow that way whereunto the similitude of truth leadeth vs. All mens offices and actions proceed this way; vnder this hope we sow our lands: thus faile we, thus vnder take we war, thus marrie we, thus bring we vp our children; whereas the event of all these is vncertaine. To those things adresse we our enterprises, whereof we beleue that we may hope the best. For who can warrant a rich haruest to him that soweth, a safe Port to him that saileth, victory to him that warreth, a modest wife to him that marrieth, toward children to him that begat them? We follow those things whereunto reason induceth vs, not those whereunto truth draweth vs. If thou expectest to do nothing except thou be secured of the good successe, if thou lingerest vntill such time as thou hast found out the truth, thy life will become vprofitable and idle, neyther shalt thou euer dare or attempt any thing: whilst the appearance of truth impelleth me to doe this or that, I will not feare to giue a benefite to him, who in my opinion and in all likelyhood, will approue him selfe thankfull.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Manie things may chance (saith he) whereby we may take a bad man to be good, a good man to be bad, because the appearances of things wherunto we giue credite, do oftentimes decciue vs. Who denieth this? But I find nothing else, by which I should gouerne my thoughts. By these foot-steps must I pursue the truth; more assured I haue none. This will I endeavour to examine with all diligence, neyther will I assent vnto them ouer quickly. For so may it fall out in warre, that being deceived by some false appearance, I may aime mine arrow against my fellow Souldier, leaving mine enemy vntouched and in safetie, but this both seldom times falleth out, and not by mine error: whose purpose was to wound mine enemy, and defend my fellow Citizen. If I know him to be vngratefull I will giue him no benefite. But he cōfused me, he decciued me; here is no fault of him that giueth, for I gaue it as to a thankfull man. But if (saith hee) thou hast promised to doe a man a pleasure, and afterwards thou findest him to be vngratefull, wilt thou giue it or no? if thou doest it thou offendest willingly, for thou giuest to him, thou oughtest not to giue: if thou deniest, in this case likewise thou offendest, because thou performest not that which thou hast firmly promised. Your sect in this place staggereth and trippeth, and that proud promise of theirs, that a wife man neuer repenteth himselfe of that which hee hath done; neither euer reformeth his actions, nor changeth his counsaile, beginneth to be shaken. A wiseman changeth not his counsaile, as long as the cause

*Sapientis est
mutare consilium.*

and circumstances continue the same, as they were when he determined. And therefore neuer repenteth he himselfe in any thing, because nothing could be better done at that time then was done, nor nothing better ordered then that which was ordered. Finally, all things hee vnder taketh, he attempteth, he doth with this condition; nothing fall out that may interrupt his sage desire. And therefore say we, that all things befall him to his wish, that nothing hath befallen him contrarie to his expectation; because hee presumeth in his minde, that all things may fall out which may crosse his purpose. Fooles are they, that are too confident, and who promise vnto themselves ouer pretemporarily, that Fortune will fauour them; but a wise man considereth her both ways; hee knoweth very well what she may beareth, how vncertaine worldly things be, and how many things hinder mens determinations: he followeth variable Fortune, and the hazards of humane affaires, with an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, expecting with assured counsaile the vncertaine end thereof. But the conditions, without which hee beginneth and enterpriseth nothing, warrant him sufficiently herein.

CHAP. XXXIV.

I haue promised to doe a pleasure, except there fall out some occasion whereby I am letted from giuing that I intended: but what if the Common-weale command me to giue that vnto her which I haue promised my friend, if a publique law bee made that no man shall do that which I haue promised my friend to performe. I haue past my word to giue thee my Daughter in marriage, and afterwards thou art conuicted to be a forrainger, with whom wee are forbidden to contract matrimonie. The law that prohibiteth, that, defendeth also my cause: then shall I breake my word, then shall I bee iustly taxed with inconstancie, if all the circumstances continuing as they were when I promised, I neglect to performe the same: Because other wise whatsoever thing is changed, giueth me libertie to determine anew, and discharge me of my former obligation. I haue promised to pleade thy cause, and afterwards I finde that the prosecution thereof will in the end redound to my fathers prejudice. I haue promised thee to take a long iourney with thee, but afterwards vpon better instructions, I vnderstand that the way is dangerous and full of thieves, I intended presently to come and visit thee about thine instant businesse, but my childs sickness, or my wifes falling in labour, kept me at home. All things ought to be in the same estate they were, when I promised thee, if thou wilt that my faith bee obliged vnto thee. But what greater change may there happen then if hereafter I am informed that thou art an vngratefull and wicked man? That which I gaue thee, as to a worthy man, I will refuse thee as a man vnhworthy, and further more I shall haue a iust cause to be angrie with thee, because thou hast decciued me.

*The law of
honestie is limi-
ted by circum-
stances.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ere will I nearly examine the greatnesse of that I haue promised. The value of the thing, which I haue promised to bestow, shall giue mee counsaile. If it be a small matter, I will giue it; not because hee is worthy, but because I haue promised. Neither will I giue it as a benefite, but only to redeeme my word, and hereafter will I take better heede, and by my losse I will chastise my rashnesse in promising; and to the end I may haue a more feeling and sensible apprehension of the same, and henceforward be more circumspect in that I speake, I will, (as the common prouerbe saith) pay a fine for my tongue. But if it be a thing of greater price, I would not, (as *Mecenas* saith) spend two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes, to buy mine owne blame: I will diligently compare both these things betwene themselves. It is something to keepe a mans word when hee hath promised, and againe it importeth very much to take care that wee giue to such a one as deserueth the same: yet must we consider how great our promise is: If it be a thing of small value, I will giue it as though I winked thereat. But if it may be either greatly to my losse, or greatly to my shame. I had rather excuse my selfe once for not doing it, then condemne my selfe alwaies for giuing it. In briefe, all the waighe of the matter consisteth (as I say) in this to know of what value and estimate the promise is that I haue made. For I will not only reateine that which I haue rashly promised, but I will redemand also that which I haue giuen amisse. He is out of his wits, that binds his faith for an error.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Philip of Macedonia had a valiant and braue Souldier, who had faithfully serued him in all his warres, to whom in remuneration of his vertue, he had often-times giuen a good part of that which he had taken from the enemy, & encouraged him with rewards, he being a man of a mercinarie minde. It fortuned that this Souldier was shipwrackt and cast away at Sea, and that the tempest and billowes cast him on the shore neare to a certaine Macedonians dwelling place, who being advertised of this his fortune, ranne vnto him, and recouered him to life, being well-nigh dead. He caried him vnto his owne house, he lodged him in his owne bedde: he entertained this forlorne man so carefully and kindly, that hee recouered his forces, he maintayned him thirtie dayes at his owne charge, hee relieved his necessitie, and gaue him monie and meanes to bring him back againe to the armie. This Souldier, vpon his departure, told him this very often; *If I euer chance to see my Prince againe, I will requite this thy kinde entertainment.* Certaine dayes after being arrived at the campe, hee failed not to tell Philip of his unhappie shipwrack, but he concealed who had succoured him, and forthwith besought him to giue him a certaine mans lands, and this was his heritage who had so graciously entertained him, and with so much care and diligence had preserued him from death. You may see (by the way) how Kings now and then, (but especially in warre) giue many things, their eyes being shut: no one man

man alone is able to satisfie so many armed desires; there is not any man that at one time can be a good man, and a good Generall. How shall so many thousands of vn-satiablen men bee satisfied? what shall they haue if every man may keepe his owne? This said Philip to himselfe, when he commanded him to bee put in possession of those Lands he demanded. This man thus violently thrust out of his possessions, smothered and smooched vp this iniurie not as a Clowne, but with much silence & sufferance, contenting himselfe with this that though they had vsurped his possessions, they had not restrained him of his libertie, and priuily wrote a short and stout letter vnto Philip, wherein he discouered the iniury which was done him, vpon the reading whereof, Philip was so displeased, that he presently commanded *Pausanias* to restore the land to the former Lord, and as for the other reprobate and dishonest Souldier, vngratefull guest, and covetous cast-away, to brand him in the forehead, to witnesse that hee was an vngratefull and vnthankfull guest. Truly, he was worthy, not that these letters should be written, but engrauen on his forehead, that expulsed and exposed his Host, like to a naked and shipwrackt-wretch, on that very shore, where once he had succoured him. We shall afterwards see what more greater punishment hee deserved: meane while those goods were to be taken from him, which hee had so iniuriously vsurped. And who would be moued at his punishment, who had committed such a hainous crime, that might be the cause, that no man hereafter would count miserable the miserie of the most miserable?

A lesson for Princes that are sometimes thus abused and bigotted.

The reason why this vngratefull man was to be punished.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Shal Philip be constrained to performe his word vnto thee, because he hath promised thee, although he ought not to do that, though he iniury another man, though he commit a hainous crime, although by this one act of his, he locketh vp the hauens, and shutteth vp the ports against those that are shipwracke? It is no point either of lightnesse or inconstancie, for a man to forsake a knowne and condemned error. And a man ought ingeniously to confesse and say, I thought otherwise, I am deceiued. But this is a perseuerance in an arrogant foolishnesse to say, I hat which I haue spoken once, whatsoever it bee, I will abide by it, and make good my word. It is no shame to change a mans opinion, when the businesse is changed. Go to, if Philip had left him in possession of these demesnes, and that sea-coast which he had gotten by his shipwracke, had he not barred all miserable men from reliefe? It is better (saith he) that thou shouldst carry throughout my kingdom these letters ingrauen in thy most shamelesse forehead, more worthy to be written in thine eyes. Shew thou in thy punishment, how sacred a thing the table of hospitalitie is. Let all the world reade this my law, engristred in thy countenance, by which is decreed, that it is no capitall matter, to entertaine any miserable person into a mans house. So shall this constitution of mine bee more strongly ratified, then if I had engrauen the same in brasse.

CHAP. XXXIX.



Hy then (saith he) did your *Zeno*, when he had promised a certain man to lend him five hundred pence, and had found him to bee insufficient, and not able to repay him, contrary to the aduice of his friends, who counselled him not to do it, persecuted in trusting him, because he had promised him? First there is one condition in a debt, another in a benefit. If I haue lent my money to an euill debtor, yet haue I meanes to recouer it againe: I may call any debtor into iustice, when the terme of payment is come, and if he break or play the banquerupt, I shal haue a portion of my debt, but the benefit is wholly lost instantly. Moreover, this is the act of an euill man, that of a bad husband. Again, neither would *Zeno* haue persecuted to credit him, if the summe had bin greater, it was but five hundred pence, put case (as it is commonly said) that he had spent it in a sicknes, was it so much worth not to reuoke his promise. I will come to supper (although it bee cold) because I haue promised, but if it snowed or were bad weather, I would not step out of my doores. I will arise out of my bed to accompany a Bridall, because I haue promised (although I haue not sufficiently slept or digested my meat, but not at all, if a fauor surprise me) I will come and giue my word for thee, because I haue promised, but not if thou wouldst make me stand bound for an vncertain thing, or if thou wilt bind me to the Exchequer. I tell thee there is alwayes a secret condition implied; so I be able, so it bee lawfull. If thou wilt haue mee keepe my promise, let the matter in the same state, that it was in when thou demandedst, that it was in when I promised. It can be no point of lightnesse to disappoint one, if there happen any alteration by the way: why wonderest thou if I change my counsell, when the conditions of my promise are changed? I am readie at this time to be the same I was then, if thou shew me all things in that estate I left them: wee promise to make appearance for my friend, yet is it not performed. For if there be any one that is hindered by force, or by a lawfull cause he is excused by excuse.

The condition
of the promise
may alter the
counsell.

CHAP. XL.



He same also will scrue for an answer to this demand; whether a courtisie is to be requited in any wise, or whether a benefit bee euery way to be restored? I am bound to yeeld a thankfull heart, but sometimes mine infelicities suffereth me not to make requital; and sometimes his felicity, to whom I am indebted: for what can I, being poore, restore to a King or a rich man? whereas some suppose it to be an iniurie to receiue a benefit, and benefits doe alwayes burthen the receiuer with other benefits. What other satisfaction can I make vnto such a person, then to be willing to acknowledge their goodnesse. For I ought not to reiect his new benefit, because I haue not satisfied for the former, I will receiue as willingly as it is giuen me: I will offer my selfe vnto my friend as a sufficient matter, to exercise vpon me all his good thoughts, and liberalitie. He that will not receiue new courtesies, is offended with the old. I, but I render not the like: what is that to the purpose? the delay is not in me, if either occasion faile, or abilitie be wanting: when he did me a pleasure, he had the meanes and the commoditie.

He

He that hath done it, is either a good or an euill man; if he be a good man, my case and cause is good enough; if hee bee an euill man, I will not pleade before him: neither thinke I it theeste also to be ouer hastie in yeelding recompence, contrary to the mindes of those who haue done vs pleasure, or that we importune them to receiue, when they are vnwilling to take it. It is no requital of a good turne, to render that which thou hast willingly receiued; to him that is vnwilling to accept the same. There are some, who if a friend send them some little present, doe suddenly after requite them with another, to the end they may vaunt they are not any wayes obliged. This is a kinde of refusal, when a man will make requital so soone, and by this meanes deface so suddenly one present by another. Sometimes also I will not restore a benefit, when I am able; namely, when I shall detract more from my selfe, and doe my selfe, more hindrance, then I shall profit him; when as he shall feele himselfe nothing amended by receiuing it, and I shall finde my selfe greatly impaired by forgoing it. He then that hasteth to restore and requite a kindnesse, hath not the minde of a gratefull man, but of a debtor. And to conclude in few words, he that is desirous to pay ouer soone, doth owe vnwillingly; hee that vnwillingly oweth, is vngratefull.

The end of the fourth Booke.



LVCIVS

Hastie returne
of fauour is rather
a defacing
of a benefit, then
a satisfaction.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FIFT BOOK.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe two special parts being concluded and determined. How a benefit should be given, and how it ought to be received. He saith that he passeth over to certaine things, that are not so much in the matter as of the matter, and both neare and united to the same. Then annexeth he certaine questions, and first of all this. Whether it be a loathsome matter to be over-come in benefits? He denyeth that he may be over-come, and approach him to be alwaies equall, that is desirous to make recompence in good will, if in act he cannot. The second question is: Whether any man may give himselfe a benefit? He denyeth it, yet argueth the matter on both sides. The third question he useth is, Whether any man according to the Stoicks doctrine may be called vngatefull? hee affirmeth and teacheth it. His fourth question is, Whether all are vngatefull? he saith no; although he confesse many. Then as depending of the said question: How farre and whither we are bound one for an other, as the Sonne for the Father, and such like? He answereth by a distinction, and rather denyeth. The fifth question is, Whether an vnplesant benefit may be given to a man unwilling to receive? It may. The last question, Whether a benefit may be redemanded?



IN these my former bookes, me thought, I had consummated and accomplished my principall intent, when as I had intreated and discovered, after what manner a good turne is to be done, and in what sort it is to be received, because these two points are the Poles, on which the Sphere of this discourse is moued. Whatsoever I intreat of, or linger on further, is not of the necessitie of the matter, neither much impertinent therunto, which wee ought to follow, not only whither it leadeth vs, but also whither it inuiterh vs. For continually there will some arguments arise, that will allure and entertaine our minde with the sweetnesse thereof, which is rather not necessarie then superfluous. But since you will haue it so, hauing ended all that which appertayned to the

the matter; let vs perseuer to search out these things, that are annexed vnto it, but not coherent, which whosoever doth curiously looke into; neither performeth a matter of great moment; neither loseth his labour. But vnto thee (my *Elegant Liberalis*), who art a man of the best nature, and so inclined to curtesie, no praise of those benefits may suffice. I neuer saw any man so estimable an esteemer of the smallest good offices, as thou art. And thy bountie hath already attained so farre, that thou esteemest the curtesie done vnto thy selfe, which is imploied on any other man. Thou art alwaies ready to giue satisfaction for the vngatefull; least any man should repent him of his bountie and kindnesse: and so farre art thou from all arrogancie and ostentation, so desirous art thou to disburthen those whom thou hast obliged, that whatsoever thou bestowest on any man, thou wouldest not seeme to haue giuen it as a benefit, but to haue repaid it as a debt. And therefore, such things as thou bestowest after this manner, returne vnto thee more plentifully. For commonly good turnes attend vpon him, that intendeth not to redemand them. And as glorie and reputation, doe most of all fasten vpony and follow those who flie from the same; so the fruit of benefits is more graciously correspondent vnto those as giue men leaue to be thanklesse, if they list. It shall not bee through thy default, but that they who haue received benefits at thy hands, may freely redemand the other, neither wilt thou refuse the former, which are either suppressed or dissembled by thee. The intent of a generous man, and such a one as hath a noble minde, is so long to forbear, and winke at an vngatefull person, vntill he hath made him thankfull: neither wilt this manner of dealing deceive thee euer; for naturally vices submit themselves vnto vertue, and loose their courage, if thou hasten not too much to hate them.

CHAP. II.

THOU conceivest likewise a singular pleasure, to heare this magnificent saying, that it is a shame to be over-come in giving benefits, which whether it bee true or no, it is wont to bee enquired vpon a good ground, and I thinke it farre different from that which thou imaginest. For neuer needest thou to feare any affront or dishonour in suffering thy selfe to be over-come in the noble competencie of vertuous actions, if so be thou forsake not thine armes, but being once over-come hast a will to over-come againe. Euery man in a good purpose hath not the same forces, the same faculties, and the same fortune: which only temperateth the ends of the best actions. The will of him that keepeth the right way, deferueth to be praised, although a more swifter runner hath set foote before him. It is not in this case as it is in the publique prizes, set out for spectacle, wherein the victorie proclaimeth the better man; although in them also casualtie hath often preferred the worst. When we speake of durie, and both the one and the other desire to acquit themselves fully; if the one of them hath had more meanes, if hee haue had matter at hand correspondent to his minde, if fortune hath permitted him to doe what him listeth: And contrariwise, if the other hath had a good will, although that which hee hath restored is of less value, then that which he hath receiued, or if he haue not satisfied at all, yet if hee haue a good minde to make a future satisfaction, if hee bend himselfe wholly to that businesse, if he duly thinke on nothing but the same, he is no more overcome then he

An extraordinary commendation of *Abolus Liberalis*.

It is a shame to be over-come in giving benefits, which whether it bee true or no, it is wont to be enquired upon a good ground, and I thinke it farre different from that which thou imaginest.

This is intended as a debt, not as a gift.

he that dieth manfully fighting, whom his enemy could sooner kill then put to flight; That which thou supposest to be dishonorable or dishonest, cannot befall good man; that is to say, to be vanquished: neuer will his heart faile him, neuer will he giue ouer, hee will be alwayes readie to acknowledge euenvntill the last houre of his life. He will doe in this station, and will confesse himselfe to haue receiued great benefitts, and wil protest that he hath a desire to repay them with the like.

CHAP. III.

THe * *Lacedemonians*, forbad their Citizens to fight at buffets or braces, where he confessing himselfe to be vanquished, doth shew him to be the weaker man. The runner that first obtaineth the goale, out-strippeth his companion in swiftnesse, but not in courage. The wrestler that hath fallen, and been foiled three times, hath lost the palme, but hath not yeelded it to his aduersarie. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians*, being desirous aboute all other things, that their Citizens should be inuincible, they inhibited and forbad them the vse of all such games, in which the victory is giuen not by the opinion of the iudges, or by the issue of the game, but by the voice of him that yeeldeth, and his that commandeth him to submit and yeeld. Vertue and a good heart giue vnto all men that which the *Lacedemonians* doe obserue amongst their Citizens, vertue and good will yeeldeth all men that they shall neuer be vanquished, because euenvntill those that are overcome the minde continueth inuincible. No man therefore saith, that the three hundred *Faby* were conquered, but slaine. And *Regulus* was Captaine amongst the *Carthaginians*, but not conquered, and all else whatsoeuer oppressed by the force and waight of enraged and cruell Fortune. The care is all one in benefitts, he that hath receiued more great, more precious, and more often, is not for all this vanquished. It may be that the benefitts of one, are overcome by those of another, in respect of those things that are giuen, and are receiued. But if thou wilt make a comparison betwixt the giuer and him that receiue (whose mindes must be estimate also by themselves) there is neither of them shall haue the palme. For wee are accustomed to say, that hee who is wounded in diuers parts, and he that hath but a slight hurt, haue departed on euenv hand from the combate, although one may seeme to haue receiued the foile.

CHAP. IIII.

NO man therefore can be overcome in benefitts, if he know that he oweth, if he haue a will to recompence, and if that which he cannot attaine in act, he equalleth in minde and will. This man, as long as he is constant herein, as long as he hath a good intent, approving his gracefull minde by outward signes: what skilleth it on whether part more presents may be numbered? Thou hast the power to giue much, and I only the power to receiue the same: good fortune is on thy side, and good will on mine, yet am I so equal with thee, as some naked, or slightly armed, are equal to some that are armed at all points. No man therefore is overcome in benefitts. For euery one is as thankfull, as he would be. For if it be

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* Paneratias was he, that notably with naked hands and fists, but with his feete and whole bodie contenteth the fight. Cossus was he, that with armed hand, to heavy blunts or waights of brasse, iron, or lead, charged his aduersarie.

The will to recompence reiecteth the want.

an affront and dishonour to be overcome in kinde offices, wee ought not to receiue a benefitt at mightie mens hands, to whom we can in no sort yeeld any satisfaction. I speake of Kings and Princes, whom Fortune hath entertained in that estate, that they may doe much, and bestow great largesse, but they cannot receiue but very little, and farre inferior to their owne gift: I say, Kings and Princes, to whom notwithstanding there may be seruice done, whose greatnes and power is not sustained but by affection, and the common consent which their subiects haue to obey them. But there are some that are vnattainted with any couetousnes, that are scarcely touched with any humane desires; to whom Fortune her selfe can giue nothing. I must needs be overcome by *Socrates* in benefitts. I must confesse the like of *Diogenes*, who marched naked amidst the riches and most precious moueables of the *Macedonians*, and trampled their Kingly treasures vnder his feete. Did not he then (yea and that deserued) both in his owne eyes, and other mens sight (whose eyes were not sealed vp from seeing the truth) seeme more eminent about him, vnder whose greatnes all things lay subiect. He was then more powerfull and more rich then *Alexander*, who at that time possessed all things, for there was more that this man would not receiue, then he was able to giue.

CHAP. V.

IT is no shame to be overcome by such as these, for neither am I lesse valiant, though you match me in fight with an enemy that cannot be wounded. Neither therefore can the fire burne lesse, if it light vpon a matter inuolable by fire. Neither therefore hath the tooke lost his force in caruing, if the stone be so hard that it cannot be pierced, and if naturally it be so rebellious against all things that are hard, that it will rather breake in peeces then yeeld. The same doe I answer of a thankful man, it is no dishonour for him to be overcome by the benefitts which he hath receiued at their hands, whose fortune is so great and mightie, and vertue so excellent, that it hath barred all returne of benefitts vnto him. We are for the most part overcome by our parents, for so long do we hate them, as long as we iudge them to be troublesome and insupportable, and as long as wee vnderstand not their benefitts. When as our yeares haue taught vs some experience, and we begin to perceiue, that they ought to be beloved by vs, for those things for which they were disliked; I meane their admonitions, their severity and diligent ouersight of our inconsiderate youth, then are they snatched and taken from vs. Few there are that haue liued so long as to reape the true fruit of their childrens towardnesse, the rest haue felt a burthen by them, and discontent: yet is it no shame for children to be surmounted by their parents. And why should it be shamefull to be surmounted by them, since it is no disgrace to be vanquished by any whatsoeuer? For sometimes we are equal and vnequall to one and the same person; we are equal in good will, which is only required, which we onely promise and profess: but we are vnequall in fortune, for want whereof, if a man be hindered from being thankfull, he ought not for that cause to be ashamed & blushed, because he is vanquished. It is no dishonour to be vnable to ouertake, so a man pursue and follow still. Sometimes wee are enforced before we haue restored the old, to craue new benefitts. Neither therefore should we to aske, or demand we disgracefully and dishonestly, because we ruine further

The miserable
man then is to
be excused, if
he is not able
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ther in debt, before wee bee able to repay the former, because the fault is not through our default, but for that disability which eneth our gratuitie. But some thing will fall out otherwaies, which will keepe vs from satisfying, yet will wee not bee ouer-marched in minde, neither will wee bee shamefully ouer-come in these things, which are not in our power.

CHAP.



ALLEXANDER King of Macedon, was oftentimes wont to boast, that neuer any man could overcome him in benefits. There is no cause why this ouer-haughty minded Prince, should cast his eyes on the Macedons, Greekes, Carians, Persians, and other nations which were bound vnto him by way of conquest. He should not thinke that that great Kingdome, which extended it selfe from the furthest confines of Thrace, to the banks of the vnkown Sea, had given him the means to accomplish and do this. *Socrates* himselfe might vaunt that he had done as much, and *Diogenes* also, by whom he was ouercome. Why should he not be ouercome that very day, wherein the man swelling about measure with humane pride, he saw a man to whom he could neyther giue, nor from whom hee could euer take any thing? King *Archelaus* intreated *Socrates* to come and visit him; to whom (as it is reported) *Socrates* returned this answer: That he would not come vnto him from whom he should receive a benefite, which he could not requite. First of all it was in his power not to receiue any thing: secondly, it was he that began to giue a benefite. For he came vnto him vpon his request, and gaue that which the King could neuer equall or satisfie. Moreouer, *Archelaus* was to giue him golde and siluer, but was himselfe to receiue the contempt of golde and siluer. Could not *Socrates* therefore requite *Archelaus* courtesie? Had he not equalled the good which he was to receiue, had he made him see a man perfect in the skill of liuing and dying, knowing the true ends of them both? If he had taught the King (who saw not at mid-day) the secrets of Nature, whereof he was so ignorant, that vpon a day when the Sunne was in Eclipse, he caused the dores of his Palace to be shut; and (as men were wont to doe in time of mourning & great miserie) he cut off his sons haire: How great a benefite had it bene if he had drawne him loaden with teare out of the lurking places where he lay hidden, and had encouraged him, saying, This is no defection or obscuring of the Sunne, but the encounter of two Planets, when as the Moone, shaping her course more lower then the Sunne, hath placed her Orbe vnder him, and by her interposition holdeth his light obscured from our sight: sometimes couereth no more then a small part of his bodie, when in the conjunction thee passeth no more but on one side; otherwhiles thee eclipseth a greater part of his light, when she setteth her selfe in his front, and before him; otherwhiles she couereth him wholly, if with a iust and equall counterpoise, thee intirely settle her selfe opposite betwixt the Sunne and the earth: yet the swiftnesse of these starres shall suddenly separate the one from the other, the earth hereby shall recouer her light: and this order shall continue in all ages to come. There are certaine and destinated dayes, wherein the Moone shall by her intercourse hinder the Sunne, nor from shooting forth the fulnes of his beames. Stay but a while, and thou shalt suddenly see him breake forth: thou shalt see him discharge himselfe of the Moone as it were of a cloud, and (shaking off as it were

This is not ill
allusion: the
sunne was eclipsed
at full Moon
naturally, but in
Courtly death
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those impediments that detain him) thou shalt see him send forth his desired light most freely againe. Might not *Socrates* then haue requited *Archelaus*, if he had giuen him instructions how to gouerne his Kingdome? As little as you make of it, it had bene a great benefite in *Socrates*, and greater any wayes then *Archelaus* could haue giuen him. Why then said *Socrates* thus? Forsooth, because hee tooke a pleasure to passe the time in figuratiue merie, and telling discourse, he mocked the whole world, but especially great men, and had rather denie him subtilly, then arrogantly and proudly. He said that he would receiue no benefits at his hands, to whom hee could not returne an answerable recompence. He feared happily least he should bee compelled to take that which hee would not, hee feared least hee should receiue something that were vnworthy, *Socrates*. But some man will say, that he might haue denyed the same, if he misliked it, but by this meanes he had incensed an insolent King against him, who would haue all that which came from his hands, highly esteemed. It is nothing to the purpose, whether thou refusest to giue any thing to that King, or receiue ought at his hands, he construeth and conceiteth the one repulse, as badly as the other, and to a proude man it is more distastfull to be disdained, then not to bee feared. Wilt thou know what he truly and really intended, hee would not entertaine a voluntarie seruitude, whose libertie a free Citie could not endure.

CHAP. IIIL



ME haue, as I suppose, sufficiently debated vpon this part, whether it were a dishonour to be ouer-come in benefiting. Which whosoever draweth in question, hee knoweth that men are not wont to giue themselves benefits; for it had bene manifest that it is no shame for a man to be vanquished by himselfe. Notwithstanding amongst some Stoicks, this also is brought in question, whether a man may giue himselfe a benefite, and whether he ought to yeeld himselfe thanks? The causes why this matter seemed to bee disputable, were these that follow: Wee are wont to say, I thank my selfe, and I can complaine of no man but my selfe, I am angry with my selfe, and I will be reuenged of my selfe, and I hate my selfe, and many other such things besides, whereby euery one speaketh of himselfe, as if it were of an other. If (saith he) I can hurt my selfe, wherefore can I not benefit my selfe likewise? Besides, if those kindneses which I haue bestowed vpon an other, should be called benefits, why should they not retain the same name, if they were employed on my selfe? Had I receiued them of an other, I should owe the same, why then had I giuen them to my selfe, should I not owe them to my selfe? why should I be vngratefull to my selfe? whereas it is no lesse dishonorable and dishonest for me, then to be niggardly to my selfe, then to be cruell and tyrannous toward my selfe, and neglectfull of my selfe? As infamous is the band of anothers beautie, as hee that setteth her owne to sale: wee reprehend a flatterer, and an applauder of other mens sayings, and such a one as is alwaies ready to yeeld a false lustre and laud to euery thing: So likewise is he most iustly reprehended that pleaseth himselfe, admireth himselfe, and (if I may say so) flattereth himselfe. Vices are not onely hateful, when they shine abroad; but when they are retorted vpon themselves. Whom wilt thou more admire, then him that gouerneth himselfe, and that alwaies carrieth in his hands the bridle of his owne motions and affections? It is more easie to gouerne Barbarians

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ans, and such as are impatient of forraigne gouernement, then to contayne a mans minde : and make it subiect to it selfe. *Plato* (saith hee) thanketh *Socrates*, because he taught him. Why should not *Socrates* thanke himselfe for teaching himselfe? *Marcus Cato* saith: *That which thou wantest, borrow of thy selfe.* Why can I not giue it my selfe, if I can lend it my selfe? There are innumerable things wherein custome of discourse diuideth vs from our selues. We are wont to say, *Let thou me alone, I will speake with my selfe, and I will pull my selfe by the eare.* Which if they bee true, euen as any man ought to bee angrie with himselfe, so ought he to thanke himselfe: as he may rebuke himselfe, so may he praise himselfe: as he may harme himselfe, so may he profit himselfe. An iniurie and a benefit are contraries: if we say of any man, he hath wronged himselfe, wee may likewise say, he hath done himselfe a good turne.

CHAP. VIII.

NO man is indebted to himselfe, but by the order of nature: we must first owe, before we pay. There is no debter without a creditor, no more then there is a husband without a wife, or rather a Father without a Sonne. There must be some one to giue, if there be any to receiue. It is neither to giue, nor receiue, to turne out of the right hand into the left: Euen as no man beareth himselfe, although hee moue and remoue his body: As no man, although hee hath pleaded his owne cause, is said to haue bene his owne Aduocate, neither raiseth hee a statue to himselfe, as if he had bene his owne Patron. As the sick man, when as by his owne diligence hee hath recouered his health, requireth no recompence from himselfe: so in all affaires, yea euen in those wherein a man hath deserued best of himselfe, yet ought he not yeeld himselfe thanks, because he hath not any to whom he may yeeld thanks: and if I grant thee that any man may do himselfe a pleasure: I say, that in giuing the same, he receiueh also. Admit I grant thee that any one receiueh a pleasure from himselfe, in receiuing the same, he satisfieth for the same likewise. This cloaking and changing of persons (as the common prouerbe runneth) is made in thine owne house, and passeth away forthwith as a fained and idle debt. For hee that giueh is none other then he that receiueh, and both are but one. This word, to owe, hath place, but betweene two feuerall persons: how then may it consist in him only, which in that very instant requiteth when he is obliged? Euen as in a Bowle or Ball there is neither high nor low, nor first nor last, because that in tossing and turning the same, the order of these things are changed: so as that they which went behinde are now before, and those things that fell, mount vp againe, and all things in fine returne vnto one point, in what sort soeuer they bee remoued; euen so must thou thinke that it falleth out in man: when thou hast changed him into diuers fashions, he is but one and the same man. He hath beaten himselfe: he hath no man to sue for doing him iniurie. He hath bound and shut himselfe vp in prison: he cannot complaine of the iniustice and force he hath done vnto himselfe. He hath gratified himselfe, and hath forth with restored, euen when it was done, and a doing. Nature, the Mother of all things, is said to loose nothing; for whatsoever is taken from her, returneth to her againe: neither can any thing perill, because it can finde no place where to issue out of it selfe, but returneth thither from whence it departed. But what resemblance (saith hee) hath this example to

to our matter in question? I will tell thee: Put case thou bee vngratefull to thy selfe, the benefit will not bee lost; because hee that gaue it retaineth it still: Put case thou wilt not receiue it, it is in thy possession, before it is repaid thee. Thou canst lose nothing, for that which is taken from thee, is notwithstanding gotten for thee. The wheele is turned within thy selfe; receiuing thou giueh, and giuing thou receiuest.

CHAP. IX.

MAN (saith he) must doe good vnto himselfe, and consequently he must be thankfull to himselfe. First, that is false wherein the sequell dependeth. For no man giueh himselfe a benefit, but obeyeth his owne nature, by whom hee is composed and framed to loue himselfe, whence there groweth in him an especiall care to auoid those things that are harmful, and to desire those things that are profitable. For which cause, neither is he liberal, that giueh to himselfe, nor pitifull, that pardoneth himselfe, nor mercifull, that is touched with his owne miseries. That which (were it imploied on other men) might iustly be called liberalitie, clemencie, and mercie: in regard of our selues, is but nature. A benefit is a voluntarie thing, but to profit a mans selfe, is a necessarie matter. The more benefit a man hath giuen, the more bountifull is he. Who euer was applauded for succouring himselfe? for deliuering himselfe out of the danger of thiefs? no man giueh himselfe a benefit, no more then hee entertaineth himselfe in his owne house, no man giueh to himselfe, no more then he lendeth to himselfe. If any man giueh himselfe a benefit, hee alwaies giueh, hee giueh without intermission, hee can neuer keepe iust reckoning of the number of his benefits. How can hee then returne a recompence, when as in that very thing wherein he satisfieth, he giueh a benefit? for how can he discerne whither he giue or restore vnto himselfe a benefit? whereas the matter concerneth but one only man? I haue deliuered my selfe out of danger: haue I giuen my selfe a benefit? Once more I preserue my selfe in perill, do I my selfe a good turne, or doe I restore it? Moreover, although I should grant that first, that we giue a benefit to our selues, yet will I not grant the consequent. For although wee giue, wee owe not. Why? because we presently receiue: First, must we receive a benefit, and then owe it, and then requite it. But there is no time of owing, in so much as we receiue againe without any delay. No man giueh but to another man, no man oweth but to another man, no man restoreth but to another man. All that which in this sort requireth two persons, cannot be done in one.

CHAP. X.

Benefit is that whereby something is profitably giuen, but this word, to haue giuen, appertayneth to others. Shall he not be supposed to be a mad man, that saith, hee hath sold any thing to himselfe? because a sale is an alienation of a mans substance and right, and a translation thereof vnto another. But euen as in selling, so in buying any thing we ought to make a reall surrender of the thing, and to leaue that which a man hath, to suffer another to enioy the same. Well, if benefiting bee of the

same nature, then can no man benefit himselfe, because no man can giue ought to himselfe. For then should two contraries concur in one, so as giuing and taking should be all one thing. But there is great difference betwixt giuing and taking. And good cause why, considering that both these wordes are placed as contraries, the one against the other, but if a man may giue himselfe a benefit, there is no difference betwixt giuing & receiuing. I said a little before, that there were some wordes that appertayned to others, and are so formed that their whole signification departed from our selues. I am a brother, but an other mans brother: For no man can bee his owne brother. I am equall and like; but to some man: for who is equall with himselfe? That which is compared, is not to be vnderstood without an other, that which is vnited, cannot be without an other: If both, that which is giuen, is not without an other, so likewise a benefit is not without a receiuer. And this appeareth in the word it selfe, wherein this is contayned to haue benefited. But no man benefiteth himselfe, no more then hee fauoureth himselfe, or taketh part with himselfe: I might prosecute this thing longer, and with larger examples, and why not? when as a benefit is numbered amongst those things, which require a second person. Some things which are honest, praise-worthy, and of great vertue, haue no place, but with another. Faithfullnesse and integritie, is commended and praised by every man, and are esteemed amongst the greatest blessings which appertaine to mankind, and yet haue you euer heard, that any man hath bene faithfull to himselfe?

CHAP. XI.

Come now to the last part. He that requiteth a good turne, must employ somewhat of his owne, as he doth who repayeth the monie he oweth: but he layeth out nothing who satisfieth himselfe, no more then he giueth, who giueth to himselfe. A benefit and a remuneration must passe from one vnto an other: for in one person there is no vicissitude or change: He therefore that requiteth a good turne pleasurh him againe, from whom hee hath receiued any thing. Hee that is gratefull to himselfe, whom profiteth he? himselfe. But what man is hee that thinketh not that acknowledgement of a fauour is in one place, and the benefit in an other? He that requiteth himselfe, profiteth himselfe; but what vngratefull man was there euer that would not doe this? nay rather who was not vngratefull that he might doe this? if we (saith he) ought to thanke our selues for that we haue done wel, we ought likewise to yeeld some recompence to our selues. But we say, *I thanke my selfe, because I married not that wife, and for that I contracted not societie with that man.* When we say thus, wee praise our selues, and to approve our fact, we abuse the wordes of those that giue thanks. A benefit is such a thing which may not be restored, euen then when it is giuen, he that giueth himselfe a benefit, cannot choise but receive that which he gaue, *Ergo*, it is no benefit. A good turne is entertained at one time, and recompensed at an other; And in a benefit the thing that is most probable, and of greatest repute, is, that hee forgetteth his owne profit to doe an other man good, and taketh from himselfe, to giue vnto a second; this doeth hee nor that giueth himselfe a benefit. To giue a benefit is a sociable thing. It ioyneth that mans fauour,

and

and obligeth this mans friendship: To giue to a mans selfe is no sociable thing, it ioyneth no man; it obligeth no man; it encourageth no man to say, This man deserueth to be honored, he did such a man a good turne, and will doe mee the like. A benefit is that which a man giueth, not for his owne sake, but for his to whom he giueth it: he that giueth himselfe a benefit, giueth it for his owne sake. *Ergo*, it is no benefit.

CHAP. XII.

Supposest thou that I lie and grow deficient in that which I promised in the * beginning? sayest thou that in stead of performing some laudible thing, I runne at random, and thinking to do well, haue lost my labour? Expect a little I pray thee, and thou shalt say this more truly, (as soone as I haue led thee into these laborious, from whence, when thou hast escaped, thou shalt attaine no more, then to flie those difficulties into which it was in thine owne choice not to descend: what profit receiuest thou to vnloose those knots which thou hast expressly knit with much trauaile, to the end thou mightest, when thou hast tied them, buslie thy selfe to loosen them? But euen as some of them are so fastened (for delight and meriment sake) that it is a hard matter for an vnskillfull man to loosen them, whereas hee who hath tied them, may easily slacke them, because he knoweth the stops and entanglings thereof, and yet notwithstanding those haue some pleasure in them, for they trie the sharpnes of mens wits, and awaken them to more diligence: so these things which in appearance are subtil and deceitfull exile securitie, dulnesse and sloth from mens mindes, to which sometimes easie passages are to be laid open, in which they may wander, sometimes somewhat difficult and dangerous is to be set in their way, through which they may hardly creepe without trauell, or in which they may not walke without difficultie. It is said that no man is vngratefull, and this is thus concluded. A benefit is that which profiteth, but no man can profit an euill man (as you Stoicks say) therefore an euill man receiueh no benefit, and consequently also he cannot be vngratefull. Furthermore, a benefit is an honest and probable thing: with a wicked man there is no place, either for that which is honest or profitable, therefore not for a benefit, which if he cannot receive, he ought not to restore, and therefore is he not vngratefull. Again, as you say, A good man doth all things iustly, if he doth all things iustly, he cannot be vngratefull. A good man restoreth a benefit, an euill man cannot accept it. Which if it be so, neither any good or euill man is vngratefull: and consequently, this name of vngratefull is but a frivolous and imaginary name in this world. There is but only one good with vs, and that is honestie. This cannot an euill man apprehend, for hee ceaseth to be euill, if vertue enter into him, but as long as he is euill, no man can giue him a benefit, because good and euill things are at oddes, and cannot be reconciled: therefore no man profiteth him, for whatsoever befalleth him, hee corrupteth it with euill vs. For euen as the stomacke being troubled and corrupted by long sicknesse, and oppressed by choller, changeth whatsoeuer meates it receiueh, and conuerteth all the nutriment it receiueh into the cause of his griefe: euen so a blinded minde, whatsoever thou committest to him, it maketh the same his burthen, his bane, and the occasion of his miserie. They then which haue most riches, and possesse most goods, are subiect to most stormes

* He said in the beginning of the first chapter of this first booke, that although he had not to entertaine of things necessarye yet the labour should not be lost.

and tempests, and the lesse finde they themselves, the more they fall into a greater occasion of impietie and disturbance: nothing therefore may befall the euill that may profit them, nay rather, nothing that doth not hurt them. For whatsoeuer befallth them, they conuert into their owne nature, and those things which in outward appearance are pleasing and profitable, if they were giuen to a better man, are pestiferous and harmfull to them. Therefore also can they not giue a benefit, because no man can giue that which hee hath not, and for that they want a will to doe good.

CHAP. XIII.

BVt although all this were true, yet may an euill man receiue such things as haue a similitude and resemblance of benefits, which being vnrecompenced, hee shall bee iustly termed vngratefull. There are goods of the minde, goods of the body, and goods of fortune. Those goods of the minde are such, as foolish and bad men are vn capable of them. To these is he admitted, who can both receiue the same, and is tied to restore them; and if he restoreth them not, he is vngratefull. And this is not our constitution only; it is of the Stoicks doctrine. The Peripatetiques also (who prefix such large and ample bounds to humane felicitie) say, that the smaller sort of benefits befall the euill men, that whosoever restoreth not, hee is vngratefull. Wee therefore esteeme them no benefits, which cannot better and enoble the mind, yet deny we not, but that they are commodities, and such as are to bee desired, these may an euill man giue, and receiue from a good man; as money, garments, honour, life, which if he requite not, he falleth into the name of an vngratefull man. But how call you him vngratefull, for not restoring that, which thou deniest to bee a benefit? There are some things, which although they are not truly such, yet for the similitude and likeness they haue with them, are comprehended vnder the same word. So call we a box, both of that which is of gold, as that which is of silver: so terme wee him vnlearned, that is not wholly rude, but as yet vntrained and taught in higher discipline: so hee that seeth a man ill clothed, and in ragged garments, saith that he hath seene a naked man. These are no benefits, yet haue they a resemblance of benefits. As these are but benefits in appearance, so seemeth he to be vngratefull, yet is not he vngratefull. This is false, because that hee that giueth, and hee that receiueh callet them benefits. So also he that hath deceived vnder pretence and colour of a true benefit, is as vngratefull as he is held to be a poysoner, that giueth a stupifying medicine, when he beleued it was poison.

CHAP. XIII.

LEARN THESE VRGETH this more vehemently; Although (saith he) it be not a benefit which he receiueh, yet is he vngratefull, because he would not haue restored it, although hee had receiued it. So is he a theefe (yea euen then before he hath polluted his hands) because hee is already armed to kill, and hath a will to spoile and murder: wickednesse beginneth not, but is exercised and opened in the action. That which he receiued was no benefit, but was so called. Sacrile-

*Anal. et i. cal-
led a Box, from
the Box tree,
of which boxes
first were made,
it answers to
the Greeke word
μυξή.*

gious persons are punished, although they lay not their hands on the Gods: How (saith he) may a man be vngratefull towards a wicked man, when as a benefit cannot be giuen to a wicked man? Verily in that respect, because he receiueh of him some of those things, which amongst vulgar and ignorant persons are called goods, whereas, if euill men haue abundance, he also in the like matter ought to be gratefull, and restore those things, whatsoeuer they be, for good, whereas hee receiued them for good: hee is said to owe another mans money, both hee that oweth gold, and he that oweth leather coyned with the publike stampe, such as was current amongst the Lacedemonians, that standeth in stead of ready money: in that kinde thou art obliged, in the same to yeeld satisfaction.

CHAP. XV.

WHat benefits are, and whether the greatnesse and dignitie of a name (so honorable should bee employed in this abiection, and humble matter; it appertayneth not to you, a true benefit belongeth vnto others. Compose you your mindes to the resemblance of a true benefit, and whilst you say that thing is honest, whatsoeuer it be, if it be reputed and esteemed for honest, esteeme and praise that: Euen as (saith hee) no man in your iudgement is vngratefull, so againe by your reckoning all men are vngratefull. For as you say, all fooles are euill men, but he that hath one vice is possessed of all, and all men are fooles and euill; therefore all men are vngratefull. What then? doth not the reproch generally light vpon all mankind? Is it not a publike complaint that benefits are lost, and that there are few which requite not euill, for such as haue deferred well? neither hast thou cause to conceiue that this is our particular misconcert, or deceit, and that wee alone repute all things euill, and deprauid that fall not out euen and iust, with the rule of right. Behold I know not what veine it is, or whence it is sent, which crieth not out of the Philosophers house, but from the midst of the multitude; condemning People and Nations.

*Nor from the Hoste the guest can be secured,
Nor from his Sonn in-law the Father freed,
Nor Brother from his Brother be assured:
Both Man and wife haue eithers death decreed.*

But this now is more, benefits are turned into banes, and their blood is not spared, for whose defence we ought to spend our owne. Wee follow and gratifie benefits with Sword and Poison. At this time it is reputed dignitie and greatnesse, to violate and spoile a mans Country, and to oppress her with her owne authoritie. He that hath not troden the Common-wealth vnder his feete, supposeth himselfe the basest and ignoblest in the same. These Armies that were leuiued by her, are armed against her, and her imperious voice is applauded and listned to, that faith. Fight against your wiues, draw your Swords against your children, destroy your Temples, raise downe your houses, and cast your household gods on the ground. You that should not enter Rome (no not to triumph) without permission and command of the Senate, and to whom bringing home their victorious Armies, audience was giuen in the Senate without the Citie walles, enter the Citie now with displayed ensignes, murdering the Citizens, and bathed

thed in the blood of your neereſt kinſfolkes. Let libertie bee ſilent amidſt theſe warlike enſignes. And let that conquering Nation, and that people which hath eſtabliſhed peace thorow their whole Empire; and driuen warres out of their Prouinces, and allayed all terror and feare, now beſieged and terrified within their owne walles, be affraide of their owne Standards and Eagles.

CHAP. XVI.

Ingratefull was ^a *Coriellanus*, to late pious and penitent after his wickedneſſe committed: he laide aſide his Armes, yet ſo laide he them aſide, that it was in the height and midſt of ciuill parricide. Vngratefull was ^b *Catiline*. It is a ſmall matter with him to ſurpriſe his Countrey, except he vtterly ruinate it: except he leade the regiments of the *Sanoyes* and *Dalphiniois* to ſpoyle the ſame; and theſe enemies whom he had leuiſed on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, had ſatiſfied and glutted their old and mortall hatreds: except the Romaine Capitaines had paid their long-due anniuersaries of internall ſacrifice to the Sepulchres of the *Gaulles*. Ingratefull was ^c *Caius Marius*, who was raiſed from a common ſouldier to a Conſular: who except hee had equalled the Romaine Funerals with the Cimbrian ſlaughters, except hee had not onely giuen a ſigne of ciuill ſlaughter and murder, but himſelfe had bene the murderer, he would haue ſuppoſed that his fortune had bene changed very little, and that he had not grown greater: but was buried in his former obſcuritie. Ingratefull was *Lucius Sylla*, who healed his Countrey with harder remedies then the dangers were; who when hee had marched from the tower of *Præneste* to the gate *Collina*, through the blood of ſlaughtered ſouldiers, waged new battels in the Citie, executed new ſlaughters, and ſlew two legions (O crueltie) after victorie, and (that which was moſt impious) when he had driuen and gathered them into a ſtrait, hee murdered them notwithstanding, after he had faithfully promiſed them their pardon, and inuented a proſcription (O ſoueraigne Gods) that hee who had ſlaue a Roman Citizen, ſhould not onely be diſcharged and exempted from puniſhments, but receiue reward, and which is more receiue the reward done to him that preferred a Citizen. Ingratefull is ^d *Cneus Pompey*, who for his three Conſulſhips, for his three triumphes, for ſo many honors; which for the moſt part were thruſt vpon him, during his immature and young yeares, returned the Common-weale this requital, that hee ſeized others of the poſſeſſion of the ſame, ſuppoſing thereby to diſcharge himſelfe of that enuie, that might be conceited againſt his greatneſſe and authoritie, if that which were lawful for no man might bee admitted in many, whileſt hee longed after extraordinary chaunges and commodes, whileſt hee diſtributed Prouinces, to make choiſe of that which beſt liked him, whileſt in ſuch ſort hee diuided the Common-weale into the hands of the Tribunes, that two parts thereof remained alwayes in his owne houſe, hee reduced the Romaine people to that extreame, that they could not be diſcharged or ſecured, but by their ſeruitude and loſſe of libertie: Ingratefull was he, who was both *Pompeyes* enemy and conqueror, who drew the warre from the vttermoſt bounds of *Germany* and *France*, before the wals of *Rome*. He it was (that pretending popularitie, and ſo great loue and

and afterward being incenſed againſt his Citizens, for baniſhing him for a certaine ſpace into *Aſticke*, hee committed huge murders in the Citie. ^e He was exerciſed in the affaires of the Common-weale, when he was but twentie three yeares old.

tender

a This was a valiant Capitaine amongſt the Romans, who being baniſhed vpon certain occasions out of the Citie (as Titus Livius reporteth in his ſecond Booke, Ab vbe Condit.) Was ſo ſollicit to enter and inſinuate himſelfe amongſt the Volcans, that leaving an Arme of them, he began to invade his Countrey, until being moued by his Mothers Prayers and teares, he ceaſed from the battell. b This was another rebellious Citizen of Rome, who leaving an Arme both of his naturall Country-men and ſtrangers, intended to deſtroy the Citie, but hee was defeated by the Citizens, and of a valiant conſolation, became Conſull in Rome ſeven times, and once came a Nation called the Cimbrians, and afterward being incenſed againſt his Citizens, for baniſhing him for a certaine ſpace into *Aſticke*, hee committed huge murders in the Citie. c This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre againſt the Romans, and was killed by the Romans. d This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre againſt the Romans, and was killed by the Romans. e This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre againſt the Romans, and was killed by the Romans.

tender care of the Comminaltie) that pitched his tents in the *Flaminian* round, neerer then the place where ^f *Perſennus* encamped. True it is that he tempered the power which the law of armes and victorie allotted him, and performed that which he was wont to ſay, and neuer ſlew any, except ſuch a one as was armed and addreſſed to fight againſt him: But what importeth all this? The reſt exerciſed armes more cruelly then he did, yet were they ſatiſfied at length, and laid them downe, but this man ſheathed his ſword quickly, but neuer laid it aſide. Ingratefull was *Anthony* towards his ^g *Dictator*, whom he pronounced to be iuſtly ſlaine, and aſſigned to his murderers great Prouinces and governments: and hauing torne and tired his countrey with proſcriptions, incursions, and ciuill warres after ſo many euils, he decreed that, that generous Common-weale, which in times paſt had giuen liberties, exemptions, and particular priuiledges to the people of *Achaia*, and the *Rhadians*, and many other famous Citiees, ſhould her ſelfe become tributarie, not to Romaine Kings, but to infamous Eunuches and Geldings.

monies inſtall Tarquine the proud, and planted his colours as Iulius Ceſar did neere to the Flaminian round; hee was the beſt dignitie and Maieſtacie that was in the Romaine Common-weale. See Aldus in his booke De legibus Romanis.

CHAP. XVII.

The day would faile mee, if I ſhould reckon vpon all thoſe that were vngratefull, even with the vtter deſtruction of their Countreies. And no leſſe endleſſe labour would it be, if I ſhould beginne to relate how vngratefull our Common-weale hath bene towards the beſt, and moſt tenderly affected Citizens theſe had, and how as often theſe hath ſinned in ingratitude her ſelfe, as others haue ſinned againſt her. Shee ſent ^a *Camillus* into exile, diſmiſſed *Scipio*, baniſhed *Cicero* after *Catlines* conſpiracie, theſe raced his houſe, ſpoiled his goods, and exerciſed againſt him all thoſe cruelties which *Cateline* himſelfe could haue done, had hee bene Conqueror. *Rutilius*, in reward of his innocencie, was baniſhed into *Aſia*, to liue there in obſcuritie. The Roman people denied *Cato* the Praetorſhip, and would neuer grant him the dignitie of a Conſull. In briefe, wee are all of vs generally vngratefull. Let euery one examine himſelfe; there is not any man that will not complaine of ſome ones ingratitude. And it cannot be that all men ſhould complaine, except there were ſome cauſe alſo to complaine of all men. All men therefore are vngratefull. Is this all? and are they thus onely. All are couetous, the world likewiſe is ſubiect to auarice, all are malicious, all fearefull, and they eſpecially who ſeeme to be moſt confident. Furthermore, all men are ambitious, and all men are wicked: But thou muſt not be diſpleaſed and agrieved hereat, all of them are mad. I will not recall thee to vncertainties, as to ſay vnto thee, ſee how vngratefull youth is. Who is he (be he neuer ſo innocent) that wiſeth not that his Father had breathed his laſt? who is he (how moſt ſouer he be) that gapes not after his death? who is he (how religious and pittifull ſouer hee be reputed) that thinketh not of his Fathers death? what huſband ſo feareth the death of a good wife, as he counteth not the gaine he ſhall receiue if ſhe die? what man is he, I pray you, who being intangled in the law, and deliuered by another mans diligence, that be thinketh him of ſo great a benefit any longer, then

e The Romans had in their Citie three round Courts, or circles, whither they repaired to ſee their ſports and amplements, where of this was one which was therefore called the Flaminian circle or round, becauſe a Conſul called Flaminius builded the ſame. f This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre againſt the Romans, and was killed by the Romans. g Dictator was the beſt dignitie and Maieſtacie that was in the Romaine Common-weale. See Aldus in his booke De legibus Romanis.

a All theſe were valiant Citizens of Rome, who employed themſelves in many notable ſeruices, and receiued diſgraces for their good deſerts. This I ſay is not exempt from ſuch like presidents.

vntill

untill a second action? This is confessed, and certaine without all exception: Is there any man that dieth without complaining? who at his last gaspe dare say thus:

*My daies are done, now haue I brought to end
The course of life, that Fortune did me lend.*

Virgil. *Æneid.*

Who dieth not vnwillingly? who departeth not mournfully? But this is the part of an vngratefull man, not to content himselfe with the time that was lent him. The time will alwaies seeme short vnto thee, if thou reckon the same. Thinke that the chiefeft good is not in time, and how little focuer it be, take it in good part. It addeth nothing to thy felicitie, if the day of thy death be prolonged, because by delay life is not made more blessed, but more long. How much better is it to giue thanks vnto the goddess for those honest pleasures, which wee haue receiued, and not to busie our selues in numbring other mens years, but to esteeme our owne thankfully, and to put them in the account of our gaires: hath God thought me worthy of this? this sufficeth mee: might hee haue giuen mee more? but this also is a benefit. Let vs bee thankfull to the gods, let vs be thankfull to men, let vs be thankfull vnto those that haue done vs any curtesie, and thankfull to those likewise who haue done any kindnesse to any of ours.

CHAP. XVIII.

THou obligest mee infinitely (saist thou) when thou saiest Ours, prefixe therefore some end. He that bestoweth a benefit on the Sonne, as thou saiest, bestoweth it likewise on the Father. First, I aske where, and whither, and afterwards I desire thee likewise to informe me, whether a pleasure done vnto the Father, be likewise done vnto the Brother, to the Father, the Vnckle, the Grand-father, the Wife, the Sonne in law? Tell me where I should end, how long wilt thou that I follow the order and pedigree of so many persons? if I haue tilled thy land for thee, haue I not done thee a pleasure? if I haue quenched the fire that would haue burned thy house, or if I haue repaired it, for feare it should fall vpon thee, shall I not giue thee a benefit? if I saue thy slaues life, shall I impute it vnto thee? if I preferue thy Sonne, hast thou not receiued a benefit at my hands?

CHAP. XIX.

THou settest downe vnlike and different examples, because that he who tilleth my Land, giueth not the benefit to my Land, but to me: and hee that vnder-proppeth my house, least it should fall, doth the pleasure to me: for the house it selfe is without sense. I must needs be in his debt, because none else is. And he that manureth my land, doth it not to deserue wel of the soile, but of my selfe. The same will I say of my seruant, for he iustly appertayneth to me, it is for my profit he is preferred, and therefore I am indebted for him. My Sonne is capable himselfe of a benefit, and therefore hee receiued it; I am glad of the fauour done him, it concerneth mee somewhat, yet am I not obliged. Yet would

would I haue thee answer mee, who thinkest thou art not indebted, whether thy sonnes good health, felicitie and patrimonie appertaineth to the Father? Hee shall bee more happy if his sonne bee whole and safe, and vnhappy if he lose him. What then? he that is made happier by me, and deliuered from the perill of a mightie infelicitie and misfortune: hath he not receiued a benefit? no (saist he) for certaine things are bestowed vpon others, which extend also vnto vs; but euery thing ought to be required at his hands, on whom that is bestowed: as money is required at his hands who borrowed the same, although the same came in some sort into my hands. There is no benefit, the profit thereof toucheth and extendeth not to our neighbours, and sometimes also to those that are farthest off from vs. The question is not whether the benefit be transferred from him to whom it is giuen, but where it is first placed, thou must alwaies redemand it from the principall debtor, and he that ought it first. What then I pray thee? saist thou not thou hast giuen me my sonne, and if hee had perished I should not haue liued? gauest thou not a benefit for his life, whose safetie thou preferrest before thine owne? At such time as I saued thy sonne, thou diddest not fall downe at my feete; thou diddest not pay thy vowes vnto the gods, as if thou thy selfe hadst bene preferred? diddest thou not cry out after this manner, the same hast thou done in succouring my sonne, as if sauing mine owne person: make account that thou hast saued two, and me especially: Why saist thou this, if thou receiuest no benefit? because although my sonne hath borrowed money, which I will repay vnto his creditor, yet shall not I bee indebted: and if my sonne hath bene taken in adulterie, I may happily be alhamed, yet shall not I therefore be the adulterer: I say that I am bound vnto thee for my sonne, not because I am, but because I will offer my selfe vnto thee a voluntarie debtor. But a great pleasure hath befallen me by his safetie; inestimable is the profit I conceiue thereby, and which is more, I haue escaped the grieuous wound and corrasie of being child-lesse. The question is not now, whether thou hast profited me; but whether thou hast giuen mee a benefit; for a liuing creature, an herb, a stone profit me, yet giue they me no benefit, which is neuer giuen but by such a one as is willing. But thou wilt not giue vnto the Father, but to the sonne; and in the meane while thou knowest not the Father; when therefore thou saiest, Haue I not therefore giuen a benefit to the Father, because I haue saued his son? Argue thou this contrariwise: How could I therefore giue a benefit to the Father, whom I neither knew, or euer thought vpon? and why falleth it not out sometimes, that thou shalt haue the Father mortally, and yet be desirous to saue his sonnes life? Wouldest thou say that thou gauest a benefit to the Father, whose mortall enemy thou wert at that time? But laying aside these questions which I intreate of by way of Diatribe, I will now answer like a Lawier: And say, that the minde of the giuer is loque, I will now answer like a Lawier: And say, that the minde of the giuer is loque, to be respected. He gaue him the benefit to whom he intended it; euen as if he did it in honor of the Father: the Father receiued the benefit, not the sonne; so is not the Father bound for a benefit bestowed vpon his sonne, although he eniue it. Yet if occasion be offered, the Father shall not do amisse, to be willing to giue some what, not that he is constrained by necessitie to pay any thing; but that he might haue found a sufficient cause to begin to do a pleasure. A benefit therefore ought not to be redemanded at the Fathers hands, for a curtesie done vnto the sonne; and if he voluntarily shew himselfe gratefull for the same, he ought rather to be esteemed iust than thankfull. For other wise there would neuer be an end; if I giue a benefit to the Father, the mother, the grand-father, the

Mark a glimpse
of charity euen
in a Pagan.

Resolution of the
doubts.

the vncke, to the children, kinsfolke, friends, seruants, and countrie: where then beginneth a benefite to rest? For me thinks I am fallen into an argument which the Grecians call *serites*, which hath neuer an end, because it drudgeth on, and stealing forward by little and little, ceaseth not continually to passe on further. Men are wont to debate vpon this matter: Two brothers are at deadly feude the one against the other, if I preferre the one, haue I profited the other, who will be forrie that his brother hath escaped with life? There is no doubt but that it is a benefite, although it be against his will that receiue the same: Euen as contrary wise, he hath not giuen a benefite, that profited against his will.

CHAP. XX.



Allest thou that (saith he) a benefite wherewith he is offended and vexed? many benefites haue a harsh and distastfull appearance; as when we cut and cauterize to heale, and imprison to amend. We ought not to respect whether a man be forrie for a benefite receiued, but whether hee ought to reioyce. The coine is not bad, which a barbarous and ignorant person accepteth not for currant and rightly stamped munny. He hateth the benefite and yet he receiue the same, if it be profitable vnto him, and hee that hath giuen the same, hath done it to the end that it should be profitable: it makes no matter though a man receiue a good turne with an euill will: So to let vs turne this the contrary way: A man hateth his brother, whose life importeth and profiteth him much, him haue I slaine. This action of mine is no benefite vnto him, although he say it is and reioyce thereat. Most traiterously doth he hurt, who receiue thanks for doing harme. I do than see something is profitable and is therefore a benefite, hurtfull and therefore is no benefite. Behold I will giue that which is neither profitable nor hurtfull, and yet it is a benefite. I haue trauersed a desolate place, and found some mans father starke dead, and haue buried his body, neither haue I profited him that was slaine (for what concerned it him after what manner he were consumed?) neither was it profitable for his sonne, for what could he gaine hereby? I will tell you what hee hath gained, hee hath discharged by my meanes a necessarie and solemne office. I haue done that to his father: which he himselfe would haue done, nay more, which in dutie he ought to do. Now if I did it not for common pietie and humanities sake only, as I might haue buried any other dead mans body, but knew the carcasle and thought vpon the sonne at the same time, and did it for his sake, then is it a benefite. But if I burie a dead man that is vnknowne to me, no man is indebted to me for this office, because it was but a point of publike humanitie. Some one will say vnto me: Why art thou so busie to enquire who it is to whom thou hast done a pleasure, as if thou wouldst hereafter redemand the same? There are some that iudge that it should neuer be claimed againe, and alledge these causes. The vnworthie receiuer will not requite the same to be redemanded, the thankfull and worthie receiuer will of himselfe yeeld recompence. Besides if thou hast giuen to a good man, be not to earnest in clayming it, least in demanding the same thou do him wrongs as if he would not haue satisfied thee of his owne free will. If thou hast giuen it to an euill man, haue patience. Corrupt not thy benefite with redemanding the

the same, and of a currese make it no debt. Besides, that which the law biddeth not to be redemanded, it forbiddeth. These things are true, as long as nothing vrgeth me, as long as fortune inforceth me nothing, I will rather craue then aske againe. But if it be to saue my childrens liues: if my wife bee in danger of hers, if the libertie and good of my Countrie contraineth me to go thither whither I would not, I will command my bawfullnesse, I will procel that I haue endured all things before I would be inforced to demand succours at an vngratefull mans hand. In briebe, the necessitie of receiuing a good turne, shall ouer-come the shame of claiming it, when therefore I employ a benefite vpon a good man, I so giue it as if I would neuer redemand the same, except necessitie inforce me: but the law (saith he) not permitting to demand, forbiddeth to claime.

CHAP. XXI.



Here are many things which neyther haue lawe nor action, to which the custom of humane life, more powerfull then any law, giueth entrance. No law commandeth vs to discouer our friends secrets, neyther doth any lawe in like manner tye vs to keepe promise and our word with our enemy. What law tyeth vs to performe that which we haue promised to any man? yet will I iustly complaine of him that hath discouered my secret, and be displeased with him that hath giuen me his word, and hath not kept it. But thou (saith he) makest a debt of a benefite. Nothing lesse: for I doe not exact it, but redemand it; neyther do I redemand it, but admonish: neyther shall my extreamest necessitie enforce me to this, to come vnto him with whom I shall be forced to vse long contestation. Who so is so farre plunged in ingratitude, that he will not be content to be aduertised and admonished, I will let him passe, neyther will. I thinke him worthy to be inforced to be thankfull. Euen as the vsurer raketh not vpon those debtors, whom he knoweth to haue played the bankerouts, or to be so poore that nothing is left them to lose that may make them ashamed: so will I ouerpasse some that are publicly and obstinately thanklesse, neyther will I redemand a benefite at any mans hands, but from him only from whom I shall not take away by force, but freely receiue it.

CHAP. XXII.



Anie there are that neyther know how to denie the good they haue receiued, nor to restore it when it is needfull: who are not so good as the gratefull, nor so euill as the vngratefull: slacke and idle debtors, yet not euill. These will I not challenge, but admonish: & since they forget their duty, I will make them remember themselves, so as they will presently answer me in this sort: *Pardon me, I pray you, in good faith I knew not that you had need hereof: for whilst I thought you much, I had offered it you of my selfe: I beseech you account me not vngratefull, I remembred well what I had*

There is as great weakness in many men in not being able to limit the opportunity of their satisfaction.

ness: you haue done vnto me. Why should I feare to make these men better to themselves, and to me also? I will binde whomsoever I can from sinning, much more my friend from offending, and especially against my selfe. I giue him an other benefite, if I suffer him not to be vngratefull, neither will I rudely vpbraid him with the good turns he hath had of me: but as mildly as I can will I only refresh the memory of them, to the end he may haue occasion to restore me some such pleasure: I will pray him to do me a good turne, to the end he may vnderstand that I doe it to redemand mine owne. Now and then will I vse sharp and bitter words, if I conceiue any hope that he may be amended: for a desperate person, who hath lost all shame I will not exasperate him, lest of an vngratefull man I make him mine enemy. For if we remit and forbear to admonish sharply, and call on those that are vngratefull, we shall make them more slow to requite our courtesies. But some that may be amended, and who may be made good, if any thing touch their conscience: that we suffer them to be lost for want of admonition, wherewith the father hath sometimes corrected his sonne, and the wife recalled and reclaimed her straying husband, and a friend refreshed the languishing faith of his friend?

CHAP. XXIII.

SOME there are that so sleepe, that they are not to bee awaked by striking, but by jogging. In like manner there are some that want not the will to yeeld satisfaction, but they are too slack and slow in the performance thereof, let vs awaken it. Be not thou the cause that thy benefite bee conuerted into an iniurie. Thou shouldest iniurie me, if thou wouldest not redemand the pleasure, which thou hast done me, for this cause, that I might become vngratefull. What if I know not what thou wantest? what if distracted by occupations, and employed otherwise, I haue not obserued the occasion? shew me what I may, and what thou wouldest. Why despairst thou, before thou triest mee? why art thou so hastie to loose both thy benefite and thy friend? whence knowest thou that I will not, or I know not, or whither my minde or meanes be deficient, make triall of me. I will aduise and admonish him then, not bitterly, not openly, but so modestly, that he may thinke that of himselfe he hath called the matter to memorie, and was not put in minde by me.

CHAP. XXIIII.

A CERTAINE old Souldier, who had vsed some violence towards his Neighbours, was drawne in question before *Julius Caesar*, and seeing himselfe ouer-charged, and like to loose the proceesse. *CAESAR* (saith he) remember you not how you once spent your ankle in *Spain* neere to *Sures*, a Riuer of *Valencia*? when *Caesar* had answered him that he remembered it well, the Souldier continuing his purpose, said thus: Doe

you

you remember likewise, that being couched vnder a Tree, that gaue but little shadow, and desirous to rest your selfe, to sue the heat of the scorching Sunne, in a barren and ragged stile, in which there was not but that only Tree, that grew from amongst the craggy cliffe, there was one of your Souldiers that spread his cloake vnder you. When *Caesar* had answered, yea marrie, why should I not remember it; for when I was nigh dead for thirst, because I was not able to goe to the next spring, by reason of my foot, I would haue crept thither vpon all foure, but that a Souldier of mine, a man both stout and valiant, brought mee water in his Helmet. *Emperor* (said this Souldier) doe you now know that man, and that helmet, if you see them. *CAESAR* answered, that hee knew not the Morion, but that hee knew the Souldier very well, and further said, (displeased, as I suppose, for that he interrupted the pleading of the cause, to listen to that old storie which hee had told him.) I am sure thou art not he. *CAESAR* (said the Souldier) I blame thee not, in that thou hast forgotten me, for when this was done, I was whole and sound, afterwards I lost an eye at the battell of *Munda*, certaine splinters of my skull were taken out of my head, neither would you know the Helmet if you should see it, for it was cleft in peeces by the stroke of a Spanish Curtelaxe. Hereupon *Caesar* commanded that he should not be troubled any further, and gaue vnto his Souldier those small parcells of Land, through which the way lay, that made this strife betwixt him & his neighbors.

Or stande you,
a people of *Andalucia*.

CHAP. XXV.



HAT then? should he not re-challenge the benefite at the Emperors hands, whose memorie was confused through the multitude of his affaires? whose great fortune in disposing of his armie, sufficed him not to remember and reward euerie priuate Souldier?

This is not to redemand a benefite, but to resume it againe, being readie at hand, and laied vp in a good place, and yet if a man will haue it, he must stretch out his hand. I will therefore redemand the same, if I be constrained to doe it, either by necessitie, or for his sake, of whom I must requite it. A certaine familiar of *Tiberius Caesar*, pretending some sute vnto him in the beginning of his Empire, beganne his speech thus: Sir remember you not? to which he answered before hee vttered any further tokens of their former and ancient friendship, I remember not what I was. From such as this Prince was, not only should a good man forbear to aske recompence of former courtesies, but also be ought to desire and procure that he might forget them vtterly. Hee diddaine the memorie and knowledge of all those persons, who hee repaid either for his friends, or equals, before his Empire, his only desire was that they should respect that present fortune and authoritie, wherein he was placed, that only would he haue to be thought vpon, that only to be spoken of; hee reputed his ancient friend for a busie Inquisitor. It is better to redemand a pleasure thou hast done in times past in time and place, then to require and exact anew. Moderation of words is to be vsed, that the vngratefull man, who neuer cannot pretend to haue forgotten them. If we liued amongst men of science and conscience, we might hold our peace and expect, and yet it were better to giue them notice of our affaires, and the estate of our necessities. We pray vnto the gods, who know all things, our prayers obtayne not that which wee demand, they only aduertise them of that which we would intreat at their hands. That Priest which speaketh in *He-*

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mer,

mer, representeth vnto the gods the honour which was done vnto them : and those Altars which were devoutly addrest, and dressed for them, to the end they might bee fauourable to his petitions, and attentue to his praers. It is a second vertue, both to be willing, to be admonished, and to be able to entertaine good aduertizements. The mind is to be reigned softly this way and that way, few there are that are perfectly governed by the same, but they that by honest aduertisements returne into the right way, hold the second place; and from these we ought not to take the guide that conducteth them. The eyes that are shut haue a light, but without vse, which then grow in vse, when the day-light which the goddess send vs) calleth them forth and awakneth them to performe their offices. Instruments and tooles lie by and serue no vses, except the workman moue them, and employ them in his labour: meane while there is a good will in his soule, but either idlenesse or delight benummeth it, or the ignorance of his art makes him erre. Wee ought therefore to amend our will, and not to suffer it through despite to languish long time in error: but following the custome of Schoole-masters, who instruct yong children, we ought patiently to endure, and discretely to pardon them, if they haue forgotten any thing through defect of memorie. And euen as in telling them a word or two, they fashion them to construe their whole lesson: so by some little admonition we ought to reclaime such as are forgetfull, and fashion them to acknowledge a Benefit.

The end of the fift Booke.



LVCIVS

*The will is to be
awakened, lest
it languish in
error.*



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SIXT BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.



Gainie continueth he his questions after the maner of CHRYSTIPPVS. Firſt he enquireth whether a benefit may be taken away? he differently diſputeth thereupon, yet concludeth that the uſe thereof may be taken away, but not the benefit it ſelfe. His ſecond queſtion is, whether we be indebted to him, who either profited vs willingly or ignorantly? he denieth. His third is, whether we be obliged to him that profited vs for his owne ſake? if only for himſelfe, he denieth it; but if for mine alſo, he admitteth it. He mixeth ſubtilties with examples. The fourth is, whether it be lawfull to wiſh another man an euill turne, ſo the end thou mayeſt reſtore him his benefit? it is not lawfull, and he condemneth it. He openeth another way of reſtitution, euen to thoſe that are happy: yea to Kings, by counſailes, admonitions, and doctriues.

CHAP. I.



Here are ſome things (my *Liberalis*, the worthieſt of men) which are only drawne in queſtion to exerciſe the ſpirit, and haue no uſe in them. There are other things alſo, which not onely moue delight, whilſt they are diſputed vpon, but after they are debated, are greatly profitable vnto vs. I will preſent thee with all ſorts of them. Thou mayeſt as it pleaſeth thee aduiſe me, either whether I ſhall finiſh thoſe that are begunne, or that I preſent them only on the Theater, for ſhow and oſtentation ſake: and althoough thou commaundſt them to be incontinently relieued, yet will there ſome profit ariſe thereby: for althoough there are ſome things which are vnnecceſſarie to be ſpoken of, yet it ſerueth vs ſomewhat to know them. I will therefore be at thy diſpoſition and becke, and ſhape my proceedings according to thy pleaſure: ſome will I debate vpon more amply, other ſome will I caſt out headlong from off this Theater.

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THe question is whether a benefit may be taken away. Some denie that it may, for a benefit is nothing but an action, euen as the gift is one thing, and the giuing another, and he that faileth one thing, and the Nauigation it selfe another thing. And although the sicke man be not without sicknesse, yet is not he that is sicke and the sicknesse it selfe all one: so the benefit it selfe is one thing, but that which cometh to each one of vs by the benefit, is another thing. A benefit is a thing incorporeall, which cannot be frustrated, the matter thereof is tossed hither and thither, and changeth his master. When therefore thou takest the same away, Nature it self cannot vndoe those things she hath done. She stoppeth the course of other benefits, but cutteth them not off. He that dieth, yet hath liued, & he that hath lost his sight, hath formerly seene. It may be brought to passe, that those things that are come to vs may not be, but that they may not haue bin, it is impossible; but the part of the benefit, and the most certaine is that which was. Sometimes we hinder the vs and long possession of a benefit; the benefit it selfe cannot be razed out. Though nature summon al her forces to this end, yet hath shee no power ouer that which is past. Thou mayest take away the house thou gauest me, the money thou lendest me, the slave I bought, and whatsoeuer else, wherein the name of a benefit consisteth, but the benefit it selfe is fable and immutable, no force can effect this, that the one hath not giuen, and the other hath not receiued.

CHAP. III.

MARCVS ANTONIVS (as the Poet * Rabirius setteth it downe) seeing his fortunes translated to Augustus, and that no other refuge was left him, but the priuiledge of death, and that that also (except he tooke hold of the present occasion) would quickly be taken from him, cried out in my opinion most heroically.

*That onely now I haue,
Which 1 to others gaue.*

O how much might he haue had if he would? These are the most assured riches which will continue at one stay, in whatsoeuer inconstancie and leuitie of humane fortune, which the greater they be, the lesse enuie will they haue. Why art thou so sparing of that thou hast, as if it were thine owne? thou art but Fortunes factor. All these things which thus pusse vs vp, that embleme vs with pride, that seeme to make vs more then men, cause vs to forget frailtie. These therefore which you keepe within iron wales, with armed hands, these goods which you haue purchased with other mens bloods, and defended with your owne, for which you rege forth whole nauias to staine the seas with blood, for which you beleager Cities, and yet ignorant, what store of weapons Fortune hath prepared against those, who are opposed against her. These for which two imitators, pretenders of Empire (the lawes of affinitie, friendship and confederacie being broken) haue so oftentimes caused the world to bee so cruell

and

and confounded, are not yours; they are but as things in trust left in your hands, and shall suddenly be translated to another master. That enimie, from whom you haue pillaged them, or some successour of his enmitie and hatred shall come and force them from thee. Askest thou me how thou mayest make them thine owne? I answer thee, by well bestowing them. Be prouident therefore in thy affaires, purchase vnto thy selfe an assured possession of those things which can neuer bee taken from thee: thy riches shall not onely bee more secure, but also more honest; that which thou admirest and priset so much, that which in thy iudgement maketh thee rich and powerfull, as long as thou detainest it in thy hands, retaineth no other title but the villanous name of auarice, as for example, thy house, thy slave, thy money; but after thou hast giuen them, they are accounted and reckoned for benefits.

CHAP. IIII.

THou confessest (saith he) that sometimes we are not obliged and indebted to him, of whom we haue receiued a benefit: *Ergo*, it is taken from vs. There are many causes which discharge vs of the obligation, whereby we are tied for the good we haue receiued, not for that it is violently taken from vs, but because it is corrupted by another meane. A certaine man defendeth mee, being accused and guiltie of some capitall crime, and afterwards vseth infaucous violence to my wife, and rauisheth her; he hath not taken away the good that hee did me, but opposing an equall iniurie to the same; he dischargeeth mee of my debt; and if he hath hurt me more then he profitted me before, the good turne is not only extinguished, but I haue free libertie both to complaine, and to reuenge, where, in comparison of the benefit, the iniurie ouerweigheth it: so the benefit is not taken away, but ouerpressed and drowned. What? are not some fathers so hard hearted and wicked, that it is both lawfull and rightfull to loath and thunne them, and not to acknowledge them? haue they therefore taken from them that which they gaue them? nothing lesse, but the impietie of succeeding times, hath taken away the commendation of every former office and kindnes: the benefit is not taken away, but only the thanks, which ought to be acknowledged for the same, and it is brought to passe, not that I haue it not, but that I owe it not. If a man lend me money, and afterwards burne my house, his debt is satisfied by my damage; I haue not paid him, & yet I owe him nothing. Euen so standeth the case here: though a man hath done me some friendly good turne, though he hath dealt with me somewhat liberally, yet if afterwards he many wayes vs be proud, contumeliously & cruelly, he hath left me at that stay that I am, as free from him, as if I had neuer receiued any thing at his hands, for the fault is his owne, and he himselfe hath violated his owne benefits. The Land-lord cannot constrain his tenant to pay his rent (although the deeds remaine in force vncancelled) if he treade downe his corne, sell downe his fruit-trees, not because hee hath receiued that which hee couenanted, but for that he himselfe is the cause that his tenant cannot satisfie him. So is the creditour oftentimes endamaged towards his debtor, if he take more for some other pretext, then that which he lent did amount vnto. The Iudge sitteth not betwene the creditour and debtor to say only this, Thou hast lent him money: what then? thou hast driuen away his cattell, murdered his seruant, taken possession of

*All greatnesse is
transitory, the
perdurable good
is least appre-
hended.*

* This was a
noble Poet that
wrote the Civil
wars, and com-
mended by O-
uid.

of his land, which thou neuer payedst for; when all these things shall bee well considered of and valued: depart thou a debtor, who camest a creditour. There is therefore a iust rating and valuation betwixt benefits and iniuries to be made. Oftentimes the benefit remaineth, and we are not obliged to satisfie the same, if he that gaue it repented himselfe afterwards, if he say he was vnhappy in that he gaue the same, if when he gaue he sighed, or bent his browes, if he beleue he hath lost and not giuen: if he hath done it for his owne profit, or least not for mine? if hee hath not ceased to insult, bragge and boast euery where, and make his benefit bitter and distastfull to the receiuer. The benefit therefore remaineth, although it be not due, euen as certaine moneyes are due, but not exacted, because the creditor hath no law to recouer them.

CHAP. V.

THou gauest a benefit, and afterwards diddest an iniurie, there is both a thanks due to the benefit, and a reward for the iniurie, for I owe him no thanks, nor he me any punishment, the one satisfieth the other. When we say, I haue satisfied his benefit, we say not thus, that we haue restored that which we receiued, but this for that; for to restore, is to giue one thing for another. Why not? because euery payment restoreth not the same, but as much in value: for we are said to haue satisfied our debt, although we haue paid siluer for gold, and although we pay no money at all, but either by assignement to other, or by way of exchange we make our satisfaction. Me thinks thou tellest me that I lose my labour: for what profiteth it me to know, whether that which is not due remaineth still in obligation? These are but impertinent subtilties of the Lawyers, who say that no man can acquire the possession or dominion of an inheritance, but onely the goods thereof, as if the heritage were ought else, then those things which are in the inheritance? I had rather thou shouldest distinguish me this (which may be pertinent to the matter) namely, when as the same man had done me a courtiesse, and afterwards offered me an iniurie, whether I ought to requite his kindnesse and not withstanding reuenge my selfe for the iniurie offered me, and make a feuerall satisfaction, as it were, for two different debts, or recompence the one with the other, and not to take any more care of it, so as the benefit be taken away by the iniurie, and the iniurie by the benefit. For I see that this is obserued in the Courts of pleas, what the resolution of your Schooleis, you your selues know. The actions are feuerall, and conformably to the course of our pleadings, so answerably are wee dealt withall. For otherwise there should be a great confusion in the Iudgement-seat and course of law: if he that should leaue in my custodie goods or money in trust, should afterwards steale from me, I should enter my sute of felonie against him, and contrariwise he pleade against me, for the money left in trust with me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THese examples (my *Liberals*) which thou hast proposed, are contained vnder certaine lawes which we must needs follow, for one law is not confounded with another, each one keepeth his one way. As for the matter in trust, there is a distinct action, so is there also for the theft. A benefit is not subiect to any law, only I that receiued the same, am the arbitrarie Iudge thereof: I haue authoritie to compare together, how much good another man hath done mee, or what damage I haue receiued by him: whether I be indebted more vnto him, or he obliged more to me. In iudging by law and ordinances I haue not any power, thither must we go, whither they leade vs. But in matter of benefit, all the power and priuiledge is mine owne, and therefore I iudge them, and separate not the actions, I summon the benefits and iniuries before one Iudge: otherwise thou shouldest command me at one and the same time, to loue and hate one and the same person, to complaine of him, and to giue him thanks, which nature cannot permit: nay rather by comparing the benefit and wrong together, I shall see whether any thing be owing me of surplusage. Euen as he that imprinteth other lines aloft vpon my writings, taketh not away the former letters, but only raceth and hideth them. Euen so an iniurie that succedeth a benefit, blemisheth it so, that it cannot appeare.

CHAP. VII.

Hy countenance (to whose direction and becke I submitted my selfe) beginneth to frowne, and thou bendest thy browes vpon me, as if I strayed from my purpose, mee thinks I heare thee say:

*Whether so farre disioyned from the port,
Dost thou vpon thy right hand saile before?
Fly hitherwards, vnto this barren resort;
And leaue the maine, and leaue and like the shore.*

Pardon me, I can keepe no neerer. If therefore thou thinkest that I haue satisfied and sufficiently debated on this matter: let vs passe onward to the other, and examine whether wee bee indebted to him that hath done vs a pleasure against his wil. I might speak this more plainly, but that the proposition ought to be more confused, to the end that the distinction which followeth presently after, should shew that we dispute both the one & other point: that is to say, whether we are bound vnto him that hath procured our good, and meant it not, and also whether we be beholding to him, that hath done vs good, and knew it not. For if any man by compulsion hath shewed vs any kindnes, it is a matter so manifest that he obligeth vs not, that there need no words to be spent to this purpose. And the said question may easily be answered, and whatsoever may be objected of the same nature, if we often conuert our thoughts to this generall principle. That there is no benefit but that which is accompanied with a good thought towards vs; and such a thought and intent likewise, as is both friendly and bountifull: And therefore we thanke not the giuers although they beare great

great ships, and with a large and perpetuall chanel, fleet along to furnish vs with commodities, and although wooing the wondring eye, and tull of daintie fish, they steale along and moisten our fatned fields: neither will any man iudge that he is indebted to *Nilus*, or displeased therewith, if it hath ouer-flowed and drowned his land, or too slowly growne to ebbe: neither doth the winde befriend vs, although it blow agentle and prosperous gale, nor the victuals we eat, although they bee profitable and holtsome. For hee that properly, will giue a benefit, must not only profit me, but haue a will to doe me good. Therefore men are not indebted to dumbe beasts, yet how many hath the swiftnesse of a horse deliuered out of danger? nor to trees, and yet how many troubled with heat hath the shadow of their branchie armes deliuered and couered from the scorching Sunne? what concerneth it me whether he that did me good, know not that hee doeth it, or becnor able to know it, when both of them wanted will to doe it? And what difference is there, whether you command me to owe a benefit to a ship, or a chariot, or a speare, or to such a one, who, as these, had no purpose to doe good, but was profitable vnto me only casually?

CHAP. VIII.



Man may receiue a benefit vnwittingly, but no man doth good without knowing of the same: Euen as many men haue been healed of their infirmities, by some casuall accident, and yet for all that they are no true remedies: As some men haue recouered their health by falling into a Riuer in an exceeding cold day: As a quartaine ague hath beene driuen from some men by whipping, and a sodaine fright hath appointed the expected houre of an ague, by fixing the imagination on another distastfull euill, and yet none of these, although they haue beene the cause of recouerie, can be said but to bee a soueraigne remedie, so some men profit vs while they would not, or rather because they will not doe vs good, yet are wee not indebted to them for the benefit. What if fortune hath altered their pernicious counsailes, and drawn them to a better end? Supposist thou that I am any waies bound vnto him, whose hands striking at me, light vpon and hit mine enemy: who would haue hurt me, except hee had swarued? Oft-times a wrenesse whilest hee manifestly forswearth himselfe, hath detracted from their credit who were true witness, and hath made the Iudges to commiserate the prisoner, supposing that it was but some slanderous circumuention and conspiracie. Oft-times the very great power and authoritie of the aduersarie, hath deliuered the delinquent out of the Iudges hands, who would not condemne him vpon the credit and fauour of the accuser, which otherwaies they had consuied by the iustice of the cause. Yet did not these giue a benefit, although they profited, for the question is, whereat the dart was aimed, not where it lighted, and it is the minde, and not the euent, which distinguisheth a benefit from an iniurie. Mine aduersarie, whilest he speaketh contraries, and offendeth the iudge by his pride, and rashly dismisseth one of his best witness, giueth great advantage to my cause. I aske not whether he erred to pleasure mee, because his intention was to hurt me.

CHAP.



Erly, to approue my selfe gratefull, it behooueth me to haue a will to doe that which he hath done: if he would that I should take it for a benefit, he ought to haue a will and intent. For what is more vnjust then that man who hateth him; that hath kicked him in a throng, or soiled him with dirt, or thrust him thither, whither he would not? But what other thing is there that may exempt him from the blame whereas there is an iniurie in the action, then that hee knew not what hee did? The same thing that priuilegeth the one from being iudged: to haue done iniurie, exempteth the other also from being thought to haue done a pleasure. It is the will that maketh vs either friends or enemies. How many hath sicknesse discharged from warfare? Some haue beene letted from being oppressed with the ruine of their owne houses, by keeping their day of appearance at the sute of their enemies. And some by shipwrack haue escaped the hands of Pyrates, yet are wee not obliged to these misfortunes for any benefit, because casuall euents haue no correspondencie with amitie; nor to our enemy, who would trouble vs by processe, and detain vs vnder arrest. It is no good deede that proceedeth not from a good will, except he that gaue it acknowledge it. Hath a man pleased me and know not of it, I owe him nothing? Did he doe me good when he would haue hurt me: I will doe the like to him.

CHAP. X.



Et vs returne againe to the first point: Thou wilt that (to the intent I should be thankfull) I should doe somewhat, and yet hee that did me kindnesse, hath done nothing. Let vs speake now of the second. Thou wilt haue me very forward to gratifie him willingly, although in the giuing he had no good will or intention to giue. For what shall I say of the third, whose iniurie is exchanged into a benefit? If thou wilt haue me to owe thee a good turne, it is not enough for thee to be only willing to doe mee good: but to make mee vnbeholding to thee, it is enough that thou meanst it not towards me. For the bare will cannot make a benefit. But euen as that should not be a benefit, if a good and free will were abandoned by fortune, so likewise it is not a benefit, if the will marcheth not before the fortune. For if thou wilt haue mee beholding to thee, thou must not only doe me good, but also thou must doe it with a will to profit.

CHAP. XI.



LEANTHES vseth this example, I sent, saith he, two Boyes to the Academie to seeke out *Plato*, and to bring him home. One of them sought him out in all the Galleries and Porticoes, where he was wont to walke, and came through all other places wherein he had any hope to finde him out, and at length being wearie with his way, and frustrate of his hope, returned home: The other stood gazing at the next Iugler, or mountebanke, or whilst he was dallying and dowsing

and plaiceth with his fellowes and companions, seeth *Plato* passing by, and found him whom he fought not. I, saith *Cleantes*, will commend that Boy who performed that he was commanded, to his vttermost and willchastite that other who was more fortunate in lazinesse. It is the will that is the lawfull Mistress of these actions, the condition whereof must be considered, if thou wilt haue me to be thy debter. It is a small matter to with a man well, except thou pleasure him; it is a small matter to haue pleased, except thou hadst a will to doe it. For put case a man had a will to giue, yet gaue not, vndoubtedly I haue his hart, but not his benefit which consummatest and perfecteth both the thing and the will; Euen as I owe him nothing that would haue trusted mee with his money but did not: so will I be a friend, but not obliged to him, that would haue done mee a curtesie but could not; and I shall haue a will to do him good, because he had a will to pleasure me. Notwithstanding if fortune be so fauorable vnto me, as that I may haue the means to giue him any thing, it shall not be to gratifie his curtesie but to giue him a benefit. It shall be his dutie to yeeld me thanks, and the beginning of the debt shall be deriued from me.

CHAP. XII.

Perceiue now already what thou meanest to demand: thou needst not to tell me, thy looks expresse thy thoughts. Are we indebted in any sort to him (sayest thou) who, to profit himselfe, hath done vs a pleasure? For of this thing oft-times I heare thee complaine, that there are some men, who reckon that kindnesse to be done vnto another, which they giue to themselves. I will satisfie thee herein, my *Liberals*: but first of all I will diuide this little question into two parts, and separate that which is iust from that which is vniust. For there is a great difference whether a man giueth vs a benefit for his owne sake, or for our behoofe, or for his owne and ours. He that solely respecteth his owne commoditie and profit, and profiteth vs notwithstanding (because otherwise he cannot further himselfe) seemeth, in my iudgement, to be all one with him who provides prouender and sommer-fodder for his cattell; or him that feedes his captiues liberally, to the end they may be the better solde; or him that fattens and curties his Oxen; to make them more vendible; or that Master of skirmish and defence, who exerciseth his family of Fencers with great care, & adordeth them most diligently, to the end they may get him maintenance. There is a great difference (as *Cleantes* saith) betwixt a benefit, and a negotiation or bargaining.

CHAP. XIII.

Aaine, I am not so neglectfull or euill, as to forget my acknowledgement towards him, who in being profitable vnto me, was as prouident and carefull to procure his owne good. For I do not exact this, that without respect of his owne estate, he should aduance mine; but rather I wish that the benefit which is giuen me, should most of all redound to his profit that gaue me the same. As long as he that gaue the same had a respect vnto two in giuing it, & diuided the same betwixt himselfe and me, although he for the most part possesse the same, if he

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admit me as a co-partner with him, if hee thought on two: I am not onely vngatefull but vniust, except I reioyce that hee found profit by that which was profitable to me. It is an effect of excessiue malice, not to call that a benefit, except it be such a thing, as returneth the giuer thereof some incommodie. I will answer him after another manner, who giueth the benefit for his owne sake: Why wilt thou say that thou hast rather profited me, then I pleased thee? Parcase (saith he) that I cannot otherwise obtaine a Magistracie, except I redeeme ten captiue citizens, amongst a number of others that are on that side and seruitude: shalt thou owe me nothing when I haue deliuered thee from seruitude and bonds? yet will I doe this for mine owne sake. To this I answer: Herein dost thou somewhat for thine owne sake, and somewhat for mine. It is for thine owne sake that thou redeemest me, and for my sake that thou chusest me. For it is enough for thee in regard of thine owne profit, to haue redeemed any what fouler. I therefore am indebted to thee, not because thou hast redeemed me; but because thou chosest me: for thou mightst haue attained as much by another mans redemption, as thou dost by mine. Thou diuidest with me the profit of the thing, and makest me partner of that benefit which should profit two. Thou preferrest me before others, thou dost all this for my sake: if therefore the redemption of tenne Captiues should make thee Pretor, and we were only ten Captiues, none of vs should any waies be indebted vnto thee; because thou shouldst haue nothing that were with-drawne from thy profit, that thou mightest impart to any of vs. I am no malicious interpreter of a benefit; neither desire I that the pleasure should redound only to my selfe, but to thy selfe likewise.

CHAP. XIII.

What therefore (saith he) if I had commanded all your names to be cast into lots, and your name amongst the number of such as were to bee ranfomed, were admitted to passe, shouldst thou owe me nothing? vndoubtedly I should be indebted vnto thee but very little. And what this is I will let thee know, thou dost somewhat for my sake, because thou admittest me to the fortune of redemption: because my name was registred amongst the rest, I owe this to fortune that my name was drawne amongst the rest, to thee that it might be drawne. Thou gauest me an entrance to a benefit, the greater part whereof I owe vnto fortune; but the abilitie I had to be indebted to fortune, that owe I to thee. As for those who set faile on those curtesies they do to others, I wil wholly ouer-passe them; because they respect not to whom they giue, but for what aduantage they gaue, and such a benefit as this retourneth euery way to his hands that gaue the same. A certaine man hath sold me corne. I cannot liue except I buy the same, yet am I not obliged to him for my life because I bought the same: neither estimate I how necessarie it was without which I could not liue, but how freely it was bestowed, which I should not haue had except I had bought it. In the conuenance whereof vnto me, the merchant thought not how much succours he should bring me, but how much profit he should breede vnto himselfe. That which I bought I owe not.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

IN this manner (saith he) thou wilt say that thou art no wayes indebted to the Physitian, except it be for some small fee, nor to thy master, because thou hast paid him some money: but amongst vs we yeeld them much reuerence, and offered them more loue. To this I answer, that there are some things more precious then we prize them. Thou buyest at the Physitians hands an inestimable treasure, to wit, thy life and health: from thy master and instructor in good Arts, liberal studies, and the certanie ornaments and riches of thy minde. To these therefore we pay not the price of that they giue vs, but the reward of their labours, because they serue vs, and abandon their owne particular affaires to intend ours. They receiue the reward, not of their merit, but of their trauaile. Another answer may be giuen to this, more answerable vnto truth, whereof hereafter I will intreate, when I haue first of all made it apparant how this may be disproued. Certaine things (saith hee) are more worth then they were sold for, and therefore although they are bargained for and bought, thou owest mee somewhat ouer and besides for them. First of all, what skillett it how much they are worth, when as both the buyer and seller are agreed vpon the price? Again, he sold it not at his own price and valuation, but at thine: it is more worth (saith he) then it was sold for; but it could not be sold for more. And the time is it that giueth the price vnto all things, when thou hast praised them to the vttermost, they are worth but as much as may be gotten for them; besides, he oweth nothing to the seller, that hath bought it cheape: moreouer, although these things are more worth, yet is it no thanks to thee, considering that the estimation of these things dependeth not vpon the vse and effect of them, but vpon the custome and scarcitie of them. What pay dost thou allor him that crossest the seas, and hauing lost the sight of land, cutteth thorow the middest of the waues an assured and direct course, and foreseeing future tempests, euen then when there is greatest appearance of securitie, commandeth suddenly to strike the sailes, to floope the top-sailes, and to be addressed to endure the sudden assault of a storme? yet pay we the reward of so great a merit, no otherwise then with an ordinarie fare. How much valuett thou a lodging in a desert, a sheade in a shower, a stoue or fire in cold weather? yet know I how much I shall pay for this, when I come to mine Inne. How greatly befriendeth he vs, that keepeth our house from falling, that vnderproppeth it with great cunning, and vpholdeth it in the aire, being cleft and winde-shaken from the very foundation: yet neither the supporting nor vndersetting cost me very much. The wall of a Citie keepeth vs in safetie from our enemies, and the sudden incursion of theeues. Yet is it well knowne what wages the Mason deserued by day, that builded those faire Towers and strong Bulwarkes, that were raised for the public securitie of the inhabitants.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

IT were an endlesse matter for me, if I should gather together those plentie of examples, whereby it might appeare that there are great and precious things, which cost vs very little. What then? why is it that I owe some great matter to my Physitian and Master, and fail in the satisfaction of that which they haue worthily deserued? Because, of a Physitian and Schoole-master they become our friends, and oblige vs not by the Art they sell vs, but by their gracious and familiar good will. To the Physitian therefore (who doth no more then touch my pulse, and numbeth me amongst one of those his patients, whom he ordinarily walketh to, and visiteth, prescribing me without any particular affection, what I ought to do, and what I ought to eschew:) I owe no more, and am no whit indebted: because he visiteth mee not as a friend, but for that I had enioyned him to come vnto me: neither haue I cause to reuerence my Master, if he hath made no more account of me, then of one of his ordinarie schollers, if he thought me not worthe of private & peculiar care; if he haue neuer settled his thoughts vpon me, and when generally he imparted his knowledge to the rest of his schollers, I rather gathered from him, then learned of him. What is the cause then, why I should owe so much vnto these? Not because that which they sold is more worth then we bought, but because in particular they haue giuen vs something ouer-plus. This Physitian bestowed more labour on me then he was bound to doe, he had more care of me then of his reputation and credit, he not only contented not himselfe to prescribe me remedies, but also vouchsafed to apply and minister them. In the meane while hee sate carefully by mee, and succoured mee, and preuented the suspected time, and rigor of my accesse, no office distasted him, no paine disliked him, if he had seene me become my selfe, he was sorrowfull. Amongst all those that called him, he had a particular care of me, he implied no other time in visiting the rest of his sicke patients, then such wherein my infirmities remitted and gaue him oportunitie. To this man I am not tied, as to a Physitian, but as to a friend. Again, that other Schoole-master tooke great care and paines in teaching and instructing me; and besides those lessons and common lectures which he communicated to all particularly, he reformed me in some points of importance, he quickened my spirits by good exhortation, and sometimes by praises he animated mee in my studies, and sometimes by admonitions diskuffed my sloth. Furthermore (if I may so speake it) he by the hand of his industrie drew out and whetted my hidden and heaue wit, too much drowned in the prison of my bodie, neither lingeringly and subtilly dispensed hee his knowledge, to the end I might haue longer vse and need of him, but desired, if he might, to communicate vnto me at one instant, all that which he knew. Vngrateful am I, except I loue him as one of my most gratefull and trust friends.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.



allow alwaies somewhat (ouer and aboue the ordinarie rate we buy at) to merchants and sailers (euen in the most mechanic and basest trades and offices) if we perceiue some extraordinarie diligence in the seruice we employ them in, and to the master of a ship and workman of a base price, how base soeuer they be, although they be but day-hirelings, we allow some ouerplus aboue his pay. Vn-thankfull then is he, that in the best Arts, which either preserue or adorne mans life: that suppoeth himselfe to be no more indebted, then for that he couenanted. Adde herunto that the tradition of such studies vniteth and allieth minds together, when this is done, both the Physitian and the Schoole-master haue receiued the reward of their labour, but their affections and good minds rest yet vn-satisfied.

CHAP. XVIII.



When Plato had crossed a certaine riuer in a ferry-boate, and the ferry-man had exacted nothing for his passage, supposing that it had bene done for his honors sake, he said vnto the ferry-man, that Plato ought him a good turne; but anone after perceiuing, that with no lesse diligence he freely transported many others: Friend, said he, thou hast now discharged mee of that obligation, whereby I held my selfe tied and bound vnto thee. For to the end to make me thy debtor, for any thing thou giuest me, thou art bound not only to giue it me, but to giue it me solely, as to my selfe: For that which thou giuest vnto a multitude, thou hast no reason to redemand at a priuate mans hand. How then? Is there nothing due for this? nothing, as for one in particular, I will pay with all that I owe thee withall.

CHAP. XIX.



How deniest then (saith he) that he giueth me a benefit, that freely and without recompence transported mee ouer the riuer of *Poe*. True it is he doth me some good, but hee giueth me no benefit, for he doth it for his owne sake, or at least wile not for mine. In summe, neither doth he himselfe iudge that he giueth mee a benefit, but he doth it either for the Common-weales sake, or for his neighbours sake, or for his owne ambition sake; and for this expecteth he some certaine other commoditie, then that which hee is to receiue from euery priuate person. What then (saith he) if a Prince should giue immunities to all French-men, and discharge all Spaniards of paying tribute, should not euery one of them in this case be particularly bound vnto him? Why should they not be obliged? vn-doubtedly they cannot be otherwise, yet not for a particular, but for a part of a publike benefit. But (sayest thou) he neuer thought on me. At that time when he did so much good vnto all men; he had no particular intent to giue mee the Citie, neither addressed he his purposes to my profit: wherefore then should I be obliged to him in any thing, who no wayes thought on mee at such time as

At Claudius
did at that time,
Seneca wrote
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he was to act that which he intended. First when as he bethought himselfe to do good vnto all the Gallies, he thought also of me, because I was a Gaule, and comprehended me, although not by my proper name, yet vnder the publike name of the nation. Again, I shall not be tyed vnto him, as if the good were properly and particularly mine, but as one that partaked his fauour amongst the communitie. I will not satisfie as in mine owne behalfe; but I will contribute as for the common good of my country.

CHAP. XX.



If a man lend a summe of money to my country, I will not say that I am indebted to him, neither will I acknowledge it as my debt, although I sued for a publike office, neyther also if I were sued as a debtor, yet will I contribute my part in payment of this debt. In like sort, I denie that I am debtor for the fauour that is done vnto all my nation, because he gaue it me, yet not for me; & in such manner gaue it me, that in giuing the same he knew not whether he gaue it me, yea or no: yet know I that I must pay some portion thereof, because the good by one meanes or other appertaineth to me, and tyeth me to requite it. It must be done for me that shall oblige me. In the same sort (saith he) neyther owe I to any thing to the Moone or Sunne; for they are not moued for thy sake: but whereas they are moued to this end, that they may preserue all things, they moue for me also, for I am a part of the Vniuerse. Moreover, our condition and theirs are different: for he that profiteth me, to the intent that by my meanes he may further himselfe, gaue me no benefit, because hee made me the instrument of his profit. But the Sunne and Moone, although they do vs good, yet to this end profit they vs not, that by our means they should profit themselves: for what can we be friend or further them in?

CHAP. XXI.



Shall know (saith hee) that the Sunne and Moone haue a will to profite vs, if they had the power not to bee willing: but they cannot surcease to stay their motion, neyther can they a bridge or intermit their accustomed-trauill. See by how manie wayes this may be refelled. A man is not therefore the lesse willing, because he cannot be vnwilling, nay, rather it is a great argument of a firm will, not to be able at any time to change. A good man cannot choose but doe that which he doth: for he shall not be a good man except he do it. Therefore a good man bestoweth no benefit, because he doth that which he ought to do, but he cannot do otherwise then that which he ought. Besides, there is much difference whether thou sayest, He cannot chuse but do this, because he is compelled: or, He cannot be vnwilling to do it. For if he must needs doe it, I am not tyed vnto him for his benefit, but to him that compelled him: But if the necessity of his willingnesse proceed of this, because hee hath nothing better that he can will, then is it he himselfe that compelleth himselfe. And so, looke for what thing I should not haue bene beholding to him, as compelled by others for the same; shall I be beholding to him, as to the compeller of himselfe: This will

will make them cease (saith he). I pray you think a little on this matter: What man is he, so voyde of vnderstanding, that will denie that it is no willingnesse in him that acteth any thing, which is not accompanied with danger of impediment in performance, or altering it selfe to the contrary, seeing that on the other side no man may of right seeme so willing, as he whose will is so assuredly certain, that it remaineth eternall and immutable? If he be willing, that may anon after be vnwilling: shall not he be thought to be willing, who is of that nature that he cannot be vnwilling?

CHAP. XXII.

BUt (saith he) let them stand still, and leaue to moue if they can. It is as much as if thou saidst, that these starrs which are separated by so great distances the one from the other, that are ranged in so goodly an order, to conserue and intertaine the whole world in his intire, should abandon their places, that the Planets being troubled, with a sudden confusion, should intercheeke and come one against another, and hauing broken the repose and concord of all things: that the heauen it selfe should fall into an irreparable ruine, that the course of so violent a swiftnesse, which had promised to be neuer interrupted, should stay in the midst of his way: that the heauen and starrs, that moued themselves of late, the one after the other, in so iust a measure, that equally and by agreeable seasons tempered the whole world; should be burned and consumed in a sudden flame: that so great a variety of all things should be dissolued & abolished, that they should returne into one, that the fire should seazeall, that afterwards a darksome and heauie night should obscure this world, and that finally a bottomlesse gulfe should deuoure and swallow this great number of the goddes. Wee must not admit an euill so pernicious; it must not cost so deere to proue thee a liar. The starrs haue power to giue thee all this in despite of thy selfe: they finish their courses and ordinary reuolutions for thy great profite, although there be another more great and originall cause that moueth them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Furthermore adde thou this, that there is not any forraigne cause that may contraine the goddes: their eternall and inuolable will is that which serueth them for a lawe: they haue established that which they intend not to alter. They therefore cannot seeme to doe any thing against their will: for whatsoeuer cannot end or cease to be, they would haue to continue still; neyther doe the goddes repent them euer of their first counsels. Vndoubtedly they cannot stand still, or runne a contrary course, yet not for all this doe they keepe their wonted course out of weakenes, because their owne force keepeth them in the same purpose still; yet obserue they not the same of weakenes, but because it becometh them not to alter or erre from the best course, and because they haue determined so to goe and shape their courses. Most certaine it is, that amongst their first ordinances they established, in disposing all things, they likewise had a care of vs, and conceiued some speciall regard of man. They therefore cannot seeme to shape their

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courses for their owne cause onely, and to accomplish their owne workes for their owne selues, because men also are a part of their worke. We are then obliged to the Sun and Moone, and the other powers of heauen for the good they doe vs. For although they haue more great ends for which they rise and set then onely for vs, yet ayming at greater, they helpe vs also purposely. And for this cause we are obliged vnto them, because we did not light vpon their benefits without their knowledge, to whom they gaue them, but they knew certainly that we should receiue them. And although their intentions be more eminent, and the fruit of their trauell more great and pertinent, then to nourish and conserue mortall things: yet so it is, that in the first beginning of the world, they haue employed their thoughts on our profite, they haue prefixed such ordinances and lawes vnto the heauens, that it evidently appeareth what care they had of vs, and that it was neyther their least nor last. We owe our parents honour and reuerence, yet many of them matched and married without desire to beget children. The gods cannot seeme to bee ignorant of that they ought to do, whereas they haue suddenly provided vs of nourishment, and all other things that are necessary for vs; neyther carelessly created they them, for whom they created so many things. For Nature minded vs before shee made vs: neyther are we a worke of little importance, that shee could make vs by chance, as doing something else. See how great a power shee hath giuen into our handes: Consider how the condition of command, which shee hath giuen to man, is not onely our men. See what libertie our bodies haue, to wander and trauele ouer many places. See how shee limiteth them not within any certaine bound of land, but sendeth them into all places, yea, into euery corner of the world. Consider the confidence of humane vnderstanding: see how they onely eather know or seek the gods, and rayling their mindes aloft, they conuerse with, and contemplate those diuine influences continually. Beleue then that man is not a rash or vn-thought vpon worke. Nature amongst her greatest works hath nothing whereof she may more vaunt, or to whom she may vaunt of her workmanship, or that shee would replenish with more great glorie. How great a madnesse is this to call the goddes in question about their owne blessings? How can hee bee thankfull to them, whose courtesies hee cannot requite without charge: who denieth that he hath receiued them from the goddes, which will both giue awayes and receiue neuer? What refractory and peruerse minde hath he, that will not be gratefull or beholding to any, because his liberality extendeth to such a one, as denieth the good that is giuen him, and to terme the continuation an immutable order of their benefits, an argument of one that giueth of necessitie? and to say, I care not for his courtesies, let him keepe them to himselfe, who requirith them at his handes? And an infinite sort of other such like purposes, proceeding from an impudent minde, which thou mayest packe and number with these: yet shall not hee deserue the lesse at thy handes, whose beautie redounds vnto thee, euen whilst thou deniest it, and of whose benefits euen this is one of the greatest, that he is ready to relieue thee, euen then when thou complainest most against him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Est thou not how parents in their childrens most tender infancie, constraîne them to suffer those things patiently, which are most healthfull for them? With diligent care they nourish their tender bodies, and fill them when they crye, and swathe them when they struggle; and lest continuall slacknesse might make them grow awrie, they binde them straight to make them growe right: when their infancie is past, they present them liberall sciences, threatening them with the rodde if they be negligent: and finally, when they growe to more maturitie, they teach them to be sober, and counsell them to doe nothing that should breed their shame: they fashion them in good manners, and if their youth as yet be not lyable to obedience, forcibly they constraîne that by awe which counsell could not effect: at last, hauing attained to full growth and maturity, and to haue a feeling of their owne gouernement, if eyther by intemperance or feare, they resist the counsells and remedies, which are giuen them for their profite, they vse greater violence and seruitude. So that the greatest benefites which we receiue of our parents, is at such time as we know them not, or when we refuse them wholly.

CHAP. XXV.

This sort of vngratefull men, and such as refuse benefites, not because they desire them not, but for that they would not remaine indebted, they are like, who contrariwise will be ouer-gratefull: who with that some aduertitie and mishap may befall those to whom they are obliged, to the end they may haue an argument and occasion, to let them know how needfull they are of the benefit, and what desire they haue to make restitution. The question is, whether such sort of men doe well to desire and with the same, and whether their desire be honest? These kind of thankfull men, in my iudgement, resemble them very much, who, inflamed with lasciuious loue, doe with their lower banishment, to the end they might accompanie her in her distresse and departure: or wish to see her in necessitie, to the end they might relieue her miserie: or to see her sicke, to the end they might sit by her, and tend her: and finally, which vnder profession of loue, do wish what fouer her enemy would haue wished vnto her. Assuredly the issue of this foolish loue and capitall hate are wel-neare all one. Into this very inconuenience do they fall, who wish that their friends were in miserie, to the end they might afterwards relieue them, and make way to benefiting, by doing them wrong, whereas it were much better vterly to desist, then to seeke occasion to doe a curtesie by means of wickednesse. What if a Master of a Ship should pray the goddess to fend them cruell stormes and tempests, that by the danger his Arte might be held more gracious? What if an Emperour should beseech the goddess, that a great multitude of enemies might besiege his camp, and with sudden assault fill full the Trenches, and raze downe the Rampiers, and (to the great amaze of his Armie) aduance their colours euen in the verie entrance of his Fortifications, to the end he might receiue more honour and glorie, in succouring his armie in this great danger, and at that verie instant,

when

*Non sunt facien-
di mali: et inde
eueniunt bona.*

when his whole campe imagined the field to be lost, and the armie discomforted: all these conuey their benefites by a detestable way, who call the Gods to plague him, whom they themselves would profit, and to hate them, whom they themselves would relieue. Inhumane and peruerse is the nature of this gracefull minde, which wilbeth cuill vnto him, whom hee cannot honestly forsake.

CHAP. XXVI.

I wish (saith he) hindereth him no wayes, because I wish the perill and remedie both at once. This is as much as if thou saidst that thou hast committed some small fault, but that thou sinnest lesse, then if thou shouldst with him danger without remedie. It is meere wickednesse to plunge a man into a riuer, to the end to draw him out, to ruinate that thou mayest reedifie, to imprison, that thou mayest deliuer. The end of animiurie is no benefit, neither is it a part of kindnesse to withdraw that from one, which he himselfe had laid vpon him. I had rather thou shouldst not wound me, then that thou shouldst not heale me. Thou mayest deserue my thanks, if thou healest me, because I am wounded, but not if thou wound me to the end I may bee healed: the scarre neuer pleased, but in comparison of the wound, for the healing whereof we so reioyce, that we had rather not to haue bene wounded: if thou shouldst wish this vnto him, that had neuer done the good turne, the vow were vnhumane, but how much more inhumane were it to wish it him, to whom thou art indebted for a courtesie.

CHAP. XXVII.

I wish that (saith he) at one and the same time I may yeeld him some succour. First, that I may preuent thee in the midst of thy wish; thou art already vngratefull. I heare not as yet, what thou intendest to doe for him, yet know I well, what thou wouldst he should endure: Thou wilt that care, feare, or some greater mischiefe should befall him, thou desirest that he may want helpe, and this is against him. Thou desirest that he may need thy helpe; this is for thee, thou wilt not succour him, but pay him satisfaction. He that hasteth the matter thus, would himselfe be paid, not pay. So that the only thing that might seeme honest in thy vow, is vnhonest and vngratefull, to wit, not to be willing to owe any thing. For thou desirest not, that thou mayest haue abilitie to requite a courtesie, but that he may haue need to implore thy helpe. Thou makest thy selfe his superiour, and (which is a hainous wickednesse in thee) thou castest him downe at thy feete, that hath deserued well at thy hands. How much better is it to owe with an honest good will, then to pay by an euill meane? If thou shouldst denie that thou hast receiued, thou shouldst sinne lesse, for he should lose nothing more then he had giuen. But now thy intent is, to bring him vnder thy subiection, euen with the losse of his owne fortunes, and to be drawne to that disaster by the change of his estate, that he must lie lower then his owne benefit. Wilt thou that I report thee for a gratefull man? Wilt it in his presence, to whom thou

thou wilt yeeld profit. Termeſt thou thiſa wiſh, which is as well diuided betweene a friend, as an enemie? which vndoubtedly an aduerſarie or enemie would haue made, if the latter points only were excepted? Mortall enemies alſo haue wiſhed, that they might ſurpriſe certaine Cities, to the end they might preferue them, and to overcome ſome enemie of theirs, to the end they might pardon them: neither therefore are their vowes other then hoſtile, in which, that which is moſt courteous and calme, ſuccedeth crueltye. To conclude, what kind of vowes iudgeſt thou them to bee, which no man would wiſh leſſe proſperous vnto thee, then hee for whom thou voweſt them? Thou dealeſt moſt iniuriouſly with him, to whom thou wiſheſt, that the Gods ſhould hurt, to the end he may be helped by thee; and impiouſly alſo with the Gods themſelves, for thou puttelt ouer the cruelty to the, & referreſt the humanity to thy ſelfe. Shall the Gods be iniuriouſ, to the end thou mayeſt be courteous? If thou ſhouldeſt ſuborne an accuſer, whom afterwards thou wouldeſt remove, if thou ſhouldeſt entangle him, in ſome ſute of law, to the end thou mighteſt deliuer and diſcharge him thereof, there is no man that would grow doubtfull of thy impiecity: what difference is there, whether this thing be attempted by fraud or by vow? ſaying that thou ſeekeſt more powerfull aduerſaries for him. Thou canſt not ſay, what wrong haue I done vnto him? Thy vow is either fruitleſſe or iniuriouſ, may rather it is wrongfull, although it be not ſucceſſfull. What ſoever thou eſtimateſt not, it is Gods mercy, but what ſoever thou wiſheſt is mere iniurie. The matter is plaine enough. Wee ought no otherwiſe to be diſpleaſed with thee, then if thou haſt eſtimated it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

IF vowes (ſaith he) had bene any wayes available, they had preuailed in this, that thou ſhouldeſt be in ſafetye. Firſt of all, thou wiſheſt me an aſſured perill, vnder an vncertaine helpe. Again, ſuppoſe both are certaine, yet that which hurteſt is formeſt. Furthermore, thou knoweſt the condition of thy vow: A tempeſt hath ſurpriſed me, vncertaine of either haue or helpe. How great a torment ſuppoſeſt thou that it was for me to haue wanted them, although at length I recovered them? to haue feared, although I bee preferued; come to triall, and drawne in queſtion, although I were acquitted. There is no end of feare ſo pleaſing, that a ſolide and vnshaken ſecuritie is not more acceptable: wiſh that thou mayeſt reſtore me a benefite when I haue need; not that I may haue need. If that thou wiſheſt, were in thy power, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt haue done it.

CHAP. XXIX.

NOW farre more honeſt is this vow? I deſire he ſhould continue in that eſtate wherein he might alwayes diſtribute benefites; and neuer need them. Let the meanes and matter which he ſo bountifully vſeth in giuing and aſſiſting, ſo follow and ſecond him, that he neuer want occaſion of giuing benefites; or repent him of that he hath giuen. Let the multitude of gratefull men ſtirre vp and prouoke his nature (of it ſelfe prone enough to humanitie) to mercie and clemencie. Whom

let him neuer want to befriend, nor haue need to trie. Let him be mercieſſe to none, and haue no need of being reconciled to any man. Let Fortune perſeuer to be ſo equally fauourable vnto him, that no man may be gratefull vnto him, but in minde and acknowledgement. How far more iuſt are theſe vowes, which deſerre thee not in expectation of any occaſion, but make thee preſently gratefull? For what letteth vs to be thankfull to thoſe that are in proſperitie? How many meanes are there, whereby we may yeeld ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom we are obliged, although they be happie? Faithfull counſell, diligent conſolation, familiar ſpeech and pleaſing, without flatterie, cares diligent, if he would deliberate, ſecret, if he would truſt, familiaritie in conſolation. Proſperitie neuer raiſed a man ſo high, that by ſo much the rather he had not want of a friend, by how much he had affluence in all things.

CHAP. XXX.

THIS hatefull and damnable occaſion is euery way to be deteſted and driuen farre from vs. Muſt thou needs haue the Gods diſpleaſed, to the end thou mayeſt be gratefull? And vnderſtandeſt thou not, that hereby thou ſinneſt more, becauſe he to whom thou art vngratefull hath the better fortune? Propoſe vnto thy minde imprifonment, chaines, ſtincke, ſeruitude, warre, pouertie; theſe are the occaſions of thy vow: if any man hath couenanted with thee, by theſe he is diſmiſſed. Why rather wouldeſt thou not haue him mightie and bleſſed, to whom thou art moſt indebted? For what (as I ſaid) forbiddeth thee to be gratefull euen vnto thoſe that are endued with the happieſt eſtate, whereas thou haſt ample and ſeueral matter and occaſion to expreſſe thy ſelfe? What that men pay debts euen vnto thoſe that are the wealtheiſt? neither will I conſtraine thee againſt thy will. Truly, although moſt powerfull felicitie hath excluded all things, yet will I ſhew thee what thing it is that greateſt eſtates are pooreſt in, and what things are deficient to thoſe that poſſeſſe all things. Truly ſuch a one that will ſpeake truth, that will vindicate a man aſtoniſhed and amazed amongst flatterers, and drawn from the knowledge of truth, by the very cuſtome of hearing rather pleaſing then profitable counſailes, from the company and conſent of deceitfull men. Seeſt thou not how extinguiſhed libertie and faith transformed to ſeruite obſequiouſneſſe, drie them head-long to their ruine, where no man perſwadeth or diſſwadeth him according to his conſcience, but each man ſtriueth who may flatter moſt, and the onely office and contention of all his friends is, who can decieue him moſt pleaſingly. They knew not their owne forces, and whileſt they ſuppoſe themſelves to be ſo great, as they heare they be, they brought vpon themſelves vnneceſſarie warres, and ſuch as ſhould hazard their whole eſtates, they breake the true and neceſſarie concord, and feeding there own wrathful ſpleen, which no man reuoked, they drew many mens blood, being at laſt like to loſe their owne; whileſt they ſecke to get vncertainties for certainities; and thinke it no leſſe diſgracefull to be perſwaded, then to be overcome, and ſuppoſe thoſe things to be perpetuall, which being brought to the higheſt doe moſt of all ſtagger. They ouer-turned great kingdomes vpon themſelves and theirs, neither vnderſtood they in that ſtage glistering both with vaine and tranſitorie goods, from that time forward that they ſhould expect vnto great aduerſities; ſince when they could heare nothing that was true.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The ruine of
greatness in the
flood of flater-
ies.



When Xerxes proclaimed warre against Greece, there was no one but enkindled and incited his proud and forgetfull minde, to what fickle and fraille things he trusted. One said that they would not endure the first message of the warre, and that vpon the first rumour of his approach, they would turne their backs. Another that it was not to be doubted, that not onely Greece would be overcome by that huge multitude, but that it might be overwhelmed: that it was more to be feared, lest they should finde their Cities desert and desolate, and the vast solitudes left to them, and the enemies flying, not having no opposite whereon to employ his so puissant power. Another, that the whole world was not sufficient for him, that the seas were too narrow for his Nauie, his campe for his souldiers, the fields to embartell his cavellerie, nay scarce the heauen large enough to containe the shafts that should be darted from every hand. When after this manner many things were tossed and talked of on every side, which incited the man, too much enraged and besotted with esteeme of himselfe. Demeratus the Lacedemonian was only he that said, that that very multitude so disordered and so mightie, which was so pleasing vnto him, was most of all to be feared by him that conducted them, because they were rather combersome then strong, that our great things can hardly be ruled, neither endureth that long, which cannot be governed. Presently, said he, vpon the first encounter, the Lacedemonians will come and present themselves vnto thee vpon the first mountaine, that thou wouldest passe, and will make thee know what they are: Three hundred souldiers shall make stand these so many thousand men; they shall plant themselves strongly in the passages, and defend the straits committed to their charge, and stoppe them vp with their bodies: all Asia shall not remove them from their places. A few men shall sustaine so great affront of warre, and the charge almost of all mankind that intendeth to rush in vpon them. When Nature changing her lawes, hath made thee passe into Greece, thou shalt sicke in the straits, and shalt esteeme thy future damages, when as thou shalt thinke how much the straits of Thermopolis cost thee. Thou shalt know that thou mayest be put to flight, when vnderstandest that thou mayest be stayed. Happily in diuers places they will giue thee passage, and retire, as if carried away after the manner of a torrent, whose first forces ouer-floweth with great terour, afterwards they shall mulster and charge thee on every side, and shall ouerprelle thee with thine owne power. True it is that is said, that thy flew of warre is greater then these regions can containe, which thou intendest to conquer. But this thing is against vs: for this very cause will Greece overcome thee, because shee is not able to containe thee, and thou canst not vse thy whole selfe. Moreover which is the onely safegard of things) thou canst not prevent or be present at the first assaults, neither second those that begin to retreat and decline, neither sustaine and confirme those things that fall to ruine: Thou shalt be vanquished long before thou shalt perceiue thy selfe to be overcome. Furthermore, thou art not therefore to suppose that thine armie is inuincible for this cause, because the number of them is vnknowne, euen vnto him who is their Leader. There is nothing so great that cannot perish; and though other occasions wanted, yet would the owner thereof be the cause of his owne destruction. The things that Demeratus foretold came truly to passe. He that thought to enforce both hea-

uen

Profitable per-
dition of suc-
ceeding miserie.

uen and earth, and he that changed whatsoeuer withstood him, was driuen to a stand by three hundred souldiers. And so Xerxes being defeated and overthrowne on every side thorow all Greece, began to learne how much difference there was betwixt a multitude and an armie. Xerxes therefore being more miserable in his shame then in his losse, gaue Demeratus thanks, for that he alone had told him the truth, and permitted him to require what he would: he desired that he might enter Sardis, the greatest citie of Asia, in a Chariot triumphant, hauing an vpright Tiara on his head, an ornament which the Kings did onely vse to weare. Worthy was he of this reward, before he demanded it, but how miserable was that nation, among whom there was not one man that would speake the truth vnto the King, except he would not speake truth vnto himselfe.

CHAP. XXXII.



He Emperour Augustus banished and confined his daughter, that was growne so impudent, hat her modestie exceeded this common course, and blazed abroad the whoredomes of the imperiall house, as how she had admitted whole troupes of adulteries; spent the whole night in banquets here and there in the citie, how she had soiled and sinned with her adulterers, in that every Court and iudgement seate, from whence her father had published lawes against adulteries, her daily haunt and concourse to Marcellus Staule, whereas from an adulteresse she became a common strumpet, and required the libertie of all licentiousnesse, vnder an vnknowne adulterer. These things which a Prince ought as well to concale, as to punish (because the dishonour and disgrace of some things oftentimes redoubteth to him who would punish the same) he viable to conquer his displeasure published abroad. Afterwards some few dayes past, when remorsefull shame had supplid the place of his displeasure, lamenting that he had not obscured those things in silence, which so long time he was ignorant of, till it was loathsome for him to speake it, he oftentimes exclaimed, None of these things had befalne me, if eithet Agrippa or Mecenas had liued. So hard a thing is it to him that had so many thousands at his beck, to supplie the want of two. His legions are slaine, and forthwith new are leuied; his Nauie defeated, and within few dayes a new floated: fire had defaced and consumed the common buildings, and better were raised then those that were burned; but all his life time he could not finde any to supplie Mecenas or Agrippas places. What shall I thinke? Did there want such to succcede them; or that it was his error, who had rather complaine then seeke friends? There is no cause we should imagine that Agrippa and Mecenas were wont to speake truth vnto him; who had they liued, had bene amongst his dissemblers. It is the manner of Kingly dispositions, in contumely of the liuing, to praise those that are lost and to giue them the honour of speaking truth, from whom they are now out of danger of hearing a nicemore.

Where good
counsel is wan-
ting, impatience
breedeth venge-
diligent harmes.

A corrivable cu-
stome for great
men to observe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A little for-
right counsellors.

BUT that I may returne vnto my purpose: thou seest how easie a thing it is to be thankfull to those that are happy, & are planted in the height of humane riches. Tell them not that which they are willing to heare, but that they should bee contented alwaies to hate. Let sometimes a true word enter their eares which are filled with flatteries: gibe profitable counsell. Thou askest what thou maiest doo for a happy man? Bring to passe that he be not too confident in his fortune, that he may know, that manie and faithfull hands must sustaine the same. Is the fauour little thou bestowest of him, if thou shalt once driue him from this foolish confidence, that his power shall be alwaies perdurable, and shalt teach him that these things are transitorie, that casually yelde, and fleete away with greater forwardnesse, then they come, neyther returne by those means, whereby they attained their felicitie? That oft-times there is but little difference betwixt the greatest and lowest fortune. Thou knowest not the value of friendship, if thou vnderstandest not, that thou shalt giue him very much to whom thou giuest a friend, a thing not only rare in houses but in ages, which is no where so deficient, then where it is supposed to be most abundant. What thinkest thou, that these books of thine, which scarce thy remembrancers, or registred memory, or handes can comprehend, are the names of thy friends? These are not thy friends which in great troups knocke at thy doores, who are disposed according to the first and second admissions to visit. This is an old custome of Kings, and those that counterfeite Maiestie, to number a multitude of friends. It is the propertie of pride to make great account of his doore, & touch of his threshold, to giue it as a fauour to sit neere to his closet, that thou step the first foote into his house, in which besides there are many doores, which exclude those that are admitted to enter.

CHAP. XXXIII.

HE first amongst vs that commanded their troups should be separated, and that some should be receiued in secret, other some with manie, and other some with all men, were *Caius Gracchus*, and after him *Lucius Drusus*. These therefore had their first friends: they had their second also, but neuer any true. Callest thou him thy friend, whom thy seruants successefully admit to salute thee; or can this mans faith be apparant vnto thee, who entrench not, but slippeth and throngeth into thy doores, that are so hardly gotten open? May that man presse in to thee with full vse of his libertie, which may not salute thee with *God saue thee*, a common and vnuall word to all persons, yea, euen to those that are strangers; but in his turne. To whomsoever therefore of these thou shalt come, whose salutation shaketh the citie: know thou likewise, if thou marke it, that although thou see the streets besieged with a great assembly of people, and the passages locked vp with the presse of those that go and come to salute thee, yet that thou comest to a place filled with men, but voyde of friends. A friend is sought in the brest, not in the Court of thy house: there must he be entertained, there retained, and in the very entrails must he be lodged. Teach him this thou art gratefull. Thou esteemest

Few friends, ma-
ny flatterers.What true friends
are and where
they should be
found.

esteemest verie basely of thy selfe: thou art vnpossible, except it be to one in affliction; for if thou thinkest thy selfe vnneccessary in time of prosperity. Euen as thou demeanest thyselfe wisely both in doubtfull, aduers, and prosperous alliances, that in doubtfull thou handlest them wisely; in aduers constantly, in prosperity moderately: so likewise maist thou shew thy selfe profitable in all things: neyther with his miserie; yee in so much vniueritie many things may fall out that thou shouldst not with; which will afford thee matter to exercise thy faith. Euen as he that witheth riches to any man, to this end, that he himselfe may partake a part thereof, although hee seeme to wish for him: hath a respect vnto himselfe. So he that witheth his friend any necessitie, which by his assistance and faith hee may releuee (which is the part of an vngratefull man) preferreth himselfe before his friend, and maketh so great accompt, that hee should be miserable, that he himselfe might be gratefull, for this very cause is himselfe vngratefull. For hee would dilburthen himselfe, and discharge himselfe of a burthen too heauie to sustaine. There is a great difference, whether thou hast need to giue thanks to the end thou maist restore a benefit, or to the end thou mightest receiue it. He that will be gratefull will apply himselfe to his friends commoditie, and desireth that he may haue a fit opportunitie. He that desireth nothing else, but that himselfe may bee discharged, desireth by anie means to accomplish the same, which is an argument of a most euill will.

He that respects
his friends mis-
erie to the end he
may succour him
is vngratefull.

CHAP. XXXV.

HIS to much hastning say I, is the act of an vngratefull man, this can I not more manifestly expresse, then if I should repeat what I said. Thou wilt not restore a benefit thou hast receiued, but thou wilt flie from it. This seemest thou to say: When shall I berid of this fellow? I must endeavour by all the means I can, that I may not be beholding vnto him. If thou shouldest wish that thou mightest pay him with his owne, thou shouldest seeme to bee very dishonest and vnthankfull, but this thou wishest is farre more wicked. For thou cursest him, thou desirest that mischief might fall on his head, whom thou shouldest accompt both Holy and Sacred. No Man as I thinke would doubt of the impietie of thy minde, if thou shouldest openly wish him povertie, if captiuitie, if famine and feare. And what difference is there whether this be thy voice or thy vow: wish any of these in thy right wits. Go to now, and suppose this to be a point of thankfulness, which the most vngratefull Man would not attempt, that were not growne so farre as to hate but onely to denie his benefit.

CHAP. XXXVI.

HO would intitle *Aeneas* by the name of pious, if hee would haue his Countrie sacked, to the end he might deliuer his Father from captiuitie? who would not imagine the yong men of *Sicily* vnnatural, if to shew good example to their children, they had wished that *Aeneas* burning with an vnmeasurable force of fire ad-

The excellent
reasons are con-
firmed by ex-
ample.

bonne custome should giue them occasion to expresse their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midde of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee witheld the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warres: nor beholding to the *Decians* who saved their Countrey by their owne slaughter, if they had formerly witheld that extreme necessitie should make place for their constant deuotion. It is the greatest disgrace for a Physitian that may bee, to with for busines. Many who increased and exasperated diseases, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwarde expell them; or to the great agonie and vexation of the miserable patients, haue at last ouercome them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

They say that *Calistratus* (for truly *Hecaton* testifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the seditious and intemperately free *Cities*, had expelled many with him: when a certaine man wished, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their banished men, was much distast with such a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*, for when as a certaine man comforted him, and assured him that ciuill warre was intended shortly, and that in few dayes all banishments should bee reuerfed. *What euill* (saith hee) *haue I done thee, that thou wishest me a worse returne, then I had a departure? I had rather my Countrey should be ashamed of my banishment, then beuaile my returne.* This is no exile where no man is more ashamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the dutie of good Citizens, that would not recouer their native homes with a publique slaughter, because it was more fitting that two should be punished vniustly, then all perish publickly, so obserueth hee not the affection of a gratefull man, who wisheth that hee who hath deserued well at his handes should bee oppressed with difficulties, which hee might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, witheth euill. It is a poore excuse and a weakie glorie to extinguish a fire, which thou thy selfe hast kindled. In some *Cities* a wicked with hath beene reputed for a wicked crime.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The it is that *Themades* in *Athens* condemned him that could necessities for funerals, when as he had proued that hee witheld for great gaine, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deaths. Yet is it wont to bee demanded whether hee were worthily punished. Perhaps hee wished, that he might not sell vnto many, but that he might sell deere; that they might cost him little which he was to sell. Whereas negotiation consisteth on that which is bought and sold, why wretchedst thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Besides thou mayest condemne all that are in this negotiation, for all will the same, all with the same in their hearts: thou wilt condemne the most part of men. For who hath not profit by an other mans incommodie? The Souldier, witheth for warre: Dearth of Corne sets vp the Husbandman. The greatest Lawiers desire most pleas. A sicke yeare is the Physitians haruett. Such youthes

An other answer to the former by the examples of *Calistratus* and *Rutilius*.

A third confirmation herof.

as are prodigall and dissolute, rich the Merchants of delicate wares. Let houses bee neither hurt by fire or tempest, the Carpenter may betake him to his rest. One mans vow was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkest thou that *Antium* and *Alerium* and all others that professed the art of Executioner had not the same vowes and wishes, as the masters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Ministers in burying the dead? yet know not they whose death they wish: they desire that some one of their nearest familiars should die, in whom for friendship sake they had most hope. No man liueth by the losse of those, who fouer differeth the other vndoeth them. They therefore wish, not only that they may receiue that which they haue deserued by base fruitude, but also that they may bee freed of a grievous tribute. It is not therefore to bee doubted, but that these men rather wish that which is condemned in one man. They by whose death any profit may accrewe, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all these mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpunished. To conclude let each one take counsaile of himselfe and examine his inward conscience, and see what hee hath secretly wished, how many vowes are they which we are ashamed to confesse vnto our felues? how few which we dare iustifie and effect before a witnesse?

One mans pleasure is anothers prejudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.

But every thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this present we treat, abusing his good will, and falling into that which hee flieth from. For whilst he hasteneth to expresse a gratefull minde, hee is vngratefull. This man saith, let him fall into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be secure, in esteeme, or safe without me, let him be so poore and miserable, that what soeuer is restored him, may serue him in stead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domesticall treasures circumvent him, which I alone may suppress. Let a potent and heauie enemie assault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuser vrge him.

CHAP. XL.

See how iust thou art, thou haddest wished him none of these, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerslip the rest more halinous, which thou comittest by returning the worst for the best, truly thou art faultie in this, that thou expectest not the proper time of euery thing, which, who so followeth not, sinneth as much as he that preuenteth it. Euen as a benefit is not alwayes to be receiued, so is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldst restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldst be vngratefull, how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so hallic to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell Vnurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldst thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

It is better neuer to be obliged, then to requite out of season.

CHAP. XLII.

Instructions to
take opportunitie
in requittall.



Boue all things therefore, my *Liberallus*, let vs learne this to owe benefitts securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly, and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen then a benefitt. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the deserts of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to thinke our selues too much in their debt, because a benefitt is a common bond, and lincketh two together. Say I care not how thy benefitt returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldst receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefitt againe, or I to take another; let him giue still that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen, in the meane space the gods shall bee my witness.

CHAP. XLIII.

What means are
to be offered in
acknowledging a
good turne.



Ftentimes, my *Liberallus*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou farest and frettest, lest thou shouldst be tardie in any office. Anxietie becometh not a gratefull mind, but contrariwise an assured confidence of himselfe. The confidence of true amitie should put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughtest not, as not to giue that which thou oughtest to giue. Let this be the first law of a benefitt giue, that he which gaue the fame, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back againe. But I feare me, lest men should speak sinisterly of me: He doth badly that is gratefull rather for reputation & fame sake, then for confidence and honestie. Thou hast two iudges of this thing; thy selfe whom thou canst not deceiue, and him whom thou canst. What then if no occasion shall happen? Shall I alwayes be indebted? Thou shalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment shalt thou behold, the gage laid vp by thee. He repenteth himselfe of a benefitt receiued, that is sorie that as yet he hath not requited it. Why should hee that seemed worthe to bestow a benefitt on thee, be reputed vnworthie to haue thee his debter?

CHAP. XLIII.



Great are their errors, who beleue it to bee the act of a great and generous minde to doe many courtesies, to giue and still another mans bosome, and enrich his house, whereas sometime it is not a great minde, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is somewhiles to receiue, then to lauish courtesies. For to the end I may detract from neither, because

cause both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no lesse proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that wee restore not time enough, nor hasten to doe it out of season, because he sinneth as much that hasteneth to recompence a good turne out of due time, as he that requirith not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly assured, he can not lose this benefitt, but with me, no not with me also. I haue giuen him thanks, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the restoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his satisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefitt againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if hee had rather continue it in our custodie. Why should we dig vp his treasure?

Why refuse we to keepe it? He is worthe to doe what belisteth. Touching opinion and report, let vs so prize them, as that they should attend vs, and not lead vs.

The end of the first Booke.



LVCIVS

He that requir-
eth vnseasona-
bly is no lesse
sinneth, then he,
that requirith
not in time and
place.

boue custome should giue them occasion to expresse their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midst of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wished the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warres: nor be- holding to the *Deians* who saved their Countrie by their owne slaughter, if they had formerly wished that extreame necessitie should make place for their constant deuotion. It is the greatest disgrace for a Physician that may bee, to with for bulines. Many who increased and exasperated diseases, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwarde expell them, orto the great agonie and vexation of the miserable patients, haue at last ouercome them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

They say that *Calistratus* (for truly *Hecaton* testified of him) when he departed into exile, into which the seditious and intemperate- ly free *Citic*, had expulsd many with him: when a certaine man wished, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their banished men, was much distast with such a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*, for when as a certaine man comforted him, and assured him that ciuill warre was intended shortly, and that in few dayes all banishments should bee reuersed. *What euill* (saith hee) *haue I done thee, that thou wishest me a worse returne, then I had a departure? I had rather my Countrie should be ashamed of my banishment, then bewaile my returne.* This is no exile where no man is more ashamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the dutie of good Citizens, that would not recouer their natiue homes with a publique slaughter, because it was more fitting that two should be punished vniustly, then all perish publickly, so obserueth hee not the affliction of a gratefull man, who wisheth that hee who hath deserued well at his handes should bee oppressed with difficulties, which hee might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wither euill. It is a poore excuse and a weakie glorie to extinguish a fire, which thou thy selfe hast kindled. In some Cities a wicked with hath bene reputed for a wicked crime.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Rue it is that *Temades* in *Athens* condemned him that should necessaries for funerals, when as he had proued that hee wished for great gaine, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deaths. Yet is it wont to bee demanded whether hee were worthily punished. Perhaps hee wished, that he might not sell vnto many, but that he might sell deere; that they might cost him little which he was to sell. Whereas negotiation consisteth on that which is bought and sold, why wilst thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Besides thou mayest condemne all that are in this negotiation, for all will the same, all with the same in their hearts: thou wilt condemne the most part of men. For who hath not profit by an other mans incommodie? The Souldier, witheth for warre: Dearth of Corne sets vp the Husbandman. The greatest Lawiers desire most pleas. A sicke yeare is the Physicians haruest. Such youthes

An other an-
swer to the for-
mer by the ex-
amples of Cali-
stratus and
Rutilius.

A third confir-
mation hereof.

as are prodigall and dissolute, rich the Merchants of delicate wares. Let houses bee neither hurt by fire or tempest, the Carpenter may betake him to his rest. One mans vowe was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkest thou that *Aruntius* and *Aerius* and all others that professed the art of Execu- torship had not the same voves and wishes, as the masters of funerall Cere- monies and they who were Ministers in burying the dead? yet know not they whose death they wish: they desire that some one of their nearest familiars should die, in whom for friendship sake they had most hope. No man liueth by the losse of those, who soeuer differeth the other vndoeth them. They there- fore wish, not only that they may receiue that which they haue deserued by base seruitude, but also that they may bee freed of a grievous tribute. It is not therefore to bee doubted, but that these men rather wish that which is con- demned in one man. They by whose death any profit may accrewe, are hurt- full to them by their life. Yet all these mens voves are as well knowne as vn- punished. To conclude let each one take counsaile of himselfe and examine his inward conscience, and see what hee hath secretly wished, how many voves are they which we are ashamed to confesse vnto our selues? how few which wee dare iustifie and effect before a witnesse?

CHAP. XXXIX.

But euery thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, wherof at this present we entreat, abusing his good will, and falling into that which hee flieth from. For whilst he hasteneth to expresse a gratefull minde, hee is vngrate- full. I his man saith, let him fall into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be secure, in esteeme, or safe without me, let him be so poore and miserable, that whatsoeuer is restored him, may serue him in stead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domestical treasons circument him, which I alone may suppress. Let a potent and heauie enemie assault him, dead- ly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuser vge him.

CHAP. XL.

See how iust thou art, thou haddest wished him none of these, ex- cept he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerslip the rest more hai- nous, which thou committest by returning the worst for the best, truly thou art faultie in this, that thou expectest not the proper time of euery thing, which, who so followeth not, sinneth as much as he that preuenteth it. Euen as a benefit is not alwayes to be receiued, so is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldst restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldst be vngratefull, how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so hasty to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell Vsurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldst thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

One mans plea-
sure is anothers
preiudice.

It is better ne-
uer to be obli-
ged, then to re-
quite out of sea-
son.

CHAP. XLII.



Boue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly, and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the defects of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to thinke our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and linketh two together. Say I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldst receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatened with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue still that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen, in the meane space the gods shall bee my witnesses.

CHAP. XLIII.



Ftentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou fearest and frettest, lest thou shouldst be tardie in any office. Anxietie becometh not a gratefull mind, but contrariwise an assured confidence of himselfe. The conscience of true amitie should put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughtest not, as not to giue that which thou oughtest to giue. Let this be the first law of a benefit giue, that he which gaue the same, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back againe. But I feare me, lest men should speak sinisterly of me: He doth badly that is gratefull rather for reputation & fame sake, then for conscience and honestie. Thou hast two iudges of this thing; thy selfe whom thou canst not deceiue, and him whom thou canst. What then if no occasion shall happen? Shall I alwayes be indebted? Thou shalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment shalt thou behold, the gage laid vp by thee. He repenteth himselfe of a benefit receiued, that is sorie that as yet he hath not required it. Why should hee that seemed worthy to bestow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthy to haue thee his debter?

CHAP. XLIII.



Great are their errors, who beleue it to bee the act of a great and generous minde to doe many courtesies, to giue and fill another mans bosome, and enrich his house, whereas sometime it is not a great minde, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is somewhiles to receiue, then to lauish courtesies. For to the end I may detract from neither, because

Instructions to take oportunitie in requittall.

What means are to be observed in receiving, so as a good turne.

cause both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no lesse proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that wee restore not time enough, nor hasten to doe it out of season, because he sinneth as much that hasteneth to recompence a good turne out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the oportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly assured, he cannot lose this benefit, but with me, no not with me also. I haue giuen him thanks, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the restoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his satisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if hee had rather continue it in our custodie. Why should we dig vp his treasure?

Why refuse we to keepe it? He is worthy to doe what belisteth. Touching opinion and report, let vs so prife them, as that they should attend vs, and not lead vs.

The end of the sixth Booke.



LVCIVS

He that requiteth vnseasonably is no lesse faulty, then he that requiteth not in time and place.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

Like unto the first: Certaine questions, and yet things profitable, intermixed with subtil. That in the beginning serious: that curiositie is to be restrained, and too much desire of knowledge; that the mind is rather to be applied to manners and vertue, that is, so wisdom. After this question, upon occasion of the word, Whether any man may give ought to a wife-man, whereas all things are his? He saith that he may, because he possesseth all things in minde, but not in use. Another, whether he that hath endenoured or assayed to restore a benefite, hath restored it. He hath: yet notwithstanding he teacheth him to endeavour againe and againe. The third, whether thou art to restore that thou hast received from a good man, to the same man being now euill. Thou shalt restore it, but with caution, not that he use them wickedly or to his own or anothers mans harm. The fourth, whether he that giueth, ought to forget himselfe of that benefite he hath bestowed. By no means: nay, more he saith he may keepe the same in memorie, yea, and sometimes exact it. The last, how gratefull men are to be borne withall, with a pleasing, milde, and great mind.

CHAP. I.

Ourage my LIBERALIS;

*Now haue we got the shore, I will not here
Tire thee with long discourse, or take thine eare
To lingring prohemies, or dilated words.*

The remainder this book concludes, & the matter being spent, I look about me, not what I shall say, but what I haue not said: yet accept thou in good part whatfoeuer is the remainder, whereas it is referred to thy selfe. Had I had an intent to polish my worke, it should haue increased by little and little, and that part had bene referred till the conclusion, which euery one would haue longed for, although he had bene satisfied.



*A good profit to
f. showen on
manners, follow-
ed somewhat in-
terruptly, but
learnedly to the
end.*

sied. But whatfoeuer was most necessary, I presently gathered and congealed into the beginning of the Booke: now if any thing hath escaped me I recollect it. Neyther truly if thou aske me, doe I thinke it much pertinent to the matter, whereas those things are spoken which gouerned manners, to prosecute the rest, which were inuented, not for the cure of the minde, but for the exercise of the wit. For Demetrius the Cynique (a man in my iudgement great, although he were compared with the greatest) was wont very worthily to say this: *That it is more profitable for thee, if thou remember a few precepts of wisdom, and haue them in use and readinesse, then if thou learnedst many things, and hidst not the ready use of them.* For (saith he) like as that man is a worthy wrestler, not that hath perfectly learned all the trickes and sleights, which hee shall seldome haue occasion to make use of against his aduersarie: but hee that is well and diligently exercised in one or two, and intently expecteth and waiteth the occasions of them (for it skills not how much he knoweth, if he know so much as sufficeth for the victorie) so in this studie, many things delight, but few ouercome. Although thou be ignorant what cause it is, that moueth the Ocean to ebbe and flowe, why euery leauenth yeare impresseth an alteration and signe in ourage, why the latitude of a gallery to those that beholde it a farr off, keepeth not his proportion, but gathereth his ends or sides into a narrowness, so as the farthest spaces of the pillars are ioyned in one: what it is that separateth the conception of twins, and ioyneth their birth: whether one act of conception be diuided into two distinct creatures, or else they are begotten at seuerall conceptions: why their destinies be different who are borne twinned together, and their conditions proue so greatly different, whose birth was one, or at least in the same instant. It shall not much hurt thee to ouerslip those things which neyther thou canst know, nor is profitable for thee to know. Truth lieth couered and hidden in the depth: neither can we complaine of the malignitie of nature, because the inuention of any thing is not difficult, but onely of that which yeeldeth vs not any fruit, except the onely inuention thereof: whatfoeuer should make vs better or more blessed, nature hath cyther laid open before vs, or neere vnto vs. If the minde hath contemned casualties: if she hath raised her selfe aboue feare, and with greedy hope embraceth not things infinite, but hath learned to aske riches of her selfe: if she hath cast out from her the feare both of gods and men, and knoweth that there is a very little to be feared from men, neither any thing from god: if contemning all things whereby life is tortured, whilst it is moit adorned; she hath attained so much, that it manifestly appeareth vnto him, that death is no matter of any mischiefe, but the end of many: if he haue consecrated his minde vnto verue, and thinketh that way playnest whither soeuer she inuite him: if he be a sociable creature, and borne to communitie: if he respecteth the world as one house, and openeth his conscience to the gods, and liueth alwayes as it were in publike: if more afraid of himselfe then others, being discharged of these tempests, he hath retired himselfe to an assured and quiet repose, he hath consummated a very necessary and profitable science. The rest are but the delights of leasure: for now is it lawfull (the mind once withdrawn into asietie) to expatiate and arise at these also, which rather yeelde ornament then courage to our mindes.

*He meaneth that
many things de-
light the under-
standing, and
there are few
things that con-
quer the will.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THeſe are the things which our friend *Demetrius* willeth him that is proficient to lay hold on with both hands, to abandon them neuer, nay, rather to affix them to himſelfe, and make them a part of himſelfe, and by daily meditation to be inſtructed ſo farre, that theſe whoſome inſtructions may preſent themſelves before his eyes freely; and being deſired for, might be at hand at all times and places, and that inſtantly that diſtinction betwixt good and euill may bee remembered, whereby hee may know, that neyther there is any vice, which is not vileiſous, nor any good which is not honeſt. Let him diſpoſe his actions by this rule of life: according to this lawe let him execute and exact all things, and iudge thoſe the moſt miſerable amongſt men (how rich & refulgent in wealth whatſoeuer) that are ſlaues to their bellic and luſt, whoſe minds are benumbed with ſloathfull idleneſſe: let him ſay vnto himſelfe, Pleaſure is fraile and fleeting, ſhe is quickly wearied of her object; the more greedily ſhe is deuoured; the more haſtily is ſhe diſpoſed to a contrarie deſire: ſhe is alwayes of neceſſitie accompanied with repentance or ſhame: there is nothing in her that is honourable or vertuous; there is nothing in her that is eyther noble or worthy the nature of a man, who would reſemble the goddeſſes. It is a bare thing, proceeding from the moſt loathſome and vildeſt miniſteries of our bodies, ſhamefull in the end. This is the pleaſure that is worthy a man and a noble minde, nor to fill and flatter the bodie, nor to prouoke his luſtfull deſires, which are leaſt hurtfull when they are moſt quiet. But to liue exempt from the paſſions of the minde, eſpecially of that which enkindleth the ambition of thoſe men, who entertaine quarrels and contentions among themſelves, & alſo of that intollerable paſſion, which coming from high, hath made vs beleue all that of the gods, which report and fables haue forged, and hath planted this opinion in vs, to meaſure them by our owne vices. This equall, dreadleſſe, and neuer-loathing pleaſure doth this man enioy, whom we heere ſaſhion and deſcribe, who (as I may ſay) being ſkilfull both in diuine and humane lawes, contenteth himſelfe with the things that are preſent, and dependeth not on thoſe that are future: for neuer liueſt that man in aſſurance that doateth on vncertainties. Exempted therefore from mightie cares, and ſuch as diſtract the minde, he hopeth nothing, he couereth nothing, he hangs not on expectation, but contenteth himſelfe with his owne: neyther ſuppoſe you that ſuch a man is contented with ſmall riches; for all things are his: yet not in ſuch fort as they were *Alexanders*, who although he had conquered as much as to the ſhore of the red Sea, yet wanted he more then he left behinde him from whence he came. Thoſe very countries, which eyther he poſſeſſed, or had conquered, were not his. When as hee had ſent *Oneſicritus* the generall of his Gallies to diſcouer the Ocean, and to ſearch out further warre in an vnkowne Sea: did it not ſufficiently appeare, that he was poore, who extended his warres beyond the limits of nature, and thruſt himſelfe headlong through his blinde couetouſneſſe into a vaſt, vnattempted, and boundleſſe Sea? What ſkilſ it how many Kingdomes hee hath violently taken, how manie hee hath giuen, how many countries hee hath loaden with tributes? Hee wants as much as hee deſireth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

NEyther was this *Alexanders* error onely, whom happy temerity inforced beyond the tract of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, but of all thoſe whom fortune hath made greedy by ouer-glutting. Run ouer and reckon vp *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*, and all the progenie of the Kings of Perſia, whom wilt thou finde contented and ſatiſfied with his Empire? that ended not his life in thinking on ſome further prouiet? Neyerth is this to be wondred at, what ſo falleth into a couetous hand, is forthwith exhauſted and hidden: neither ſkilkeſt it much, how much thou thruengeſt into that which will neuer be ſatiſfied. The wiſe-man is onely he that is Maſter of all things, neyther coſteth it him much to keepe them. He hath no Embaſſadors to ſend beyond the Seas, nor camps to pitch in his enemies country, nor garriſons to diſpoſe in conuenient fortrefſes, hee needs no legions or troupes of horſemen. Like as the immortal gods, without the aſſiſtance of any armes, do gouern their Kingdoms, & entertaine their greatnes in all aſſurance, without diſturbance, or forſaking the place high & eminent wherein they reſoſe: euen ſo the wiſe-man executeth and gouerneth his offices, although they haue a large extent without tumult, & beholdeth all other mankind, being himſelfe the powerfullſt and beſt of all vnder himſelf. Mock him as thou liſteſt, yet is it a matter worthy of a generous ſpirit, after thou haſt in mind diligently conſidered both Eaſt and Weſt, whereby alſo thou mayeſt penetrate into the remote and moſt retired ſolititudes, when as thou haſt beheld ſo many liuing creatures, ſuch affluence of all things which beautifull nature moſt bleſſedly lauiſheth, to break into this diſcourſe, beſeeching a god, *All theſe things are mine*. So cometh it to paſſe that he deſireth nothing, becauſe there is nothing which is not his.

CHAP. IIII.

THis is that (ſayeſt thou) that I expreſly willed, I haue ouertaken thee now, and intend to ſee how thou wilt rid thy ſelfe of theſe incombrances, whereinto thou art wilfully fallen. Tell mee, how may any man giue ought to a wiſe-man, if all things are his? For that alſo which he giueſt him is his owne. A benefite therefore cannot be beſtowed vpon a wiſe-man, who can haue nothing giuen him which is not his owne: yet ſay you, a man may giue ſomewhat vnto a wiſe-man. But know this, that I demand the like in reſpect of friends. You ſay that all things are common amongſt them, therefore can no man giue any thing to his friend: for he giueſt that which is common to him. There is no cauſe but that ſomewhat may be both a wiſe-mans, and his that poſſeſſeth it, to whom it is giuen and aſſigned. A ciuill lawe all things are the Kings: and yet thoſe things whoſe intire poſſeſſion appertaineth to the King, are diſtributed amongſt ſeueral lords, and each thing hath his poſſeſſor: Therefore may we giue the King our houſe, our bond-ſlaue, and our money: neyther for all this are we ſaid to giue him his owne. For to Kings appertaineth the power ouer all, but to ſeueral men the property. We call them the bounds of the Athenians, or Campanians, which otherwiſe the neighbours by priuate termination diſtinguiſh amongſt themſelues: and all the lands belonging to this or that man, are the Common-wealths, and

* Under this name Wiſe-man, he intends to ſignifie throw the whole body of this diſcourſe, the ſame which ſignifieth in the booke of Proverbs and Eccleſiaſtes, and Wiſdom, where this word Wiſdom ſignifieth vertue or iuſtice: and the name of Wiſe-man is in this ſenſe a vertuous or iuſt man.

In what manner
a man may giue
vnto a wife man.

and yet each part hath his determinate owner, we therefore may giue our lands to the Common-weale, although they be said to be the Common-weales, because in one sort they are theirs, in another sort mine. Can it bee doubted, but that a slave, and whatsoever substance he hath is his masters? Yet may he giue him a present. For a man cannot therefore say that the servant hath nothing, because he could not haue, if so be his lord said he should not; neither therefore faileth it to be a present, when as he gaue it willingly, because it might be taken from him, although hee would not. Euen as we haue approued that all things appertaine vnto a wife man (for we are alreadie agreed in this point) so we muſt at this present expreſſe, that we haue more matter then we need, to giue liberally vnto him, whom we confeſſe to be the maſter of what we haue. All things are the fathers, which are in the poſſeſſion of his children; yet who knoweth not that the ſonne alſo may giue his father ſomewhat? All things appertaine vnto the gods, yet haue we ſacrificed at their Altars, and offered many times in their Temples. That therefore which I haue, faileth not to be mine, becauſe it is thine, for one and the ſame thing may be thine and mine. He (ſayeth thou) is a Baud, that is the owner of common harlots, but a wife man is owner of all things, and amongst all things the prostitute are comprehended: therefore a wife man is a Baud. In like manner they forbid him to buy, for they ſay no man buyeth his owne, but all things appertaine vnto a wife man, a wife man therefore buyeth nothing. In like manner reſtraine they him from borrowing any thing, becauſe no man payeth intereſt for his owne money. Innumerable are the things they contend and cauil about, whereas notwithstanding they fully conceiue what is ſpoken by vs.

CHAP. V.

VNdoubtedly in ſuch ſort conclude I all things to be a wife mans, that each one notwithstanding remaine maſter and lord of that hee hath, euen as vnder the gouernment of a good Prince: the King poſſeſſeth all things by regall authoritie, and euery private man by particular tenure and title. The time will come when we ſhall proue this; meane while let this ſuffice for this queſtion, that I may giue a wife man that, which in one kinde is his, in another mine: neither is it a ſtrange matter that ſomewhat may bee giuen him, who is Lord of all. I haue hired a houſe of thee; in this houſe there is ſomething thine and ſomething mine. The houſe it ſelfe is thine, the vſe of this houſe is mine. Thou therefore ſhalt neither touch the fruit, if the Farmer forbid thee, although they grow on thine owne ſoile, and there ſhould be a ſcarcitie of corne, or famine:

*Alas, how all in vaine ſhalt thou
Behold anothers mightie mow.*

That grew in thine owne ground, was ſtacked in thine owne barne, and muſt be ſtored in thine owne garner. Thou ſhalt not enter my hired tenement, although thou be lord thereof, neither ſhalt thou carrie away thy ſlave, which is my hirling; and if I hire a wagon of thee, thou ſhalt take it for a kindeſſe, if I giue thee leaue to ſit in thine owne wagon. Thou ſeeſt therefore that it may ſo be, that man receiuing that which is his owne, may receiue a courteſie.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

IN all theſe things which I lately recited, both one and the other are matters of one and the ſame thing. But how? Becauſe the one is the lord of the thing it ſelfe, the other of the vſe. We ſay that theſe bookes are *Cicerones*, and *Dorus* the Booke-ſeller ſaith thoſe very ſame bookes are his, and both theſe are true, the one challengeth them as the author thereof, the other as the buyer, and rightly are they ſaid to appertaine to both; for the right is in both of them, yet not after the ſame manner. So may *Titus Linius* receiue in gift, or buy for money his owne bookes at *Dorus* his hands. I can giue that to a wife man, which particularly appertaineth vnto me, although all things be his. For ſince after a kingly manner he poſſeſſeth all things freely, and the proprietie of euery thing is diſtributed to euery particular perſon, he can receiue a preſent, he can owe, and buy, and hire. All things are *Ceſars*, yet nothing but that which is his owne patrimonie and particular demeanes is returned into his Exchequer: all things are ſubiect to his ſoueraigne power, but his peculiar heritage is properly his owne. The queſtion is, what is his, and what is not his without diminution of his empire. For euen that which is adiudged to be none of his, is in another ſort his owne. So a wife man in mind poſſeſſeth all things, but by law and right onely that which is his owne.

CHAP. VII.

B I O N ſomewhiles in his Arguments concludeth all men to be ſacrilegious, ſometimes no man, when he would caſt all men from the * rocke, he ſaith, whoſoeuer hath taken away or laſhed that which appertaineth to the Gods, and conuerſed the ſame to his owne vſe, is ſacrilegious, but all things are the Gods, whatſoeuer euery one taketh away, hee taketh it from the Gods, to whom all things appertaine, therefore whoſoeuer taketh away any thing, is ſacrilegious. Again, when he would haue Temples broken open, and when he commandeth that the *Capitol* ſhould be pillaged without feare or vengeance of the Gods, he ſaith, That no man is ſacrilegious, becauſe that whatſoeuer is taken out of that place, which appertaineth to the Gods, is transferred into another place, which appertaineth likewiſe vnto the Gods. To this it is answered, that true it is that all things are the Gods, but that all things are not dedicated to the Gods, and that ſacrilege is obſerued and committed onely in thoſe things, which religion and deuotion hath conſecrated to the Gods. So ſay wee likewiſe, that the whole world is the Temple of the immortal Gods, onely worthe to containe their Maieſtie and magnificence, and yet that prophane things are different and diſtant from ſacred, and that it is not lawfull to act all things in a corner of the earth, that hath been called a Temple, which we may lawfully doe in the ſquare of heauen, and view of all the Starrs. Vnderſtandeth theſe ſacrilegious cannot do any iniurie to God, whoſe diuinitie hath planned him without the ſhot, yet is he puniſhed, becauſe he hath done it as he were, vnto God: for both our and his owne opinion obligeth and maketh him ſubiect to the penaltie. Such as theſe for he ſeemeth to be ſacrilegious that taketh away any ſacred thing, although

He anſwereth
the former ob-
jections.

* This was the
Toryean rocke,
whence hauncs
offenders were
beheading caſt
downe.

Capitol is a place
in Rome dedica-
ted to Iupiter,
which in times
paſt was called
Toryeas.

O

whither

whither soeuer he transferreth that he hath taken away, it is within the limits of the world : in like manner a man may rob a wife man, for that is taken from him, not which is his, as he is Master of all things in this world, but that whereunto he had a peculiar title, which he reputeeth and vseth as his owne in seuerall. That other possession he acknowledgeth, the other he would not haue though he might : and into this discourse will he breake, which the Roman Emperour vterred, when as for his vertue and good gouernment, so much land was decreed and allotted him, as in one day he could enuiron with his plow : *You haue not need (saith he) of such a Citizen, that hath need of more then one Citizens living.* How much more worthie, thinkest thou, was this man in refusing this gift, then in deserring it? For many great Capitaines haue broken and defaced other mens bounds, but neuer a one of them hath limited his owne.

C. H. A. P. VIII.

When as therefore we behold a wife mans mind, powerfull ouer all things, and spreading his Empire ouer all the whole world; wee say that all things are his, when as we referre him to the right of daily custome, he shall be taxed by, the powle, if the cause so require. There is a great difference whether his possession be estimated by the greatnesse of his minde, or by his reuenues; he would hate to be lord ouer all these things whereof thou speakest. I will not reckon vp *Seuerus, Chrysippus or Zeno*, and such other great personages, who in this are greater, because Enuie obscureth not the praise of such, who haue liued in times past. A little before I made mention of *Demetrius*, whom nature, in my iudgement, seemeth purposely to haue bred in our time, to shew that neither we could corrupt him, nor he correct vs. A man (though himselfe deny it) of exact wisdom, and of firme constancie in those things which he determined, yea and of that eloquence which best fitted matters of greatest strength, not polished or painted in words, but proof, cutting his causes with great courage, according as the heat carried him. I doubt not but the diuine prouidence gaue this man such a life and such abilitie in discourse, to the end our age might want no good example, nor reproch.

C. H. A. P. IX.

IF some one of the Gods would deliuer all our goods into *Demetrius* possession vpon this condition, that it might not be lawfull for him to giue it away, I dare aquire it, he would refuse them, and would say I will not entangle my selfe with this inextricable waight: I will not plunge this man so cleane and free from auarice, into this deepe bog and snicke of these things. Why bringest thou me the mischiefs and inelicities of all men, which I would not receive, although I could giue them away presently, because I see many things which I might not honestly giue? I will contemplate those things which dazle the eyes of Kings and Nations. I will behold those things for which you spend your blouds, and hazard your soules. See before mine eyes the chiefest spoiles of superfluitie, whether it be that thou wilt vnfold them in order, or (as it is better) deliuer them

them in grosse. I see a vaulted rooffe most cunningly carued with curious varietie: and the shels of diuers the most loathsome and sluggish creatures bought at excellue prices. Wherein that very varietie which most pleaseeth, is made of counterfeit colours, according to the limittude of the things themselves. I see in the same place tables and wood, estimated at no lesse then a Senators substance, by so much more precious, by how much the infelicitee of the tree had withied and wrestled it into insinuat knots. I see in the same place vessels of Chryttall, whose brittlenesse enhanseth the price. For amongst ignorant men, the pleasure of all things is augmented, euen by that very danger, which should cause vs hate them. I see pots and vessels of Murrhine, as if superfluitie and riotous expence had not bene sufficiently prized, if they had not vomited in great vales of pretious stone the excellue wine they had drunke to one another's health. I see pearles not seuerally fitted for euery care one; for now the eares are accustomed to beare burthens, diuers of them are tyed together, and if there be but two, a third is hanged vnder them. The madnesse of women had not sufficiently brought their husbands into subiection, except they hanged at eyther of their eares the worth of two or three mens patrimonies. I see lilken garments (if they may be called garments) wherein there is nothing that may cover eyther their bodies, or at least wise their shames; which when a woman hath put vpon her, she may scarcely sweate that she is not naked. The selfe for a great sum, are by way of commerce fetched from forraine Nations, that our matrons may shew no more of themselves to their adulterers in their chambers; then in publike.

C. H. A. P. X.

WHat dost thou auarice? How many things are they; which in value surpasseth thy gold? All these things which I haue reckoned vp are of more honour and better price. Now will I recognize thy riches, the plates of both mettals, at which but couctousnesse is dazled. But the earth which produced what soeuer was profitable for our vse, hath drowned these mettals, yea, and with her whole waight hath cast her selfe vpon them, as vpon hurtfull and hatefull things, which could not come to light: but to the common hurt of all nations I see that Iron is taken out of that very darkenesse, whenee gold and siluer were had, to the end that neyther instruments for mutual slaughters, neyther price for the murderers should be wanting, yet haue these things som matter of esteem in them. There is somewhat wherein the mind may follow the detour of the eyes. I see these Patentes, these Indentures, and Obligations, the emptie images of couctousnesse, certaine shadows of sicke auarice, by which they deceiue the mind, that delighteth in the opinion of transitorie things. For what are these? What is interest? What day-bookes and vsurie, but certaine names of humane couctousnesse, which nature neuer heard of? I can complaine of nature, because shee hath not hidden gold and siluer deeper, because the hath not cast a heauier burthen on them, then that it might be remoued. What are these Registers, these computations, &ailable time,* these bloudie vsuries of twelue for a hundred? They are voluntarie euils depending on our constitutions; in which there is nothing that may be subiected to the eyes, or held in the hand; the dreddes of vaine couctousnesse. O how wretched is he, who taketh delight to reade ouer the great

* These were called Centesima, which was a kind of vsury amongst the Romans: the creditor was wont to giue his debtor 100. crowns, and for the vsure he paid for euery month an interest, till a hundredth month were past; at the end whereof he returned the principal to his creditor.

rentall of his patrimonie, or large demeanes to be tilled by his bondmen, or infinite herds of cattell, that need whole countries and Kingdomes to feed them, or his family greater then warlike nations, & priuate buildings, that in bignesse exceede great cities! When he hath well examined these things, whereby he hath disposed and spread out his riches, and made himselfe proude; if he compare that which he hath with that which he desireth, he is a poore man. Let me go, and restore me to those riches of minde: I know the Kingdom of wisdom to be great and secure: so enioy I all things as all men may enioy theirs in particular.

CHAP. XI.

WHereas therefore Caius Caesar gaue Demetrius two hundred talents, he smiled and refused them, not deeming the same of such value, as he might iustly glorie that he had refused them. O gods and Goddesses, with how small a thing would he either haue honoured or corrupted such a minde! I must testifie for so worthy a man: I haue heard a great matter reported by him, that when he had wondered at Caesars indiscretion, in that he thought that he could be changed for so slight a matter, he said thus: If said he, he had intended to tempt me, he should haue tempted me with his whole Empire.

CHAP. XII.

Something therefore may be giuen to a wife-man, although all things be his: so likewise nothing letteth but that something may be giuen to a friend, though we say that all things are common amongst friends. For in such sort are not all things common betwixt me and my friend, as they are with a partner, so as my part and his should be all one: but as children are common to their fathers and mothers, who hauing two betwixt them, haue not each of them one, but two a peice. First of all I will make him know whatsoever hee be that will be co-partner with me, that there is nothing common betwixt him and me: and why? because this association cannot be but amongst wise-men, who onely vnderstand and practise the vse of true friendship; the other are no more friends then they be co-partners. Againe, goods are common in diuers kinds. The sieges in the Theater ordained for Knights, appertaine to all the Knights of Rome; and yet in these, the place that I fate in is mine owne. If I haue yeelded vp my place to any, although I giue him place in a thing common to all, yet seemeth it that I haue giuen him somewhat. There are things which appertaine to some men, vnder certaine conditions: I haue my place amongst the Knights, not to sell, not to hire, nor to possesse continually; but onely to this end; to behold the publik sports. I shal not therefore lie, if I say I haue a place amongst the knights; but when I come into the Theater, if the places be all taken vp, yet in right haue I a place there, because it is lawfull for me to sit there: and I haue it not because it is occupied by those, who haue as much title to the place as myselfe. Suppose the care is the same amongst friends. Whatsoeuer our friend hath is common to vs, yet the proprietie is his that possesseth it: I cannot vse it against

against his will. Thou mockest me (sayest thou) if that which appertaineth to my friend be mine, I haue libertie to sell the same: but I haue no libertie; for thou canst not sell my Knights place, yet is it common to thee, with those of the same order. It is no argument therefore that a thing is not thine, because thou canst not sell it, because thou mayest not consume it, because thou mayest not change it for worse or better: for it is thine, although it be thine but vpon a condition. I haue taken the place, yet hast thou it neuertheless.

CHAP. XIII.

NO to dallie or delay with thee any longer, one benefite cannot be greater then another: but those things whereby a benefite may be giuen, may be greater and more; into which beneuolence may extend it selfe, and so please it selfe: as louers are wont, whole many kisses, and closer embracements increase not, but exercise their loues. This question also that ensueth, is fully debated in our former, and therefore it shal be shortly handled: for the arguments we haue vsed in the other questions, may be employed here. The question is, whether hee that hath done his best to restore a benefite, hath giuen satisfaction. That thou mayest know, sayest thou, that he hath not satisfied, he hath done all he can to recompence him: it appeareth therefore that that thing is not done, because he had not the meanes to do it, as he hath not paid the sinner which he ought vnto his creditor, who, to performe the same, had sought him euery where, and could not finde him. Some things are of that condition, that they must needes be effected, and in some things it is as much to haue attempted what a man could, as to haue effected the deed. If the Physitian hath done his vttermost to heale his patient, he hath performed his part. The Orator although his client be condemned, if he haue shewed the vttermost of his art, hath not lost the honour of his eloquence. The Generall and Captaine, although conquered, is commended, if in as much as in him lay, he proceeded with prudence, industrie and fortitude, he hath attempted all meanes to recompence thy courtesie, but thy felicity letteth him. No calamitie hath fallne vpon thee, whereby thou mightest make tryall of his true friendship. He could not giue vnto a rich man, sit by a healthfull man, succour a happie man. He was thankfull vnto thee, although thou receiuedst no benefite. Besides, intending this matter alwayes, and expecting the time & opportunitie of this same; he that hath spent manie cares to this end, and employed much diligence to finde an occasion of requital, hath endeouored more then he whose fortune it was, to make satisfaction suddenly.

CHAP. XIII.

HE example of the debtor is farre different from this, who hath done little in gathering in his money, except he hath paid it: for there his importunate creditor standeth ouer his head, who filleth not a day to passe without interest; but here thou art matched with a bountifull creditor, who when he shall see thee returning vp and downe, carefull and penfue to satisfie, faith vnto thee

Discharge this care from out thy breast.

Cease to be so vrgent in thine owne trouble: I am wholly satisfied. Thou dost me iniurie, if thou thinkest that I desire any thing more at thy hands: I am fully possessed of thy good mind. But tell me (saith he) wouldst thou say that he had restored a benefite that had onely bene thankfull? By this reckoning he that hath requited, and he that hath not satisfied are of like reckoning. Contrariwise, put case; if any other hath forgotten the benefite he hath received, and hath no wayes endeouored himselfe to requite the same: wouldst thou say that he had requited? But this man (of whom we speake) hath wearied himselfe day and night, and renouncing all other offices only to thinke vpon this, hath wholly intended satisfaction, and laboured that no occasion should ouer-slip him. Shall therefore the like respect be had of him, that hath cast away the care of returning gratiuitie, as of him that neuer thought of ought else? Thou dealest vnjustly with me, if thou exactest that recompence at my hand, when thou seest my minde euer addicted to content thee. To be short; put case thou wert in captiuitie, and that to ransom thee (having engaged all my goods vnto a creditor, who had taken them in assurance of the money which I borrowed for thee) I put forth to Sea in a fore stormie winter, by coasts and promontories beleagred by Pyrats; and furthermore suffered all the perils that may chance euen in a peaceable Sea, and after that hauing trauesed all the deserts, which all men lining fled, and sought to finde thee; and comming at last to the Pyrats, from whose hands already another had discharged thee: wilt thou denie that I haue not requited thy goodnesse, if in vndertaking this iourney, I haue by shipwrack lost that money which I borrowed for thy ransom? If I fall my selfe into that captiuitie from whence I would deliuer thee; wilt thou not confesse that I haue bene thankfull vnto thee? Yet vndoubtedly the *Athenians* called *Armodius* and *Aristogiton* Tyrant-quellers, and *Nutius* hand left vpon the enemies Altar, was as much as if he had slaine *Porfenna*: and vertue likewise wrestling against fortune, although the intended action was not effected, was alwayes honoured. He hath performed more, who hath followed flying occasions, and euer hunted after new by which he might be thankfull, then hee whom the first occasion made gratefull, without paine, or trauell.

CHAP. XV.



He hath (saith hee) employed two things for thee, his will and goods: thou likewise owest him two. Worthily mightest thou say this vnto him, that had onely yeldest thee an idle will, but thou canst not speake it to him, who both willet, and endeauoreth and leauech nothing vnattempted, for he performeth both, as much as lieth in his power. Againe, a number is not alwayes to be equalled by a number, for sometimes one thing ouer-valet, two. Therefore so forward and desirous a will to make restitution, standeth in stead of the benefite. But if the minde without the act be not sufficient to requite a benefite, no man is thankfull to the gods, on whom there is nothing bestowed but the will, wee can (saith he) giue nothing to the gods but our will, but if I haue no other thing to giue him to whom I am obliged, why should I not be reputed gratefull toward men, in yelding herein that more, then which I cannot giue vnto the gods?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.



Et if thou aske me what I thinke, and wilt subscribe vnto mine answer, let this man iudge that hee hath receiued the benefite, and that man know that he hath not required it. Let the one release the other, and the other confesse the debt. Let this man say I haue it, and that man I owe it. In all controuersies, let vs respect the common good, let vngratefull men be exempted from exculpations, to which they may lye, and vnder which they may colour their refusal. I haue done all that I could. Doe it now likewise. What, thinkest thou our ancestors were so imprudent, that they vnderstood not that it were an vnjust act to set no difference betwene him, who had spent the money he had borrowed of his creditor in royoir and sports, and him, who either by fire or theues, and by any other misfortune, both lost his owne and other mens? Truly they admitted no excuse, to the end that men should know that faith was to be obserued every way. For it was better that a iust excuse amongst few should not be accepted, then that all men should attempt any. Thou hast done all thou canst to satisfie. Let this suffice him, and thee a little. For euen as he is vnworthie to receiue any requital, who suffereth thy serious and sedulous endeuour, to slip away vnregarded; so likewise art thou vngratefull, if thou thinke not thy selfe more freely obliged to him, who taketh thy good will for payment, and by this means acquitteth thee of that thou owest. Lay not hold of this, neither contest, yet seeke thou occasions of restitution. Requite the one, because he asketh it, the other, because he releaseth thee. Repay this man, because he is wicked, and the other, because he is not cuill. And therefore thou hast no cause to thinke this question may stand thee in any stead: whether hee that hath receiued a benefite from a wife man, when he is wife, is bound to restore it afterwards, when hee is become foolish, and shall no more be a good man. For thou wouldst restore a thing committed to thy trust, which thou haddest received from a wife man, yea and to an euill man, wouldst thou satisfie that he had lent thee: why then likewise wouldst thou not restore a benefite? Because hee is changed, shall he change thee? What if thou hadst receiued any thing from a man in health, wouldst thou not restore it when he were sick, whereas we are alwayes most obliged to our friend when hee is weakest? Truly this man is sicke in minde, let him be helped, let him be borne withall, folly is a sickness of the minde. To the intent that this may bee the better vnderstood, mee thinketh it good to vs some distinction herein.

CHAP. XVII.



Here are two kinds of benefits, the one which a wife man cannot giue, but to a wife man; and this is an absolute and true benefite: the other vulgar and of little value, whereof the vse is ordinarie amongst vs ignorant men. Of this there is no doubt, but that; that I ought to restore it to him I owe it, whatsoever hee bee, whether he be become a Homicide, a Theefe, or an Adulterer. There are lawes to punish crimes and bad actions: the Iudge better chastiseth thee, then an vngratefull man. Let no man make thee bad, because he is bad himselfe: I will

will fling away my benefit to a wicked man, and restore it to a good man, to the one, because I owe it, to the other, lest I should be in his debt.

CHAP. XVIII.

IF the other kinde of benefit there is some question, which if I be not capable to receiue, except I be wise, I ought not likewise to restore but to a wise man. For put the case I should tender it, yet cannot he receiue it, for why he is not capable of it, but hath lost the science how to vse it. What if you command me to bandie backe the ball to a maimed mans hand, it is but a folly to giue him that hath no power to receiue? And that I may begin to answer thee to thy last speeches, I will not giue him that which hee cannot receiue, yet will I recompence the good he hath done me, although he cannot receiue it. For I cannot oblige any man, but him that receiueth, yet may I be discharged, if I giue satisfaction. Cannot he make vse thereof? Let him looke to that, the fault shall bee in him and not in me.

CHAP. XIX.

TO restore, saith he, is no other thing, but to deliuer it to his hands that ought to receiue it. For if thou owest wine vnto any man, and he willerh thee to powre the same into a net or sicke, wouldest thou say that thou haddest repaid him, or wouldest thou returne him that, which whilest it is restored, is spilt betwene both. To restore, is to giue that which thou owest to him, to whom it appertaineth, and that hath a will to receiue the same; this is the onely thing I ought to performe. That he may receiue, that which he receiued, at my hands, is now a further charge. I owe him not the custodie thereof, but the acquittal of my faith: and farre better is it, that he haue it not, then that I should not restore it. I will presently satisfie my credittour, although I know that hee will suddenly send that I owe him vnto the stewes. Although he assigne it ouer to be satisfied to an adulteresse, I will pay it. And if he would powre the money, which he is to receiue, into his bosome, being vtied, yet will I giue it: For I must repay it, yet am I not bound either to keepe or defend it. I ought carefully to keepe the good I haue receiued, & not that which I haue restored. As long as it remaineth with me, I will see it shall not be lost, but if it be called for, it must be satisfied, although it should slip out of his hands that receiued it. I will restore it to a good man, when it shall be profitable for him, to an euil man when he shall demand it. Thou canst not, saith he, redeliuer a benefit vnto him in such a sort as thou receiuedst it, for thou receiuedst it frō a wise man, thou repaydst it to a foole. Neither is it embased by me, but by him. I will render that which I haue receiued, and if he recouer his wisdom, I will redeliuer it intirely, such as I receiued it; as long as he is euill, I will render such a one as he may receiue. But (saith hee); what if he be not onely made euil, but cruell and enraged as *Apollodorus* or *Phalaris* were, wilt thou restore the benefit thou hast receiued at his hands? Nature suffereth not so great a change in a wise man, for falling from the best into the worst, it must needs follow also, that some impression of goodness remaineth in him, euen

uen in his wickednesse. Vertue is not so much extinguished in men, but that she impresteth some markes, which cannot be defaced by any change. Wilde beasts that haue bene brought vp amongst vs, when as they breake out into the woods, retaine some part of their former tamenesse, and looke how much they be wilder then the tamest beasts, so much are they tamer the wildest beasts, and such as neuer were many tractable by mans hand. No man hath euer fallen into extreame wickednesse, that hath euer flucke vnto wisdom: hee is tainted more deeply, then that it may be wholly washed out, and changed into any other colour. Furthermore, I aske thee whether he, of whom we speake, bee onely savage and cruell in minde, or if he take pleasure to procure the ruine and publike misfortune of the whole world. For thou hast proposed vnto me *Apollodorus* and *Phalaris* the tyrant, whose nature, if an euill man haue in himselfe, why should not I restore him his benefit backe againe, to the end I may be wholly acquit of him for euer? But if not onely he delighteth and taketh pleasure in humane blood, but exerciseth his vnstable crueltie on all ages, and rageth not for anger, but of a certaine thirst and desire he hath to shed blood: if hee killeth children in their fathers presence, if not contented with a simple death, he tortureth them, and not onely burneth those that are to die, but scorseth them: if his altar be alwayes soyled with new murders and massacres. It is a small matter to keepe backe a benefit from such a one. Whatsoeuer it was, whereby heard I were lincked and vnited together: that hath bene dissolved, by reason that by his crueltie and tyrannie hee hath broken the rights and lawes of humane societie. If he had done any thing for me, if I had receiued any good at his hands, and afterwards he had taken armes, and made warre against my country, whatsoeuer he had deserued he had lost, and to be thankfull to him, would be reputed a haynous crime. If he assaile not my country, but be tedious to his owne, and doing no iniurie to my nation, be persecuteth his owne: notwithstanding that so great impiety of his minde, dissolueth the bonds whereby we were vnited: and if this be not sufficient to make him mine enemy, at least wise I shall haue occasion to loath and hate him, and the respect of duetie which I ought to beare to the common good of men, deserueth to haue more power ouer mee, then the obligation that I owe to one particular person.

CHAP. XX.

BUt although this be so, and that I may freely act whatsoeuer me listeth towards him from that time since, whereby violating all lawes, he hath brought to passe, that nothing may be vnlawfully attempted against him, yet beleue I that my actions must bee so limited, that if the good I intend in my benefit, shall neither augment his forces to the destruction of all men, neither confirme that power which he hath already, that is to say, that I may doe it without the ruine of the Common wealth, I will restore his benefit: I will saue his child being an infant. What doth this benefit wrong any of those whom his crueltie doth murther. I will not furnish him with money to pay the souldiers of his guard. If he shall want either warble or rich rayments, it shall be no wayes preiudiciall to any man, that shall supply his excess and superfluitie. Souldiers and furniture I will not helpe him with: If he request me in way of great kindnesse, to send him cunning *Comedians* and *Comedians*, and such other delights agnly temper his cruelty, I will willingly

lingly offer them. Though I would not send him armed Gallies and shippes of warre, yet would I send him whirries and couered barges, and other such like things wherein Kings take their pastime, when they intend to sport themselves vpon the sea. And if the hope of his amendment were vtterly lost, yet with the same hand that I giue benefites to all men, I will returne him his; because the best remedie for such euill dispositions is not to be, and it is best for him to be dead, whose life will neither be reclaimed nor rectified. But seldome is so great wickednesse scene, it is rare; and reputed alwayes for strange and wonderfull, they are feared as the gaping and openings of the earth, or as great fires which burst forth from the deepest caues of the sea. Let vs therefore leaue these, and speake of those which we detest without horror. To this euill man whom I may find in euery market-place, whom private men feare: will I returne the benefite I haue receiued: I must not make my profit of his wickednesse. Looke what belongs not to me, let it returne to him that oweth it, be hee good, or bee hee bad. How diligently should I examine these things, if I should not restore but giue? This place craueth a merrie fable.

CHAP. XXI.



Certaine *Pythagorist* had vpon his credit bought a paire of clownish shoes of a Coblcr (a great matter I warrant you) some few dayes after he came vnto the shop, to make satisfaction, and when he had long time knocked at the doore, there was one that answered him: *Why lose you your labour? That Coblcr you seeke for is carried out and burned. This may be a grieue to vs which lose our friends for euer, but not to you that know he shall be borne a new.* Thus iested he at the *Pythagorist*. But our *Philosopher* carried home his three or foure pence very merrily, shaking them diuers times in his hand, as he went homeward. Afterwards accusing himselfe of the pleasure he had conceiued in non-payment, and perceiuing how much that little gaince of his was pleasing to him, he returned to the shoppe, and said vnto himselfe; *Hee liueth to thee, pay thou that which thou owest.* With that word hee thrust the foure pence into the shop at a crany of the wall, where the closing of the panell was shrunke; chastising himselfe for his cursed auarice, lest he should accustom himselfe to detain another mans goods.

CHAP. XXII.



Seeke thou then to whom thou mayest returne that which thou owest, and if no man require payment at thy hands, call thou thy selfe to account. It appertaines not to thee, whether he be good or euill. Restore & accuse thy selfe, not forgetting how offices are diuided betweene you. Haue we commanded to forget thee, we haue enioyned him to remember; notwithstanding he deceiveth himselfe, that thinketh that when we say, that he who hath giuen the benefite, should neuer more thinke on the pleasure he hath done; that wee would haue him entirely lose the remembrance of the honestest thing that may be done in this world: wee command some things more strictly then we ought, to cause them to returne to their true and particular proportion, when we say, that he must not remember

member: our meaning is, that he must not publish it abroad, hee ought not to vaunt, he should not reproach. For some there are that make the courties they haue done, their table-talk amongst their companions; of this talke they when they are sober, of this they talke being drunke, this discouer they to strangers, this commit they to their friends. That this inordinat and reproachfull memorie might be repressed: we commanded that he that had done the courties to his friend, should neuer remember it, and commanding him more then he could performe, we perswaded him to silence.

CHAP. XXIII.



Soft as thou distrustest those our whom thou hast command, thou mayest exact firre more then thou needest, to the end that that may be performed which is sufficient. Euery *Hyperbole* aimeth at this illue; that by a lie a man may attaine vnto the truth. He therefore that said,

*That did exceed the snow in whitenesse,
And did surpasse the windes in lightnesse.*

That which could not be said, to the end the most that could be, should be beleued. And he that said,

More fixed then these rocks, more headlong then this torrent.

did not thinke that he should perswade this, that any one was so immoueable as a rocke. This excessiue and superlatiue kinde of speech neuer hopeth so much as it dareth; but it affirmeth incredible things, to the end it may attaine vnto credible. When we say, Let him that hath giuen a benefite forget it; our meaning is, that he should be as one that had forgotten it: let no man perceiue that he hath remembrance thereof, or that his memorie is awakened. When we say, That we ought not to redemand a benefite againe, we do not wholly take away the meanes of redemanding it; for oft-times euill men haue neede of an exacter, and good men also of an admonisher. Why then, shall I not shew an ignorant man the opportunity of requital? Shall I not discouer my necessities vnto him? why eyther should hee belie himselfe; or be so forie that hee knew it not? now and then let some admonition be intermixed; yet such as is modest, which neyther fauoreth of importunity or matter of plea.

CHAP. XXIV.



Socrates in the hearing of his friends, said, *I had bought me a cloake had I had money.* He required of no man, he admonished all: the contention was, who should supply him. And why not? For how small a matter was it that *Socrates* receiued? but it was a greater matter to be worthy to be such a one, from whom *Socrates* would receiue. He could not more mildly chastise them. I haue said he bought me a cloake had I had money. After this whole discourse was the forwardest he gave too

too late : for *Socrates* was already in necessitie. For these intemperate exactors sakes we forbid the redemand of benefits, not that it should neuer be put in vse, but that it might be done modestly and sparingly.

CHAP. XXV.

RISTIFFVS having sometimes taken pleasure in good fauours and perfumes, said; *Bestrow these effeminate fellows that haue defamed so worthy a thing.* The same must be said, Euill betide these wicked and importunate exactors of their benefits, who haue extinguished so worthy an admonition amongst friends : yet wil I vse this loue offriendship, and will redemand a benefit from him from whom I would haue requested it if I had need, who will receiue it in stead of another benefite. If he haue means to requite that which I haue done for him, I will neuer say in way of complaint,

*I tooke thee vp easie vp upon this shore
Forleme and poore, and that which made me more
I made thee partner of my Princely state.*

This is no admonition, but rather a reproch : this is no lesse then to bring benefits into hatred : this is the direct meanes to make it eyther lawfull or delightfull to be thanklesse. It is enough, and too much to refresh the memorie with submisle and familiar words ;

*If I haue ought demerited from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeared in me.*

Let the other likewise say, How can it otherwise be, but that thou hast deserued ? Thou hast entertained me in thy house, after that by tempest I was cast on shore, denied of all supplies, shipwrackt and poore.

CHAP. XXVI.

Vt (saith he) we haue done no good, he dissembles, he is forgetfull, what should I doe ? Thou proposelt a very necessary question, and in which it becommeth vs to conclude this discourse, How ingratefull men are to be borne withall ? Truly with a peaceable, milde, and great minde. Let neuer so inhumane, forgetfull, and vngratefull man so offend thee, that the delight of thy bountie be extinguished in thee, neuer let iniurie enforce these speeches from thee : I would I had not done it. Let the infelicitie of thy benefite content thee likewise. It shall repent him euer, if thou hitherto repent thee not. Thou must not be grieved as if some new casualtie had befallen thee, thou oughtest rather to wonder if it had not happened. One is affrighted with labour, another with charge, another with danger, and another with vnseemly bashfulnesse, lest in his requital he acknowledge that he hath receiued. Some forget their duetie, another is idle in his affaires, another ouer-busie. Marke how the immeasureable desires of men doo alwayes gape & graspe after mony. Thou wilt not wonder then to see no man ad-

dressd

dressd to requite where no man receiueh enough, which one of these is off so firm and solid a mind, that thou mayest safely trust thy benefits with him. This man is mad with lust, that man serueth his bellie, another is wholly addicted to luere, whose substance thou hardly mayest equall : this man is sicke with enuy, another with such blinded ambition, that he is ready to runne vpon the swords point. Adde hereunto dulnesse of minde and olde age, and contrariwise the agitation and perpetuall tumult of an vnquiet breast. Annex herunto the too much esteeme, and insolent pride of a mans selfe, for which he is to be contemned. What should I speake of their contumacie, that incline to the worst ; or of their inconstancie and leuitie, that are setled in nothing ? Adde vnto these headlong temerity and feare, that neuer giueth faithfull counsell, and a thousand errors wherewith we are intangled, the boldnesse of the most cowards, the discord of most familiars ; and (which is a common mischief) to trust to vncertainties, to loath things in possession, to wish for those things which we may not any wayes hope to attaine.

CHAP. XXVII.

Seekest thou for faith ; a thing so peaceable amidst the passions of the mind, that are most restless ? If the true image of our life were presented before thine eyes, thou wouldest suppose that thou sawest the pillage of a great Citie taken by assault, wherein without respect of shame or any iustice, the enemy in stead of counsaile vseth force and violence, as if by publique proclamation he were permitted to exercise at his pleasure all kinde of outrage. Neyther fire nor sword is spared, murders and mischiefes are not punished : Religion it selfe, which hath oftentimes amongst the armed enemies saued their liues, who humbled themselves at her secte, cannot now containe those men that are set vpon pillage : the one forcibly defaceth the goods of a priuate house, another of a publique : that man stealeth prophane things, and that man sacred ; the one breakes vp, the other passeth ouer. This man being discontented with the straightnesse of the passage, ouerthroweth that which stoppeth his way, and makes his profite of this ruine. This man spoyleth without slaughter, that main beareth his bootie in a bloudie hand : there is no man but catcheth something from another. Amidst this greedinesse of mankind, I feare me thou art too much forgetful of our common fortune, who seeketh to finde a gratefull man amongst so many robbers. If thou art agrieved that there are vngratefull men, be forie that there are some luxurious men, be vexed because there are couetons men, be displeased becaufe there are impudent men, be angrie that there are deformed, sicke and pale olde men. This vice I confesse is grieuous and intollerable, that breaketh the society of men, that demideth and destroyeth that concord whereby our weaknesse is supported ; yet so common is it, that he himselve who complaineth against it cannot auoyd it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BEthinke thy selfe, whether thou hast beene thankful to euery one of those to whom thou art oblig'd, whether any of those pleasures that haue beene done thee, are lost; whether thou hast alwayes remembered the benefites which thou hast receiued from others, and thou shalt see, that those things which were giuen thee when thou wert a childe, were forgotten by thee ere thou wert a surling, and that those things which were bestowed on thee in thy youth, continued not in thy memorie vntill olde age. There are some things which we haue lost, some things we haue reiected, some things haue vanished out of our sight by little and little, and from some things we our selues haue turned our eyes. But to excuse thy weaknesse, first of all memorie is fraile, and cannot long time apprehend so great a number of affaires; it must needs lose as much as it entertaineth, and ouerwhelme the elder with the later. So commeth it to passe that the authority of thy nurse preuaileth little with thee, because succeeding yeares haue layed the benefites thou hast done thee, farre from thy thought. Hence groweth it that thou yeldest no reuerence to thy Master: so commeth it to passe, that whilst thou art busied in labouring for a Consulship, or pretendest a Priesthood, thou forgettest him that once gaue thee his voyce to be a Questor. Happely if thou diligently examine thy selfe, thou shalt finde that vice whereof thou complainest in thine own bosome: thou doest amisse to be angrie with a publique crime, and foolishly to be angrie against thy selfe; to absolue thy selfe forgive others. By thy sufferance thou mayest make him better, but worse by thy reproches: thou must not harden his heart; let him, if any shame be left in him, retaine it still. Oft-times publique and notorious reproaches exile that doubtfull modestie, which a man would retaine. There is no man feareth to be that which he is seene to be: shame once discovered is lost.

CHAP. XXIX.

HAue lost a benefite. Shall we say we haue lost those things which we consecrate to good vices? A benefite ought to be numbred amongst those things that are consecrated; provided that a man hath well employed the same, although it be badly requited: if he haue not shewed himselfe such as we hoped he would be, let vs be such as we haue beene, let vs be vnlike vnto him; the wrong was then done, and now it appeareth. An vnthankfull man is not accused by vs, but with our owne disgrace, because the complaint of the losse of our benefite, is a signe it was badly giuen. As neere as we can let vs plead his cause with our selues, and say happily he could not, peraduenture he knew not, perhaps he will doe it hereafter. The wife and patient creditor sometimes recouereth his debt which he reputeth lost, in forbearing his debtor, and giuing him time: the like must we do; let vs nourish the languishing faith of those that forget themselves.

CHAP.

HAue lost my benefite. Thou foole, thou knowest not the times of thy detriment. Thou hast lost, but when thou gauest, now the matter is discovered. Even in these things which seeme to be lost, moderation hath profited very much. As the infirmities of the bodie, so those of the minde are to be handled gently; oft-times that thing which patience and delay hath discovered and unfolded, is broken by his pertinacie and stubbornnesse that hateth the same. What hee doeth these reproaches? What need these plaints? What needes pursuit? Why doest thou acquit him? Why dismissest thou him, if he be vngratefull? Now oweth he thee nothing; what reason is there to prouoke and incense him, whom thou hast many wayes pleased, to the end that of a doubtful friend he may become an assured enemy, and to giue him means to defend his cause the better by procuring thine owne shame? There bee some will say, I am sure there is some great matter in it; but what it is I know not, that hee could not abide him to whom he was so much indebted. There is no man that in any sort complained of a superior but stained, though he could not deface his greatness and honor, neyther is a man content to faigne trifles, when he seeks for credite by the greatness of his lie.

CHAP. XXXI.

NOW farre better is that way whereby the hope of friendship is referred to him, and the opinion of our friendship likewise, if he be thankfull and entertaine a better thought? Incessant goodnesse conquereth euill men; neyther is there any man of so hard and hatefull a minde against those things that are to be beloved, that loueth not those, who even in their greatest wrongs continue good men, to whom he beginneth to owe this also, that he sustaineth no displeasure at their hands for not requiting. Reflect thy thoughts therefore vpon these: there is no correspondencie held with me: what shall I doe? euen that which the gods the best authors of all things do, who begin to bestow their benefites on those, that know not whence they come, and perseuer also to do good to those that are vngratefull. One chargeth them with little regard of vs, another that they haue iniustly dispensed their graces, another thrusteth them out of his world, and leaue them there alone in sloth and heavinesse, without light or doing any thing; another saith that Sun (to whom we owe this, that we haue distinguished the time betweene labour and rest, that being deliuered from darkness we haue escaped the confusion of a perpetual night; for that by his course he tempereth the yeare, and nourisheth our bodies, and hasteneth our harvest, and ripeneth our fruit) is so much of casual fires, and call him any thing rather than god. All this notwithstanding, the gods like good parents that smile at the iniuries of their little children, care not to heape benefites vpon those who suspect that they are not the authors of all benefites, but with an equall hand distribute their blessings amongst all nations, reseruing only to themselves the power to do good. They water the earth with timely showers, they moue the Seas with fitting winde, they distinguish times by the course of the starres, they

they weaken both winters and summers by the gracious intercourse of gentler winds; they pardon and mildly winke at, and suffer the errors and sinnes of our sinfull soules. Let vs imitate them; let vs giue although many things haue beene giuen in vaine, yet let vs giue vnto others, let vs giue ouen vnto those by whom we haue sustained the losse, no man forbeareth to build a house for feare it should be ruinated and when as fire hath consumed the place of our aboad, we suddenly lay a new foundation againe ere the floore be halfe colde, and oft-times we build cities in that very place where they were destroyed and sunke: so constant and confirmed is the mind to good hopes; mens labors would cease both by land and sea, if they had not a will to re-edifie and re-attempt the ruines that were past.

CHAP. XXXII.

His is a thanklesse man, he hath not iniured me but himselfe, I had the vse of my benefite when I gaue it, neyther therefore will I giue more slowly but more diligently; what I haue lost in him I will recouer in others: yea, to this man also will I giue a benefite again, and like a good husbandman, with care and labour I will conquer the barrenesse of the soyle; I haue lost my benefite, and that man his credite with all men. It is not the action of a generous minde, to giue and lose; this is the marke of a mightie minde to lose and giue.

The end of the seventh and last Booke of Benefits.



THE
EPISTLES
OF LUCIUS
ANNÆVS
SENECA THE
PHILOSOPHER.

Written vnto LUCILIUS, Together with the
Arguments vnto euery Epistle of
IVSTVS LIPSIVS.



L O N D O N
Printed by William Stansby. 1613.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

HIS EPISTLES TO LVCILIVS:

With the Arguments of *Iulius Lipsius*.

EPISTLE I.

He commendeth to LVCILIVS the estimation and vse of time, that it ought not to be deferred nor let slippe, neither ill employed.



OE so, my *Lucilius*, recover thy selfe to thy selfe, and that time which hitherto hath bene either taken from thee, or stollen from thee, or that otherwise hath escaped thee, recollect and reserve to thy selfe. Perswade thy selfe that it is so as I write: there are some times which are taken away fro vs, some other which are stolne from vs, and other some which slip away from vs: But the shamefulllest losse that may be, is that which proceedeth from our negligence, and if thou wilt seriously and neerely observe, thou shalt perceiue that a great part of life sitteth from those that doe euill, a greater from those that doe nothing, and the whole from those that doe not that they doe. What man wilt thou shew me that hath put any price vpon time, that esteemeth of a day, and that vnderstandeth that he daily dieth? For herein are we deceiued, because wee suppose death to bee farre off from vs, and yet notwithstanding the greater part thereof is already ouer-passed, & all our years that are behind death holdeth in his possession. Do therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which as thou writest vnto me thou doest. Embrace and lay hold on each houre, so will it come to passe, that thou shalt be lesse in suspense for to morrow, if thou lay hold, and fasten thy hands on to day. Whilest life is deferred it flieth. All other things, my *Lucilius*, are forren to vs: time onely is our owne. Nature hath put vs in possession of this fraile and fleeting thing, from which we may be expelled by any man. But so great is the folly of mortall men, that they suffer all things, yea euen the least and vilest, truly recoverable, to be imputed vnto them, when as they haue obtained them. Let no man thinke that he oweth any thing, who hath received time, when in the meane while this is the thing, which indeed the gratefull man cannot restore. Happily thou wilt aske me what I doe, who command thee these things? I will ingeniously confesse vnto thee, I doe that which befalleth a luxurious man; but diligent:

diligent: I take a very strict account of my expence: I cannot say that I lose nothing, yet know I well what I lose, and why, and how. I am readie to yeeld a reason of my povertie. It befalleth me, as to many others, brought to povertie, not by their owne fault; all men pardon them, no man succoureth them. What is it then? I think him not poore, who supposeth that little remainder which he hath, to be sufficient: yet I had rather thou shouldst keepe thine owne, and begin to vse good time while thou mayest. For as our Elders were of opinion, the sparing that beginneth in the bottome is too late, because not only the least, but also the worst remaineth in the lees.

EPIST. II.

He approacheth the quiet of the bodie, and of the mind also in some one thing or studie. He condemneth the over-curious, that runne over and reade diuers Authors and writings. He persuadeth rather to reade few, and those good, and to dwell upon them. He counselith alwaies to cul out some one thing, and commit it to memorie, by his example who then made use of a saying of Epicurus touching povertie.

Conceiue a good hope of thee, by reason of those things which thou writest vnto mee, and that which I heare spoken of thee. Thou art no wanderer, neither disquieted with the desire of transporting thy selfe from one place vnto another; this is but the tossing of a sicke minde. In my iudgement, the chiefeest testimonie of a well composed minde, is to be able to consist and dwell with her selfe. But beware lest this desire to reade many Authors, and all sorts of bookes, containe not giddinesse and inconstancie of mind. Thou must be stayed, and after a manner nourished with certain spirits, if thou wilt apprehend any thing that shall constantly remaine in thy memory. He is no where, that is euery where. Those that passe their life in trauel take vp many Innes, but entertaine few friendships. It must needs befall such, who acquaint not themselves familiarly with one spirit, but lightly trauers, and slightly over-runne many things. That meat neuer nourisheth the bodie, which is no sooner taken in, but is deliuered out: There is nothing that so much hindereth a mans health, as the often change of remedies. The wound can hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers sorts of medicines. The tree prospereth not that is transported from one place to another. To be short, there is nothing so profitable, that profiteth by passing it ouer. The multitude of bookes distracteth and distempereth the vnderstanding. Being therefore vnable to reade as much as thou hast, it sufficeth to haue as much as thou canst reade. But now, sayest thou, will I ouer-runne this booke, now that. The stomacke is distempered, that longeth after diuers sorts of meats, which beeing different and diuers, doe rather choake then comfort or nourish. Reade therefore (if thou wilt credit me) such bookes alwaies as are most approved, and though for varieties sake thou sometimes change, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, those as thine ordinarie retreat and house. Putt haile vnto thy selfe euery day some new forces against povertie, and some counsell against death, & fortifie thy self with other preservations against the other plagues of life, and after thou hast tasted diuers things, lay hold on one which that day thou mayest digest. This likewise doe I of diuers things which I reade, I apprehend somewhat. See heere what I haue learned to day of Epicurus (for I

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am wont sometime to passe into mine enemies campe, not as a fugitive, but as a spie) A contented povertie, saith he, is an honest thing; but that is no povertie which is contented: for he that contenteth himselfe with his povertie, is a rich man, not he that hath little, but he that desireth the most, is the poore man. For what skilleth it how much a man hath in his chest, how much lieth in his barns, how much he feedeth, how much he profiteth by vsurie, if he still gape after other mens gaires, if he make reckoning not of those things he hath gotten, but of that which remaineth to be gotten? Thou requirest of me what measure or proportion there is of riches? The first is to haue that which is necessarie, the next that which sufficeth.

EPIST. III.

That some are oftentimes badly and rashly called friends. If any such there be that desireth the name of friend, all things are to be reposed and trusted on his faith, and communicated vnto him, as another our selues. Such as are fearefull and base minded are reprehended, as likewise those that are over-credulous, or too open. The meane is the best.

Thou hast deliuered thy letters to be conueyed to my hands, as thou sayest, by a friend of thine, by which thou aduertest me, not to communicate all thy pertinent affaires with him, because as thou sayest, thou art not accustomed to doe the like: so that in one and the same letter, thou allowest and disallowest him to be thy friend: I belecue first of all, that thou hast giuen him this name of friend at aduenture, and as a common name in such sort, as we call euery man that passeth by: by the name of Sir, if so we be ignorant by what name he is called. But let me tell thee this, that if thou thinkest to haue a friend, in whom thou wilt not put as much confidence, as in thy selfe, thou deceivest thy selfe very much, and vnderstandest not sufficiently the force of true amitie: deliberate all things with thy friend, but first of all resolute thy selfe, that he is thy friend. After the friendship is contracted, then ought wee to trust; before it bee formed we ought to iudge. But they preposterously confound offices, who contrarie to the precepts of Theophrastus, loue before they iudge, and after they haue iudged loue not at all. Thinke therefore long time with thy selfe, whether any man is to bee entertained into thy friendship; but when thou shalt be resolute to accept of his loue, discouer vnto him readily thy whole hart, and as boldly communicate thy secrets with him, as with thy selfe; yet so liue thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be such, that thou mayest commit them to the serious obseruation of thine enemy. But because sometimes diuers things fall out, that custome hath made secret, impart freely vnto thy friend all thy delignes and cogitations, if thou supposest him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no lesse. For many haue taught how to deceiue, by feareing lest they themselves should be deceiued, and haue ministred other men a priuiledge of offence by their own vaine suspicion. What is the cause therefore, why I should conceale any thing from my friend? Why before him thinke I not my selfe alone? Some there are which commit those things which are onely communicable with their friends, to euery one they meete, and disburthen in euery care what soeuer is distastefull vnto them: some againe likewise are distrustfull of their faith, whom they esteeme most deare,

dearest, yea and if they could, they would scarcely trust themselves, but inwardly oppress themselves with their owne secrets. But neither of these things is to be done, for both of them savour of infirmities, both not to credit all men, and not to credit any: but the one in my opinion is the more laudable vice, the other more secure. So reprehend both of them, both those that are always disquiet, as those that are always idle. For the manner of living in the first is not industrious, but rather the course & recourse of a tempest that agitateth their soules: and as touching those that thinke that all motion is trouble and vexation, it is rather a dissolution and languor in them than moderation. Commit therefore to memorie which I haue read in *Possidonius*, There are some, saith he, that are in such sort retired and hidden, that they thinke all things to be in garboile, which are open to the light. It behoueth thee to temper these things together, and to chuse certaine intermissions which are proper to action and rest. Deliberate with nature, and she will tell thee, that she made both the day and the night.

EPIST. II. III.

He exhorteth him to perseuer in Philosophie, whereby he may be esteemed a serious, grave and perfect man. For the rest he concludeth them to be children that feare such things as are not to be feared, as especially death. And this concludeth he to be the end of our evils; and that eyther by sudden motion or desperation many haue commended the same: and why not with reason? He concludeth therefore that life is not to be loved, but that we ought daily to thinke, upon how diners and light causes death approacheth vs. Finally, he proposeth an Embleme of EPICURVS of true riches.



Continue as thou hast begun, and indeuour thy selfe as much as in thee lieth, to the end thou mayest more plentifully enioy a reformed and governed minde. And in reforming and moderating the same thou shalt enioy it, but the contentment that a man receiueu by the contemplation of a conformed minde, and that is replenished with perfect innocencie, is farre more pleasant and agreeable. Thou dost remember what pleasure thou diddest feele, when hauing left thy childish liuerie, thou tookest vpon thee the ailements of a man, being brought before the Pretor into the market place. I expect a far greater, beyond comparison, when thou shalt cast off thy childish mind, and that Philosophie hath inrouled thee amongst the number of men: for child-hood ouerslippeth vs easily; but that which is most grieuous, child-hood remaineth with vs, and the worst that I see, is that we haue alreadye the authoritie of old men, and neuertheless possess as yet the vices of children; and not onely of children, but of infants. For those are afraid of things of small value, and these other of such things as are false: we feare both the one and the other. If thou wilt well bethinke thy selfe, thou shalt vnderstand that there are certaine things, which for the same cause for which they bring vs much feare, ought the lesse to be feared; No euill is great which commeth the last. We might feare death if it could abide alwayes with vs: but it is necessarye that eyther it befall vs not, or that it ouerpasse thin continently. And if thou tell me that it is a difficult thing to perswade the mind to contempt of life, doe but consider vpon how light occasions some haue attempted the same: one hath strangled himselfe with the halter before his Ministers

stris doores, another hath cast himselfe from the top of the house to the bottom to auoyde his Masters displeasure, another hath stabbed himselfe into the breast, rather then he would be brought back to the place from whence he was fled. Thinkest thou that vertue cannot inforce as much as excessive feare could? Trust me, no man can enioy a peaceable and secure life, that laboureth our much to prolong it, and that seemeth it for a great benefite, to see and obserue the reuolution of many yeares. Meditate then euery day to haue the power to leaue thy life freely and willingly, which diuers men entertaine in another maner then they do who embrace bryers and thorns, which haue benee driven athwart them by the violence of some furious streame. They float betwixt the feare of death, and the torments of life; they will not liue, and they know not how to die. Fashion therefore vnto thy selfe a pleasant life, by forsaking sollicitude that may befall thee for the loue of the same. There is no good more plausible to the possessor then that, to the losse whereof the minde is alreadye prepared; and there is nothing, the losse whereof is more easie to be supported, then of that which being lost cannot be redelired. Take thee courage and assurance against those things that are subiect to the same necessitie as thou art, euen those that are most mightie. A * Pupill & an * Eunuch gaue sentence on great Pompeys head, of *Craffus* the cruell and insolent Parthian. * *Caius Caesar* commanded that *Lepidus* should present his necke to the Tribune *Decimus*, and hee himselfe gaue his owne to *Chareus*. Fortune hath neuer so much fauoured any man, but that she hath affronted him with as many menaces. Trust not ouermuch vnto this calme. In an instant the Seas is turned, and those ships are swallowed the same day, where they wantonly played on the water. Thinke that eyther a thiefe or an enemie may ayme his sword at thy throat: and although a greater power be wanting, not the basest slaue that liueth, but hath power of thy life and death. I assure thee that whosoever contemneth his life is Lord of thine. Take account of those that are dead, by the complots of their seruants, or by open outrage, or by treason, and thou shalt see that there are no lesse made away by the indignation of their slaues, then the displeasures of their Kings. What importeth it then how mightie he be whom thou fearest, if euery man may do that which thou fearest? And if by chance thou fallest into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be ledde and kept in a place, where he may haue thee alwayes at his mercy. Why deceiuest thou thy selfe? Why beginnest thou then only to vnderstand that which thou hast suffered from thy birth? I tell thee, that from the houre thou wert borne thou art led to die. These and such like things ought continually to liue in our remembrance and mind, if we will moderately expect this last houre, the feare whereof replenisheth all others which disquiet. I will heere make an end of my Letter, in making thee partaker of the fruit which this day I haue gathered in another mans garden. *Pouertie measured according to the rule of nature, is great riches.* But knowest thou well what limits this rule of nature giueth vs? Neyther to haue hunger nor thirst, nor cold. But to the end to drie away this hunger and thirst, thou hast no need to wait or attend on these proude and great gates, nor to suffer these disdainfull and imperious contempters, nor to expose thy selfe to the baibes of these contumelious courtelies. Thou needest not for the same to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. That which nature deserueth is found euery where: we take paines to obtaine superfluous things: these are they that weare our gownes in peace, that make vs watch in our Tents, and that caile vs on forraigne shoares. That which sufficeth vs is already at hand.

* King of Egypt.
* Pothinus Eunuchus,
* Caligula.

EPIST. V.

Hee keepeth backe his friend from the ostentation of Philosophie, and counselleth him not to make himselfe noted by his habit or diet: he persuadeth him not to condemne all things that are vulgar, but to make moderate use of them, and without abuse: hee detesteth unclelinesse, and calleth vs to the lawe of nature: he vrgeth a clause out of Hecaton of the coniunction of hope and feare; auowing him to be free of one that hath cast off the other; and obnoxious to both, who ouer is to one.



Hereas thou trauellest continually, and all other things set apart, endeourest to make thy selfe daily more vertuous; I praise thee, and am glad to heare it: and not onely do I counsell thee to perseuer therein, but I likewise intreat thee. But thereof I am to admonish thee, that according to the manner of those that seeke not so much to profit as to be seene, thou applie not thy selfe to doe certaine things which are ouer-singular, and remarkable for their strangenesse, eyther in the manner of thy life, or in thy habit. Flie all stuttysh behauiours, as to weare thy haire ouer-long, knotted and filthie, thy beard vncombed, to lie on the ground, and to make profession to haue a sworne hatred against golde and siluer, and whatsoeuer followeth ambition by a wrong courc. The sole name of Philosophie, how modest focuer it be, is of it selfe sufficiently subiect to enuie. What if we separate our selues from the companie of men? Well may we inwardly be in all things vnlike vnto them; but our looks and behauiours must be agreeable to the good liking of the people. Let not our garment eyther be too gay, or too slouely: let not our siluer be enchaufed with gold; and yet let vs be asured that it is no token of frugalitie to be destitute cyther of gold or of siluer: let vs so doe that we leade a better life then the common sort are wont, yet not altogether contrarie to theirs; otherwise in stead of correcting them we shall driue and banish them from vs, and we are the cause that in disliking all our actions they will not imitate one of them. Philosophie promisseth this first of all, common sense, humanitie, and entercourse and societie, from which we shall become separated by this dissimilitude of profession. Let vs rather take heede lest these fashions for which we would be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others. Our intent is to liue according to the direction of nature: but it is a thing altogether contrarie vnto her, to afflict the bodie and to hate ordinarie cleanness, and to be loathsome and fordid, to vse not onely grosse meates, but also harmefull and distastefull. For euen as to affect and seeke after delicacie is riot, so also is it a kinde of madnesse to flie from those things which are vsuall and may be recovered without great expence. Philosophie requireth frugalitie, and not miserie: and since an honest and well seeming frugalitie may be had, I thinke it good for a man to keep this measure. It behoueth vs that our life be balanced betwixt good and publike maners. I can be well content that men admire our life, but yet let it be within their knowledge. What then? shall we doe the same that the rest? shall there be no difference betwixt vs and them? yes, a great deale: but he onely shall reknowledge the same that obserueth vs neerely. He that shall enter our houses, let him rather looke on vs then on our moueables. That man is great and generous, who vsith earthen platters like liuer vessell, and no lesse is hee that vsith siluer vessell as earthen platters. Not to be able to endure riches is the part of a weake mind. But to impart vnto thee the profit I haue made this day: I haue found in *Hecaton*, that

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the end of coueting sufficeth to remedie feare. *Thou wilt giue ouer, saith he, so feare, if thou ceasest to hope.* But thou wilt say, How can these things being so diuers, be together? So is it my *Lucilius*, although that these things seeme to be contrarie, yet are they ioyned and vnited the one with the other. Euen as one and the same chaine bindeth both the officer and the prisoner, so likewise these things although they seeme different, are conioyned and march together. Feare flyeth hope, and I wonder not thereat; both of them are passions which proceed from an inconstant and moueable minde, and that is in thought and care for that which is to come. But the greatest cause both of the one and other is, for that we moderate not our selues, and content not our felues with things that are present, but send our thoughts out farre before vs. So prouidence which is the greatest benefit that betideth mortall men, becommeth hurtfull and harmefull vnto vs. Brute beasts flie those dangers which they see before their eyes, and hauing escaped them, their present securitie extinguieth the memory of their feare: but we are affrighted not onely with our dangers past, but with those also that are to come. Many of our goods do harme vs; for our memorie requieth and representeth vnto vs the torment of the feare past, and prouidence anticipateth it. There is no man miserable alone by present euils.

EPIST. VI.

He declareth that it is an argument that he profiteth in Philosophie; because he acknowledgeth his vices. He expresseth his affection to communicate all things with him as his true friend, especially such as are profitable. That the counsaile of wise-men seemeth verie effectiua and aboue their precepts; which he teacheth by example of some Philosophers.



Know, my *Lucilius*, that I am not onely amended, but transfigured and reformed; not that I eyther vaunt my selfe, or suppose that there remaineth not any thing in me that may not be amended: I know there are many things, that both ought to be corrected, extenuated, and wholly lifted vp; but euen this is a testimony of a mind that beginneth to be changed for the better, when it knoweth that it selfe those vices that before times it was ignorant of. There is some hope in those that are seazed with certaine sicknesses, when as they seele themselves to be diseased. I would therefore wilth to communicate with thee this sudden change that is made in me; then should I begin to haue a more certaine confidence of our friendship, of that true friendship I meane, which neyther hope nor feare, neyther any other consideration of particular profit should disioyne, with which men die, and for which they die. I will reckon vp vnto thee diuers men that haue not had want of a friend, but want of friendship: such a thing cannot happen when as two soules are coupled together by a strict alliance, and vniformitie of will in desiring honest things. Why can it not? for they knowe that all things are common vnto them, and chiefly aduersitie. Thou canst not coniecture in thy minde how much profit I perceiue that euery day bringeth me. Send me, sayest thou, those things whose efficacie I haue so tried. Truly I could wish that I might in some sort poure them all into thee: I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; and there is not any thing, how rare and commendous focuer it be, that can or should yeeld me content, if I might only know

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it for my particular profit. If wisdome it selfe were giuen me vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I would refuse the same. The possession of no benefit is contenting without a companion. I will send thee therefore the booke themselves; and lest thou shouldest take too much paines in following those things which profite publickly, I will put certaine marks to finde those things quickly, which I proue and admire; yet our speaking and liuing together will profite thee more, then onely reading. It therefore behooueth thee to transport thy selfe hither: first of all, because men giue better credit to their eyes then to their eares. And againe, because the way of precepts is long, where that of example is more short, and far more fruitfull. *Cleanthes* had neuer expressed *Zeno* had he onely heard him: but he alwaies was conuersant with him, and had an eye into the secrets of his studie, and warily obserued whether he liued according as he taught. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and all other Sages which afterwards spread themselves into diuers families, haue received more instructions by the manners then the words of *Socrates*, *Hermachus*, and *Polisarius* were great men, not because they had frequented the Schoole of *Epicurus*; but for that they had conuersed with him. But I call thee not onely vnto me, to the intent thou shouldest receiue profit, but to the end thou shouldest profite others: for we will continually assist one another; mean while to acquit my selfe of the rent I owe thee, I will tell thee that which pleased me to day in *Hecaton*: *Askest thou, saith he, wherein I haue profited? I haue begun to be a friend to my selfe*. He hath gotten much: he will neuer be alone. Know this, that he that is friend to himselfe is a friend to all men.

EPIST. VII.

*To him that is proficient too much company is to be auoyded, and that vices are contraited thereby, Playes and Showes also, chiefly those that are bloodie: neyther is it be-
seeming publickly to recite or dispute amongst vnequals. Let. saith hee, one or two
auditors of iudgement be esteemed, or none at all.*



It thou know that which in my iudgement thou oughtest especially to flic? The multitude. For as yet thou canst not safely commit thy selfe vnto them: and for mine owne part I confesse my weakenesse: I neuer returne backe againe with those manners that I carried out with me. Somewhat of that which I had composed is troubled; somewhat of those things which I had chased away returneth backe againe vnawares. That which befallerth the sicke who are in such sort attainted with a long debility, that they can neuer be remoued, except they grow worse. So farreth it with vs, whose spirits begin to recouer from a long sicknesse. The conuersation of the people is contrarie vnto vs; euery one lendeth vs some staine, or imprinteth it in vs, and leaueth an impression in vs before we can beware: and the greater the companie is wherewith we conuerse the greater is the danger. But nothing is so hurtfull to good manners as to sit in a Theatre, for there by the pleasures we conceiue, the vices steale on vs more easily. What thinkest thou that I say? I tell thee that I not onely returne more couctous, more ambitious, more luxurious, but more cruell and inhumane, because I haue bene amongst men. By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, expecting some sports and wittie jests, and recreation whereby mens eyes might

might be reposed awhile, that in the morning had bene, fedde with the shedding of mens blood: But I finde it contrarie; whatsoeuer was fought before was mercie. Now letting passe trifles, there is nothing but detested murder: combatants haue not wherewith to couer them, but expose their naked bodies to the stroke, and neuer strike without wounding. This spectacle doe many preferre before that of the ordinarie couples, or that of the extraordinarie, asked for by the people. And why should they not preferre the same? The weapon is kept off neyther by Helmet nor Target: whereto serue these fencings and Gladiatorie Arts? All these are but the delays of death. In the morning men are exposed to Lions and Bears, at noone to the spectators. The killers are commanded to be set against those that are to kill, and they refuse him that is conqueror for another slaughter: the end and ayme of those that fight is death, by fire and sword the matter is managed. These are done during the intermission of the spectacle. But some man hath committed a theft: what therefore deserueth he? To be hanged. He slew a man: he that slew him deferred to suffer no lesse. But what, hast thou deferred to behold this spectacle? Kill, burn, whip, why runnes he so fearfully on the weapon? Why kills he not courageously? Why dies he not willingly? By strokes are they compelled to wounds, and with naked and exposed bodies they receiue the strokes of one another. Is the spectacle intermitted? in the meane time men are slaine, lest nothing should be done. Go too, vnderstand you not this, that euill example reflecteth on those that doe this? Giue thanks vnto the immortal gods, that you teach him to be cruell who cannot learn. A tender mind and too little apprehensiu of the truth is to be withdrawn from the common people: it is easie to find out many. The frequentation of a different multitude might peraduenture haue shaken the great mindes of *Socrates*, *Cato*, and *Laelius*. So farre is any of vs (though in height of our composed iudgement) from being able to sustaine the force and charge of vices, comming with so great a troupe. One onely example of lust or auarice causeth much mischief. The companie of a delicate man by little and little effeminateth those that conuerse with him. A rich neighbour kindleth our couctousnesse. A mischieuous and corrupt man rubbeth on the rust of his infirmities, and soileth the most simple and vprightest man. What thinkest thou then will befall those to whom all the world flocketh and approacheth publickly? These of force must thou cyther imitate or hate; but both the one and the other of these ought to be auoyded, for feare lest thou be cyther like vnto the wicked, by reason they are manie, or enemy to diuers, because they are vnlike to thee. Retire thy selfe therefore into thy selfe: haunt those who can make thee better, admit those whom thou canst better; for these things are reciprocally done. Men in teaching others learne themselves. Abooue all things beware lest thou expose thy selfe to great assemblies, or affectest to dispute or teach by way of ostentation, or desire to shew thy selfe. I could well with that thou shouldest doe so, if thou couldest in any sort be profitable to the people: but there is not any one amongst them that can vnderstand thee; and if happily thou finde out one or two, yet must thou instruct them how they may vnderstand thee. Why then wilt thou aske me, Haue I learned these things? Feare not that thou hast lost thy labour, if thou hast learned these things for thy selfe. But lest I should reserve vnto my selfe the profit I haue gotten this day, I will communicate with thee three most worthy sentences to one sense; of which the one shal be to acquit this Epistle of that which it oweth thee; the other two shal be giuen thee aforehand. *Demetrius* saith, *I count one onely for a whole multitude,*

itude, and a whole multitude as one. And he whosoeuer he was for it is doubted of the author, when it was demanded of him, why he tooke so great paines to preferre an arte, which should profit but a few, answered very wisely, *A few, saith he, suffice me, one is enough, none is enough.* And the third is most excellent, *Epicurus* writing to one of the consorts of his studies. These things, saith he, write I not to manie, but to thy selfe; for we our selues are a Theatre great enough for one another. Such things as these, friend *Lucilius*, are they which thou must commit to memorie, to the end to contemne this pleasure which proceedeth from the reputation and consent of diuers. For to be praysed by manie, what cause findest thou to reioyce at the more? Then if thou be such as diuers do esteeme thee, let them see thy goods within thee.

EPIST. VIII.

*This present dependeth on the former Epistle, and is as it were an Obiection: what wilt thou that I auoide the multitude and the people? But thy Stoicks teach to follow businesse, and to die in affaires. He answereth, that he perswadeth not idleness, but a retirement by his example, who dismissing other offices, intendeth wisdom, and propagateth the precepts thereof in writing. Thus, saith he, is of all actions the greatest and most excellent. In conclusion, he inserteth that of *Epicurus*: that Philosophie giueth true libertie.*

THou commaundest me by thy aduice to flie the people, to retire my selfe apart, and to be contented with my conscience: What shall then become of all those precepts of thine, that commaunded me to end my life in action? What, seeme I then in this interim to intertaine idleness? To this end haue I withdrawne my selfe, to this intent haue I shut vp my doores, that I might profit many men. I spend not a day in idleness; yea, and for the most part of the nights, I spend them in studie, maintayning and forcing mine eyes against sleepe. I retired my selfe not from me onely, but from affaires, and principally from mine owne particular: I wholly traffique for posteritie, by writing that which may be profitable vnto them: I set before their eyes in writing many good and wholesome counsailes, as it were receipts of profitable medicines, which I haue found fruitfull in mine owne vlcers; the which although they be not altogether healed, haue desired to fester. I shew others the right way, which I haue learned too late: and after I haue bene too long wearied with wandring and tracing heere and there, I cease not to crie out. Flie all those things which eyther please the common sort, or casualtie attributeth: runne not after casual benefices, but rather suspiciously and fearfully apprehend, and intertaine all vncertaine pleasures. Both wilde beast and fish is bewitched with the baite is laid for them. Think you that these are the giftes of Fortune? Trust mee, they are her lyings in waite; what one looser of vs would liue a sweet life, let him flie as much as he may these liued benefices, wherein we most miserably be deceiued. We think to enioy them, and they enioy vs: this course carrieth vs to a downefall. The issue of a life so eminent is to fall; and that which is worse, it is impossible for vs to stand, when as felicitie hath begonne to transport vs, and carrie vs hither and thither: at least wisedome content thy selfe with such things as are good and certaine, or be thou possessor and lord of thy selfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only ouerturne

ouerturne them, but casteth headlong and crusheth them. Remember therefore to obserue this wholsome and fruitfull forme of life, in asoording thy body no further nourishment, then may suffice to continue thee in good health: chastise the same severely, lest it rebell against the foule. Let thy meat appease thy hunger, thy drinke allwaie thy thirst, thy coat couer thee from cold, thy house be a defence against those things as may offend thy bodie. It skilleth not whether it be builded of Turfe or rich Marble. Know that a man is as well couered with T hatch as with Golde. Contemne all these things which superfluous labour preferreth eyther for shew or ornament. Think that there is nothing admirable in thy selfe, but thy minde, to which nothing is great, which euen it selfe is great. If I discourse this with my selfe, if I conferre this with posteritie, thinkest thou not that I profit more, then when as vpon demand I passe my bond for my friend, or set my hand and scale in testimonie to a Testament, or should giue my hand and suffrage to a candidate in the Senate house? Beleue me, those that seeme to do least, doe the greatest things; for they intreat both of diuine and humane matters. But it is high time for me now to make an end, and to pay that impolt that I owe for this Epistle: it shall not be at mine owne expence, but on *Epicurus* charges; in whom this day I read this sentence: *Thou must of necessitie serue Philosophie, to the end thou mayest obtaine true libertie.* Hee that submitteth and subiecteth himselfe to her, is on the instant made a freeman; for to serue her is to be at libertie. Thou wilt thinke it strange peradventure why I vsurpe so often the *Epicurus* words, rather then those of other men; but wherefore thinkest thou not that those sayings are common and publique? How manie things are they which the Poets haue written, which haue bene or ought to be spoken by the Philosophers? I mention not the Tragedians nor those Poems of ours, which are called *Togates*; for these haue also some severity, and are the mean betwixt Comedies & Tragedies: how many eloquent verses are there in vse euen amongst the Cynicks? How many things of *Publius*, which not only exceed the Commodies, but are worthy to be inserted in Tragedies? I will repeat one of his verses, which appertaineth to Philosophie, and to this part which now last of all we debated of, wherein he denieth that we ought to account casual things our owne;

Each thing is foraine that befalls by wishing.

I remember this Verse likewise of thine, not much better but more succinct;

It is not thine that fortune made thine.

Neyther will I let slip that likewise which was farre better set downe by thee:

The good that might be given, may be bereft.

I require no acquittance for these; for I pay thee with thine owne.

EPIST. IX.

A part and explication also of the former: that a wise-man seeketh not men, but is contented with himselfe. What then? Not a friend also; yea can he likewise be without him: he can lose him, and having lost him, can repaire him againe. In himselfe is the fruit and pleasure whilst he prouideth him. What for his owne cause as the Epicures thinke? No, but rather for another, whom he may profit, for whom he may vndergo danger, for whom he may die: the reward of vertue is it selfe. At length more copiously and subtilly: how farre content with himselfe, how farre not; and in words Ioue Stoicall distinctions.



How desirest to know, whether vpon iust ground the Epicure in a certaine Epistle of his, reprehendeth those that say, thathee that is perfectly wise is content with himselfe, and that for this cause he hath no neede of a friend: this is objected by the Epicure to *Synpho*, and those who thinke that the impassibilitie of the mind is their chiefest good. We shall fall into ambiguitie, if we shall striue significantly to expresse the Greeke word *ἀδιαφορία* in one word, and call it *Impatience*. For the contrarie of that which would expresse may be vnderstood: for weintend, him that despiseth all sense of euill, let him be conceiued that can endure no euill: see therefore whether it be better eyther to say an inuulnerable mind, or a minde seled beyond all patience. The difference which is betwixt them and vs is this; our wise-man ouercommeth each incommodie whatsoever, but feelth the same; theirs hath not so much as a sense thereof. In this weacord, we say that a wise-man is contented with himselfe, yet notwithstanding that he will haue a friend, a neighbour, a companion, although he himselfe sufficeth, and in such sort sufficeth, that sometimes he is contented with a part of himselfe. For if eyther a sickenesse or enemie hath taken his hand from him, if any accident hath bereft him of his eye, that which remaineth with him shall suffice him, and as ioyfull shall he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as hee could be were it whole. He had rather that he wanted nothing; neuertheless he desireth not that which he wanteth. Thus is a wise-man so farre content with himselfe, not that he will be without a friend, but that he can be; which is as much to say, as that he beareth patiently the losse of a friend, without a friend he shall neuer be; it lyeth in his power to repaire him as soone as him lietheth. As *Phidias* having lost one statue, can suddenly fashion another; so this good *Arctefan* of amitie suddenly substituteth another friend in the place of him that is lost. If thou demandst of me, how he can so suddenly make and repaire so many friendships, I will tell thee, if this first all be agreed betwene vs, that I remain acquit of the debt of this letter. *I will show thee, saith Hecaton, a means to increase loue without medicine, heare, or enchantment: if thou wilt be beloved, loue.* But there is not only a pleasure in the fruition of an old & ancient amitie, but likewise in the creation of a new: and the same difference is between him that hath a friend alreadie gotten, and him that is a getting, as between the laborer when he sloweth and when he reapeth. *Attalus* the Philosopher was wont to say, that it was farre more pleasant thing to make a friend, then to haue a friend; as it is more agreeable to a painter to paint, then to haue finished his picture. This attention which he applyeth to his worke, hath in it selfe such sweetness, that he cannot be partaker of that that hath set his last hand to his labour: after hee hath painted, he possesseth the fruit of his art; but he tooke pleasure in the arte

it

it selfe when he painted. The youth of our children is more fruitfull vnto vs, but their infancie more sweet. And to returne to our purpose; the wise-man although he be content with himselfe, will notwithstanding haue a friend, if to no other end but to exercise his amitie, will not endure that so great a vertue should remaine without vse, not (as *Epicurus* said in the same Epistle) to haue some one to assist him when he is sicke, or to succour him if he be in prison and necessitie, but contrariwise to the end he may haue some one whom he may assist and succour being sicke, relieue and ransom being in need and captiuitie: for he hath an euill intention, that onely respecteth himselfe, when he maketh friendship: so shall he end his friendship euen as he began the same. He that hath purchased himselfe a friend, to the intent he may be succoured by him in prison, will take his flight as soone as he feeleth himselfe deliuered from his bonds. These are those kindes of friendships, which the common sort call *Temporarie*. He that is made a friend for profit sake, shall please as long as he may be profitable: so those that are in felicitie see themselves inuironed with a multitude of friends, & where the distressed make their abode there is nothing but solitude: for such manner of friends flee those places where they shall bee proued: from thence we see so many wicked examples of som forsaking for feare, of some betraying for feare. It is necessarie that the beginning & the end haue correspondence. He that hath begun to be a friend because it is expedient, he that hath thought that there is a gaine in friendship beside it selfe, may well be induced and suborned against the same, by the offer of a greater gaine. For what cause then doe I entertaine a friend? To the end to haue one for whom I may die, whom I may accompanie in banishment, and for whose life and preseruation I may expose my selfe to danger and death. For the other, which onely regardeth profit, and that maketh account of that which may yeelde thee commoditie, is rather a traffique then a friendship. Certaine it is that friendship hath in some sort a similitude and likeness to the affections of louers. And not vnjustly may a man call this passion a foolish amitie. But the scope of loue is neyther gaine, nor ambition, neyther glorie; but despising all other consideration of himselfe, hee kindleth in our soules the desire of the beloved forme, vnder hope of a mutuall and reciprocal amitie. And who dare say that a vicious habitude is produced from a cause more honest. But if thou wilt say vnto me, that if friendship be so desired a thing in it selfe, it behoueth not a wise-man who is contented with himselfe to follow the same for any other consideration, how honest soeuer it begeth for the beautie that remaineth in the same: and that it is an abatement of the maiestie and dignitie thereof, to obtaine the same for any other respect. I will answer thee my friend *Lucilius*, that where we say that the wise-man is contented with himselfe, is badly interpreted by diuers men. They exclude euery way the wise-man from euery place, and inclose him within himselfe. But we must distinguish what and how farre this word extendeth. The wise-man is contented with himselfe to liue happily, but not to liue. To this diuers things are requisite; to that there needeth no more then an intire and erected minde, and such as despiseth fortune. I will shew thee how *Chrysippus* distinguisheth them: He saith that a wise-man wanteth nothing, and yet hath neede of many things: a foole hath neede of nothing, because he can make vse of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wise-man hath neede of hands and eyes, and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vses of life, yet neuertheless he wanteth nothing: for to haue neede importeth necessitie; but to him that is wise nothing is necessarie. Thus although he be content with himselfe, yet desireth

sisteth he not to make vse of his friends, but desireth to haue more, but not in regard that he hath need of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends. The foueraigne good seeketh not externall instruments, it is wholly accomplished in it selfe. It beginneth to bee subiect vnto fortune, if it haue neede to seeke any part of it selfe out of it selfe. But yet what shall a wife-mans life be, if he be left in prison without friends, or if in some strange country he be abandoned of all the world, or retained in som long Navigation, or cast on some desert and vnknowne shoare? Euen as *Iupiter*, when in the dissolution of the world, and the confused mixture of the gods all into one, when the nature of things beginning to cease by little and little, he repositeth himselfe, and retireth himselfe into himselfe, giuen ouer to his owne thoughts. The like doth the wife-man, he is hidden in himselfe, he is only with himselfe: but whilst it is lawfull for him to order his affaires, he is contented with himselfe: he marieth a wife, he is contented with himselfe: he bringeth vp children, hee is content in himselfe; and yet would he not liue, if he should liue without mankind. No profit but a naturall instinct inciteth him to entertain friendship: for as in other things we haue a certaine inbred sweetnesse, so haue we of friendship. Euen as solitude is odious, so is companie agreeable: euen as nature associateth man with man, so likewise there is a certaine instinct in this, that maketh vs desirous of friendships; notwithstanding although he be most affectionate to his friends; although he equall and oftentimes preferre them before himselfe, yet shall all his good be inclosed, and bounded within himselfe, and he shall speake as *Stilpon* did, I meane him against whom *Epicurus* disputed in his Epistle: for hauing, vpon the surprisall and taking of the Cittie wherein he liued, lost his wife and children, and himselfe left desolate (yet neuertheless happie and content) deliuered from the publike ruine & desolation. *Demetrius* he that was surnamed *Poliarchetes*, that is to say the destroyer of Citties, demanded of him if he had lost nothing. No (said he) *I haue lost nothing, because all my goods are with me*. Behold how this great and generous personage is victorious ouer the victorie of his owne proper enemy. I haue not (saith he) lost any thing. He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no. All my goods, saith he, are with me, that is to say, iustice, vertue, temperance, prudence, and especially to thinke nothing good that may be taken away. We wonder at some creatures that trauele the fire without any harme; how much more admirable was this man, that without losse or harme escaped both fire, sword and ruine? Doest thou see how farre more easie it is, to conquer a whole Nation then one man? This voyce is common to him with the Stoicke, who in his owne person beareth away his goods without hurt, thorow the middelt of Citties burned downe, because he is content in himselfe: himselfe is the scope of his owne felicitie. Thinke not that we alone are they that vtter these great and generous words. *Epicurus* himselfe that reprehendeth *Stilpon*, hath spoken to the like effect, which take in good part, although I haue payed thee this daies rent already: *Whosoever* (saith he) *supposeth not his owne sufficient to content him, though he be the Lord of this whole world, yet is he miserable*. Or if thou thinke it better spoken in this sort (for we must relie on sense, not on words) *Hee is miserable that thinketh not himselfe most happy, although he command the whole world*. And to the end thou mayest know, that these sentences are common, which nature insulseth in to all in generall, thou shalt finde that in the Cynique Poet,

He is not blest that thinks himselfe not so.

For

For what preuayleth it thee of what reckoning or estate thou art of, if in thine owne iudgement it seeme but abiect? What then mayest thou say, if he that is vnworthily rich, and he who is lord ouer diuers other men, but slave vnto farre more, calleth himselfe happie; shall he be so? I tell thee that thou oughtest not to regard that which he saith, but that which he thinketh; and nor that only which he thinketh one day, but ordinarily. But doe not feare lest an vnworthy man should enioy so great a good: to no one but a wife-man can his goods yeeld any pleasure; all follic laboureth with loathing of it selfe.

Epist. X.

This solitude is only good to those that are good, and haue profited in goodnesse, to others otherwise: for wicked and foolish men commit most sinne therein, being removed from a reformer and left to themselves. By the way some precepts of vowes, and that we ought not to conceiue any thing, except that which we durst make knowne to euery man.

SO it is, I change not mine opinion, but counsaile thee to flie the great assemblies, yea the least; and not the least only, but the frequentation of one alone. I finde not any man with whom I would haue thee to converse. Consider a little the iudgement that I haue of thee; I dare well trust thy selfe to thy selfe. *Crates* the Auditor of that *Stilpon*, of whom I made mention in my former Epistle, when he perceiued a young man walking apart by himselfe, asked him what he did there all alone? I speake, said the young man, vnto my selfe. Take heed, I pray thee, replied *Crates*, that thou speake not with a wicked man. We are accustomed to obserue those that mourne and feare, when they retire themselves apart, for feare lest they abuse their solitude. There is no imprudent man that ought to be left alone: for then is the time that they complor and deuise their euill designs, and studie how to effect their euill intents, both to themselves and others: then dispose they their vnlawfull desires: at that time the minde discovereth and publisheth that which before time their feare or shame enforced them to concale: then animate they their boldnesse, quicken they their luits, and awaken their choler. To conclude, the only good that solitude hath in it selfe, which is to commit nothing to any man, and to feare no reuealer, that is lost to a foole: for he discovereth and betrayeth himselfe. Consider thou that which I hope, or rather that which I promise my selfe of thee (for to hope is a word of vncertaine good) I finde not any man with whom I could better finde in my hart that thou shouldst be conuersant, then with thy selfe. When I called to remembrance the high and generous discourses that I haue heard thee vtter, did congratulate with my selfe, and said, These are not words only, but these wordes haue their foundations; this man is not of the vulgar, he tendeth to sistent. Continue then my friend *Lucilius*, and speake alwayes after this manner, liue continually thus, that one thing abuse thee not, neyther matter thy courage. Giue thanks vnto god for the ancient vowes thou hast made vnto him, and recommend vnto him all the new thou hast conceiued: aske at his hands a good mind, and first of all pray vnto him for the health of thy spirit, and next for that of thy bodie. Why shouldst thou not oftentimes make these vowes vnto him? boldly beseech god, since thou intendest to aske nothing of him that is another

another mans. But to the end that according to my custome I may accompany this letter of mine with some present, receiue that which I haue found to day in *Athenodorus*: *Then know that thou art disburdened of all euill desires, when thou hast attained so farre, that thou demand nothing at gods hands, but that which may be required of him openly.* For how great at this day is the madness of men? They mumble betwix their teeth some vileinious prayers, and are suddenly silent if any man yeeld an eare vnto them, supposing to hide that from men which they are not alhamed to discouer vnto God: iudge then if this precept should not be profitable; So liue with men as if God saw thee, so speake with God as if men should heare thee.

EPIST. XI.

That he hoped well of LUCILIUS his friend, in whom appeared much shamefastnesse and blushing. That the same is sometimes naturall, and cannot be shaken off by any precepts, and so loveth a wise man also, that sometimes it appeareth in euill men, and is a signe of euill. Then he citeth a wholesome admonition of EPICVRVS. That we ought alwayes represent vnto our selues a good man, who might restrain vs as a Tutor; and that we should doe and speake all things as if he were present.

That honest natured man thy friend hath spoken with me. The first words he vttered, incontinently testified vnto me how great his hurt was, and how good his spirit, and how much he had profited in the study he had enterprised: he left me a taste, whereunto I assure my selfe he will answer; for I haue taken him vpon the sudden, and he hath spoken vnto me without preparation. When he recollected himselfe he easily blushed, which is a good signe in a young man, yea, so blushed as he could not moderate it. I doubt not but when he shall be bestired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompanie him, yea, euen then when perfect wisdom hath possessed him. For those vices which are connaturall cyther in minde or bodie, cannot be wholly defaced by any industrie. That which is borne with vs may be sweetned and corrected by arte, but neyther mastered or rooted out. It hath bin noted that the most assured men in this world, at such time as they presented themselves before a great assembly, to discourse of any thing, were no lesse troubled with a cold sweat, then they that are wearie and pant with trauell: to some their knees tremble, to others their teeth chatter, their tongue varies, their lips simper. Neyther discipline nor vse can wholly take from them these imperfections: for nature exerciseth his force herein, and admonisheth each one of his defects and weakenesse, and I know that blushing is to be numbred amongst these things. For oftentimes wee obserue that it spreadeth it selfe, and flusheth euen in the face of the grauelled men, yet is it more apparent in young men, who haue more heate and are of a soft nature, notwithstanding the eldest are not exempt from the same. Some there are that are neuer so much to be feared then when they blush, as if at that instant they had lauihed out all their shamefastnesse. Then was *Sylla* most violent when his face was most redde. There was nothing more soft then *Pompeys* countenance. For he neuer spake in solemne companie without blushing. And I remember that *Fabianus* did as much, being summoned by the Senate to depose in a certain matter, and herein his blushing did marueously become him. This happeneth not thorow the feeblenesse of the mind,

but

but rather from the noueltie of the accident, which although it shake not, yet moueth it these which are not accustomed and exercised, and who by a naturall facilitie and tenderesse of their bodie, are subiect to blushing. For as there are some who haue their blood both good and well tempered, so other some haue it moueable, and readie to flush vp into the face. No wisdom, as I haue said, can take away this infirmite, other wise nature it selfe should be subiect therunto, if wisdom had power to raze out those vices which she had imprinted in vs. That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth, and the temperature of our bodies, when the mind hath much and long time composed it self, will remain continually. We cannot elcbeue these things at our pleasures, no more then we can command them to come at our will. The Commedians who imitate affections, who expresse feare and trembling, who represent sorrow, are accustomed to counterfeit shamefastnesse after this manner: they cast downe their countenance, they speak softly, they fix their eyes on the ground, but blush they cannot; for blushing may neyther be prohibited nor commanded. Wisdom promisseth nothing against those things; profiteth nothing: such things as she receiue no law but from themselves; they come against our wills, and depart without asking leaue. Now this Epistle requirith a clausall; receiue then from me this precept, as most necessarie and behouefull for thee, & which I wish thee alwayes to retain in memorie: *We ought to chuse out some good man, and alwayes fix him before our eyes, that we may so liue as if he alwayes lookt on, & do all things as if he continually beheld vs.* This, O my friend *Lucilius*, is one of *Epicurus* precepts. He intendeth to giue vs a Guardian and a Tutor, and not without cause. The greatest part of finnes is taken away, when a witnesse is alwayes present with him that would offend. Let the minde therefore propose vnto it selfe some personage that she respecteth, by whose authoritie shee may make her secret more holy and more religious. O how happie is he that not onely reformeth his actions but his thoughts! Happie is he that can respect one of that sort, that by the onely remembrance of him he can reforme his minde: who can respect in that sort shall suddenly be made worthie to be respected himselfe. Choose therefore *Cato*, or if he seeme vnto thee ouer-sharp and seuerer, choose *Zilius*, who is more facile and sweet: choose him whose life and wordes shall be most agreeable vnto thee, and fixing alwayes before thine eyes his minde and countenance, take him cyther for thy guide or thine example. It behoueth vs to haue some one, according to whose maners we may conforme our own. Such things as are depraued, are not corrected but by rule.

EPIST. XII.

He pleasantly discouerseth of his olde age, and sheweth how he was admonished thereof in his country-house, but so admonished that it was without griefe. That his olde age must not be tedious but pleasant, and lesse subiect to vices. That all life is short, but what sooner to be made ours by vse, and that hand is to be laide thereon. Let vs daily fy and thinke we haue liued.



N which side sooner I turne my selfe I perceiue the proofes of mine olde age: I repaired lately to my country-farme, which adioyneth the Citie, and complained of my daily expence in reparations, and my Bayliffe that had the keeping thereof answered me, that it was not his fault, alleging that he had done the best

best that he could, but that the building was ouer-olde and ruinous; yet notwithstanding it was I my selfe that builded it, I leaue it to thee to iudge of mee, since the stones of mine age decay so much through antiquitie. Being touched herewith I tooke occasion to be displeased with him vpon euery first thing that encountreth me in my walke. It well appeareth, said I, that these Plane trees are not well laboured, they are altogether leauelesse, their boughes are knotie and withered, and their stockes couered with mosse and filthinesse: this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they ought to be. He sweareth by my *Genius*, that he doth his vttermoost endeavour, and that he hath neglected them in no manner, but that the trees were olde. Then remembered I my selfe that I had planted them with mine owne hands, and seene them beare their first lease. Turning my selfe to the doore, what decrepit fellow is that, said I, that for his age is left at the gate as dead bodies are wont to be, for he looketh outward? Whence came he? What pleasure hast thou to carrie forth the carkasse of a strange man? Knowest thou me not, saith he? I am *Felicio* to whom thou wert wont to bring childish gifts; I am the sonne of *Philosus* thy Bayliffe, thy play-fellow. Vndoubtedly, said I, this man doateth. My darling then is become an infant; vndoubtedly it may so be, for he is almost toochlesse. This owe I to my Farme, that my olde age appeareth vnto me which way soeuer I turne my selfe. Let vs then embrace and loue the same: it is wholly replenished with agreeable delights, if a man know how to make vse of it. The Apples are neuer so good then when they begin to wither and ripen. Infancie is most agreeable in the end thereof. To those that delight in carrowling, the last draught is most pleasant, that which drowneth him in wine, and consummatest his drunkennesse. Whatsoeuer most contenting all pleasure hath contained in her selfe, is deferred till the end. The age that declineth is also most agreeable, when as yet it is not wholly decrepit and spent: neyther iudge I that age, without his particular pleasure, whose foote is almost in the graue, or thus succedeth in place of pleasure that he needeth none. O how sweet and pleasant a thing is it to see a mans selfe discharged of all countenances! But thou mayest say that it is a tedious thing, to haue death alwayes before a mans eyes: first of all this ought as well to be presented to a yong as to an olde mans eyes; for we are not called by the Cenfor according to our estate, and there is none so old that hopeth not to liue at least one day longer: and one day is a degree of life; for all our age consisteth of manie parts, and is a sphere that hath diuers circles, the one inclosed within the other. And one there is that incloseth and comprehendeth all the rest, which is that of the Natiuity vntill death; another that excludeth the yeares of youth, another that containeth all child-hood; after these succedeth the yeare which incloseth all, the time by the multiplication whereof life is composed. In the circle of the yeare is the moneth, and in that of the moneth is the day, which is the least of all: yet notwithstanding he hath his beginning and his end, his rise and his set. And for this cause *Heraclitus* that was called *Scotinus*, by reason of the obscuritie of his speech, said, that one day is like to all which another hath interpreted after another manner to wit, that one day is like to all; in number of houres: and he said true; for if a day be the time of foure and twentie houres, it is necessarie that they should be all alike, because the night hath that which the day hath lost: another said that one day was like to all, by reason of the conformitie and resemblance; for there is nothing in the space of a very long time, that thou shalt not finde in one day the light and the night, the turnes and returns of the hea-

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uens. The shortnesse and length of the nights make these things more plainly appare. Therefore ought we to dispose of euery day, in such sort as if it did leade vs the rereward of our time, and should consummate our liues: *Pasquius* he that vsurped ouer *Syria*, being buried in the euening, being buried in his wine, and those meates which hee had caused to be richly and sumptuously prepared for him, as if he himselfe had solemnized his owne obsequies; caused himselfe to be transported from his banquet to his bedde, in such manner, that amidst the dances and clapping of hands of his curtezans, it was sung to the Mulique, *He hath liued, he hath liued*: and no day ouer-passed his head wherein he buried not himselfe after this manner. That which he did of an euill conscience let vs performe with a good, and addressing our selues to our rest, let vs joyfully and contentedly say,

I haue liued, and ended the course that fortune gaue me.

If God vouchsafe vs the next morrow, let vs receiue the same with thanksgiving. He is thrice-happie, & assuredly possessed of himselfe that expecteth the next day without care. Whosoever hath said I haue liued, doth daily rise to his profect. But now I must close my letter: What, sayest thou, shall it come to me without any present? Doe not feare, it shall bring somewhat with it. Why said I somewhat? It will be a great deale. For what can be more excellent then this sentence, It bringeth vnto thee? It is an euill thing to liue in necessitie, but there is no necessitie to liue in necessitie: for the way that leadeth vnto libertie is on euery side open, short, & easie to keepe. Let vs giue God thanks for this, that no man can be constrained to liue, and that it is lawfull for euery one to treade necessitie vnder his feete. Thou wilt say, that these words are of *Epicurus*. What halst thou to doe with another mans? That which is true is mine, I will perseuer to vrge *Epicurus* vnto thee, that they who sweare and consent to the words, and consider not what is spoken, but by whom; let them know, that those things are best that are common.

EPIST. XLIIII.

He excellently informeth against casualties, and comforteth against them: But especially he admonisheth vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come, he admonisheth them to be vncertaine, and such as may not fall out. He concludeth therefore that all feare is to be tempered by hope. Then addeth he this, full of farre more consistency: Doe and teach things to come, they are of Gods, and for our good.

LKnow that thou hast much courage; for before I instructed thee with wholsome precepts, and such as subdue aduersitie, thou wert contented enough to exercise thy selfe against fortune, and hast assured thy selfe also farre more, since thou hast made triall of thy forces, and graped with her hand to hand; which can neuer giue an assured proofe of themselves, but where as many difficulties shall appeare on euery side, yea, sometimes necerly assault them. In like manerra true mind, and such as will not subiect it selfe to other mens wils, approacheth it selfe: This is his touch-stone. The wrestler cannot enter lists with an vndaunted courage, who hath neuer bene sharply encountered and beaten. He that hath

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oftentimes scene his blood shed, whose teeth haue bene shattered by a fitt. He that hauing bene ouerthrowne hath made his enemy lose his footing, that being cast downe hath not lost his courage, that as oftentimes as he hath bene foyled recovered new footing and became more fell and furious; he that, I say, enlureth the fielde with the greatest assurance. And to perill in this similitude Fortune hath oftentimes beene about thee, yet hast thou heuer at any time yeelded thy selfe her prisoner, but hast alwayes restored thy selfe; and made head against her with more courage and alacritie: and in truth also a generous mind getteth ordinarily some aduantage when he is prouoked; notwithstanding if thou thinkest it good, accept some forces from me to strengthen and defence thy selfe more and more. Diuers things, my *Lucilius*, do more feare then hurt vs, & oftentimes we are more troubled by opinion then effect. I reason not with thee at this time in a Stoicall language, but somewhat more submissly and vulgarly: for we say that all these things, which cause in vs these feares and groanings, are but light and contemptible. Let vs omit these great words, yet notwithstanding most true. I onely admonish thee not to make thy selfe miserable before thy time, by fearing that those things are wholly nere vnto thee, which happily will neuer befall thee, or at leastwise are not yet happened. Some things therefore doe more afflict vs then they ought, some before they ought, other some torment vs when they should not at all. We cyther augment our euill, or presuppose the same, or imagine them to our selues vpon no ground at all: that first because the matter is in controuersie, and the pleas are already recorded; let vs deferre for the present. That which I terme light thou contendest to be most grievous: I know that some doe laugh in their tortures, others groane for a little stroke. We afterwards shall see whether these things are to be valued by their owne forces or our weaknesse. First graunt me this, that as oftentimes as thou shalt be amongst men, that shall endeavour to perswade thee that thou art miserable, thou wilt grow into consideration with thy selfe, not of that which thou hearest, but of that which thou feelest: consult first of all with thy patience, & ask thou thy selfe. Who should better know that which toucheth thee then thy selfe? Speake vnto thy selfe thus; Why is it that these men lament my fortune? They tremble they, as if they feared that the region of my misfortune should attaine and torment them? That which is it is it not more infamous then dangerous? Enquire of thy selfe after this manner. Am I not perplexed and forrowfull without cause? Make I not that an euill which is not? How sayest thou, shall I vnderstand whether the things I feare be cyther vaine or true? Take this rule to discern the same: cyther present, or future, or both terrifie vs: the iudgement of the present is facile, if the bodie be free, healthfull, and without any griefe, caused by some iniurie done vnto thee. We shall see what shall happen hereafter, to day thou hast no need to complain. But it will come. First consider whether there be any certaine arguments of thy future misfortune; for, for the most part we are troubled with suspitions, and affrighted by the illusions of common report, which is accustomed to end whole warres, but much more particular men. Vndoubtedly so it is my friend *Lucilius*, we are quickly conceited and ouer-ruled by common opinion: we checke not those things which cause our feares, neyther shake them off: but tremble thereat, and turne our backs like those whom a cloude of dust, raised by the triumphing of a troupe of beasts putteth to flight, or those that are dismayed by a report that runneth abroad, that hath neyther ground nor author. And by mishap, I know not how it commeth to passe that false and fained

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things doe trouble vs farre more then true; for the true haue a certain measure, the others are deliuered vs to a wandring coniecture, and license of the fearefull minde, which is already affrighted: whence it happeneth that there are no dismayes so pernicious and irremediable then those that are mad and distracted; for all the rest are without reason, but this without minde. Let vs diligently inquire vpon this businesse; Is it likely some mischance will happen? It is not straight-wayes true. How many vnexpected things haue chanced? How manie expected neuer came to passe? And put the case it should happen, what helpeth it to meet with a mans forrow? We shall partake the pain too ouertimely when it commeth, meane while let vs promise to our selues some better successe; at the leastwise it shall be so much good time gotten. And againe, many things may fall out, by meanes whereof the danger when it shall be more, yea, almost borne by vs, cyther shall subsist or wholly passe away, or happily shall be diuerted on another mans head. Oftentimes the flames haue broken and giuen passage thorow the midst of their furie, to auoide themselves. Such a one hath false from the top of a house that was softly layde when hee light on the ground. Sometimes he that was exposed to his last punishment, hath bene saved euen in the verie attempt of execution, and some haue suruiued to burie those who should haue bene their hangmen: euill fortune it selfe is neuer without her inconstancie and leuitie. It may be the mischance shall come, it may be it shall not come: and meane while that it is not come, at least propose vnto thy selfe that better fortune may befall thee. But contrariwise, that happeneth sometimes, that euen then when there is no appearance of euill presage, the minde fainteth to it selfe false imaginations, or interpreteth some word of a doubtful signification to the worst, or proposeth to it selfe the indignation and displeasure of some one greater then it is, and dreameth not how much hee is incensed, but how much he may if so be he be prouoked. But there is no more occasion of liuing, there is no end of miserie, if a man feare as much as he may feare. It behoueth contrariwise to reiect and contemne the feare it selfe, which is attended euery way with inconstant occasions. Herein it is, where the discretion and the force of our standing ought principally to serue, and where it bestitteth vs to distrust any one vice by another, and to temper our hope. For there is nothing so certaine of all that which a man may feare, that is not also more certaine, that the things that are feared may be lost and vanish; and those that are hoped for deceiue. Balance therefore thy hope with thy hope, and if there be doubt on all sides, beleue that which becometh thee, and thou shalt desire should fall out; and although thou shalt haue more and more probable appearances for to feare, notwithstanding dispose thy selfe to follow the better part, and cease to afflict thy selfe. Discourse alwayes in thy vnderstanding, that the greatest part of mortall men are troubled and perplexed in themselves for a thing wherein there is no euill, neyther can there be any euill, and the reason hereof is, because no man resisteth himselfe when he beginneth to be shaken and assaulted. No man pretendeth to take the paines to verifie his feare, no man thinketh with himselfe that the author is a vaine man, that cyther might haue dreamed the same, or beleued it lightly. We yeelde our selues wholly to him that first commeth and reporteth any thing vnto vs: we feare the incertaine as certaine, neyther can we keep any measure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare. But I am ashamed to talke after this manner with thee, and to applie vnto thee so sleight remedies: when any other man shall say vnto thee, be confident that which thou fearest shall not befall thee, say thou quite contrary:

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contrary, and when it shall happen, what of that? Perhaps it shall be for my good and aduantage if it happen, and this death shall doe honour to my life. *Cato* hath made *Socrates* most famous and renowned. Wrest from *Cato* the sword that assured his libertie, and thou shalt detract from him the greatest part of his glorie. True it is, that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who hast no need to bee exhorted, but instructed and admonished onely. These are not contrarie to thy nature, thou art borne to accomplish all that which wee speake of; and by so much more oughtest thou to be carefull, to augment and beautifie the graces that nature hath giuen thee. But now is it high time to finish my Epistle, as soone as I haue signed it with some high and generous sentence, to be conuayed vnto thee: *Amongst other evils folly hath likewise this, that it beginneth alwayes to liue.* Consider, worthy *Lucilius*, what these things signifie, and thou shalt vnderstand how loathsome mens leuitie is, who are alwayes occupied to proiect new foundations of life, and in their last time bethinke them of new hopes. If thou cast thine eye on euery man, thou shalt meete with olde men that addresse themselves to ambition, trauell, and negotiations. And what is there more absurd, then for an olde man to begin to liue? I would not alledge the author of this sentence, if that it were not one of the most secret, and not couched amongst the vulgar speeches of *Epicurus*, which I haue permitted my selfe both to vsurpe and adopt as mine owne.

EPIST. XIII.

A most wise Epistle. He admonisheth that care must be had of the bodie and of life, but not too much: but that three things are feared touching the bodie; Prouertie, Sicknesse, and Violence, but especially this last, which proceedeth from powerfull men and tyrants: To the end thou mayest not feare, three things are to be auoyded; Hatred, Enuie, and Contempt. But how wisdom shall instruct, and in short words be.

SECURRE hath imprinted in euery one of vs a secret on & care of our person. I confesse that our bodie is our tutelle and protection. I denie not but that we ought to haue indulgence in the behalfe thereof, yet ought it not to holde vs in seruitude. He shall be slave to any that will be slave to his owne bodie, shall too much feare for the same, and referre all things vnto that. So ought we to behaue our selues, not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the same. The too tender affection we beare vnto it, disquieteth vs with fears, chargeth vs with diuers thoughts, & exposteth and subiecteth vs to disgraces. Honestie is base to him, that maketh too much account of his bodie. Reason it is that it be kept carefully, yet so, as when reason, honour, and faith requirer it, a man be ready to cast it into the midst of a fire. Let vs flie not withstanding as much as in vs lieth, not onely the dangers, but the incommodities. Let vs secure our selues and retire vs into a place of securitie, thinking hourly, by what means we may separate from vs those things which are to be feared; of which (if I deceiue not my selfe) there are three sorts: we feare pouertie, we feare sicknesse, we feare those things that may befall vs throw the violence of the mightie. Of all these three is no one thing more that shaketh vs, then that which hangeth ouer vs from another mans greatnesse, for that commeth with a great noyce and tumult. The naturall euils which I haue reckoned

reckoned vp, such as are pouerties and infirmities, doe silently assault vs: they neyther affright our eyes nor our cares, but the other mischiefe marcheth forth with greater pompe. He hath about him fire, sword, and bonds, and a troupe of greedy wilde beasts to glut themselves on our entrails. So many prisons, so many gallowes, so many racks and hookes, and the flukes which men are splitted on, the tortures of drawing a man with wilde horses, and such other types of tyrannie, the variety whereof is so great, and the preparation so terrible. No maruell though they bring much feare with them: for euen as the hang-man, the more instruments of torture he presenteth to the condemned, the more he afflicteth him; so amongst those things that surcharge and wound our minds, those haue the greatest force that present the most obiects to the ele. This is not to inferre that other plagues, I meane famine, thirst, vlcers, and impostumes of the inwards, and the feuer which dryeth and burneth our bowels, are not as tedious and painfull, but that they are hidden, hauing nothing that they may produce, or cause to march before them. These as great armes obtaine the entry by the greatnesse of their shewe and preparation. But the true remedie against these dangers, is to abstaine to prouoke them. Sometimes the people are those whom we ought to feare; sometimes, if the discipline of the Cittie be such, that diuers things are concluded by the Senate, some gratiuous men therein, or some one particular man that beares the sway of the Common-wealth, and hath the gouernement ouer the people. To haue all these thy friends is too difficult, it is enough for thee that thou hast them not thine enemies. A wise man therefore will not uer prouoke the displeasure of the mightie, but rather will decline the same, in such sort, as in sayling the *Marrinor* shunneth a storm. When thou shippedst for *Sicily*, thou diddest cut ouer the *Sea*, and the vnadvised Master of thy ship contemned the threatening Southbarnly windes, which is that winde which exasperateth the *Sicilian* Seas, and drieth on the shoales and whirlpooles; he shapeth not his course by the left shoare, but sayleth by that shoare which is neerer *Charibdis*. But some other more skillfull, would haue enquired of those of the countrey before he had embarked himselfe, of the nature of this *Sea*, and of the signes which the cloudes imported, and had held his course farre aloofe from these dangerous places and whirlpooles. In like sort doth the wise-man, he flyeth those that may hurt him, hauing a speciall regard to this, that he seeme not to flie them: for the greatest part of securitie consisteth in this, to make no show or appearance to searce the same; because that those things which a man flieh he condemneth. We must therefore looke about vs, how we may be secure from the common sort, which wee shall bring to passe, if first of all we couet not any of those things, which set competitors together by the cares; and then, if we haue not any thing, that by appearance of profit may make vs subiect to treacheries: I also counsaile thee that thou haue not any thing in thy bodie that thou mayest be spoiled of. No man thirsteth after a mans blood onely, or at least-wise very few. The greater sort rather hunt after the prize then the life. A naked man walketh freely before the thief & in a dangerous passage a poore man findeth no man to bid him stand. Afterwards it behooueth thee, according to the auncient precept, to endeavour thy selfe to auoyde three things; that is, to be hated, enuid, and despised. Wisdom onely can shew vs how this may be affected, otherwise it is a hard thing and much to be feared, lest distrust of enuie bring vs into contempt, lest whilst we will not be trod vpon, we seeme able to be trod on. It hath beene a cause of much feare to manie by hauing power to be feared. Let vs euey

way retire our selues: it is no lesse harmefull to be contemned then to be admired at. Let vs therefore haue recourse vnto Philosophie, the instructions whereof shall beas markes of dignitie vnto vs, not onely with good men, but such also as are indifferently euill: for eloquence and such other professions, which tend to moue the common sort, haue their aduersarie; but it is peaceable and retired, and such as intermixeth it selfe with nothing but it selfe, that neyther can be contemned, which is respected by all other artes, yea by the consent of the most wicked. Neuer shall vice obtaine so great force, neuer shall any conspire so much against vertue, but that the name of Philosophie shall alwaies remaine holy and venerable; yet must Philosophie it selfe be moderately and peaceably handled. True it is, that happily thou wilt obiekt vnto me, that *Marcus Cato* hath not handled the fame with that modellie, who perswaded himselfe, that he might repress by his onely counsailes the heate of ciuill warres, that thrust himselfe amidst the armies of two displeased and enraged Princes, that whereas some displeased *Pompey*, other *Cesar*, he feared not to offend them both at once. But I will answer thee, that it may be debated, whether during that time it was wisely done of him to busie himselfe with publique affaires? What pretendest thou to doe *Cato*? The title of libertie was not then in question; for long time before it was troden vnder foot: the question is onely whether of these two eyther *Cesar* or *Pompey* shall bee master of the Common-weale: what haddst thou to doe with this quarrell? Thou haddest no part herein; the question was to choose a Soueraigne: what could it auail thee which of them it were that conquered? The better cannot conquer, and hee may be the worst that shall be subdued; he cannot be the better that getteth the matter. I haue touched the last parts of *Catoes* life, but neyther were his former yeares euer such, that it was conuenient for a wife-man to intermeddle with the Common-weale, which was already exposed for a pray. For what other thing did he but exclaime, and cast out vnprofitable speeches, whilst the people taking him vp, playde with him like a foot-ball, spit in his face, and drew him perforce out of his place, and from the Senate-houle ledde him vnto prison? But we shall see hereafter, whether a wife-man ought to imploy his labor in a place where it should be utterly lost? Meane while I recall thee to these Stoicks, who excluded from the Common-weale, retired them selues to reform mens liues, and to make lawes for all mankind, without incurring the indignation of the mightie. Vndoubtedly it is more expedient for a wife-man to be haue himselfe thus, then to goe and trouble publique customes, and cause himselfe to be pointed at through the strangenesse of his life. What then? shall he that followeth this course be wholly safe and secured? No more may a man promise this then health to a temperate man, and yet temperance entertaineth and causeth the fame. It hath bene scene sometimes that ships haue bene lost in the Hauens, but the danger is greater when they saile in the maine Sea: how much more at hand should his danger be, that intermedleth with manie affaires, and complotte more, who cannot assure himselfe, no nor in his solitude? The innocent is sometimes condemned, but the faultie farre more often. His arte costeth him deare, that is harmed by the vrie ornaments of arte. Finally the wife-man regardeth that which is most expedient in euery thing, and not the successe: for our deliberations are in our hands; but fortune disposeth of the euents, to whose iudgement a wife-man neuer submitteth himselfe, yet will it bring some vexation and aduersitie. The thiefe is not condemned but when he killeth. But I perceiue thou stretchest out thy hand to receiue a

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rent which this letter should bring thee, I will pay thee in gold; see thou how the vse and fruition of the fame may be more gratefull vnto thee; *the most of all possesseth riches, that least needeth them.* Tell me, thou wilt say, who is the author? That thou mayest know how bountifull I am, I intend to praise another mans; it is eyther *Epicurus* or *Adetrodorus* saying, or some one of that sect: what skilleth it who spake it? he spake to all men. He, that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man enuieth a good that breedeth feare: whilst he thinketh to encrease the fame, he forgetteth the vse of them; it behooueth him alwaies to haue the counters in his hand, to assist at the busie time, and visit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Master he becommeth a Factor.

EPIST. XV.

Exercise tendeth to the care of the bodie; but let it not be laborious or troublesome: easie and short sufficeth, as running, leaping, carriage of the bodie, intention of the voyce. A clause from the Epicure, to the end that life should not be deferred, content thee with the present.

THE ancients had a custome, which hath been obserued as yet to my time, to begin their letters with these words; *If thou art in health, it is well; for mine owne part I am healthie.* Now thinke I that he should say as well, who should begin thus: If thou attendest thy Philosophy, I am glad of it, for that in truth is to be in health. Without it the minde is sicke, and the bodie also notwithstanding it be strong and able: for it is no otherwise healthie then as a man might say, the bodie of one that is madde and troubled with the frensie. Haue care therefore especially of this first health, afterwards of the second, which will not cost thee much, if thou behaue thy selfe wisely. For it is an vnseemely thing for a man that traueleth to obtaine wisdom, to imploy himselfe in exercising his armes, to feed himselfe fat, and to strengthen his lides. When thou shalt make thy selfe fleshy and brawny to the vttermost thou canst imagine, yet neyther in force or waight shalt thou equall a fat and growne Oxe. Besides this, the mind being choaked vp with the great charge of thy bodie, is faire lesse agile and quicke of conceit. Containe therefore and restraine thy bodie the most that thou mayest, to the end thou mayest giue a fayrer and more spacious place and harbor vnto thy minde. They that are ouer-carefull of the same, draw after them diuers incommidities: first of all the trauell of exercise spendeth the spirit, and disableth it to apprehend the studie of the most secret and hidden secrets. And they leade with them a traine of most dangerous reuolts and debauchments, as that foule and villainous custome of men, occupied betwene the wine and the oyle, in whose opinion the day is happily passed, if they haue sweat well; and if in stead of that which is exhaled by sweat, they haue anew replenished their empty stomacks with store of another liquor. To drinke and sweat is the life of him that is sicke of the *Cardiaque* conuersions of the stomacke. There are certaine kindes of exercise, which are easie and short, which loofe and supple the body, without great losse of time, to which we ought to haue a principall regard, as to runne, dance, leape, and vault. Choofe of all these which thou wilt: the vse will make it easie vnto thee: whensoever thou dost retire suddenly from thy bodie to thy minde, exercise the same day and night. Shee is nourished and entertained with

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a little labour: neyther cold nor heat hinder not her exercise, no not olde age it selfe. Trauell therefore carefully after this good, which is bettered by waxing olde, yet will I not alwayes that thou hang ouer thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the minde; yet so, that it be not giuen ouer altogether, but remitted onely. The carriage of a man in a Litter or otherwise, stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest reade, dictate, speake and heare also in walking. Contemne not also the eleuation of thy voyce, which I forbid thee to raise by certaine degrees and manners, and afterwards to depreesse. Again, if thou wilt learne how thou shouldst walke, admit those whom hunger hath taught new cunninges: some there be that will temper thy pace, and obserue thy mouth as thou eatest, and will proceede so farre, as by the leuitie of thy patience thou shalt giue way to their boldnesse; what then? shall thy voyce and discourse begin with clamorous accents, and in the entrance be most violently enforced? Vndoubtedly it is a thing so naturall to raise the voyce by little and little, that such as pleade are ordinarily accustomed to begin their discourse in an humble and submisse manner, and to prosecute the same with a more liuely and lower accent. No man at the first imploereth the mercie of the Iudges. How soeuer therefore the force of thy minde shall perfwade thee sometimes to exclaime on vices vehemently, sometime more moderately, according as thy voyce and force shall enable thee: when thou hast humbled the same, and drawne it to a lower straine and pitch, so let it fall that it faile not: let it be tempered according to the abilitie and discretion of the speaker, and not breake out after a rutticke and vnciuill manner. For it is not our intention to exercise the voyce, but our minde is, that our voyce should exercise vs. I haue disburthened thee of no small bulinesse of requital, now will I adde a gratefull office to these benefites. Behold a worthy precept: *The life of a foolish man is ingrate, and full of feare, and wholly transported with expectation of future things.* But who, sayest thou, speaketh after this manner? The same that spake before. Now what life is that which in thy opinion may be called foolish, that of *Babe* and *Ision*, the noted foolcs of our time? It is not so. It is, and is called our life whom blinded couetousnesse casteth headlong vpon those things which torment vs, or at least whiles neuer content vs, to whom if any thing had bene sufficient, already it should be. Who consider not how pleasant a thing it is to demand nothing, and how magnificent a thing it is to be full in himselfe, and not to holde or acknowledge any thing from fortune. Remember thy selfe therefore every houre, friend *Lucilius*, how great those things are to which thou hast attained hitherto, when thou hast beheld those things that march before thee. behold also those that march after. If thou wilt not be vngratefull towards God, and towards thine owne life, consider how many thou leauest behind thee. But why compare I thee with others? Thou hast, if thou obseruest thy selfe well, gone beyond thy selfe. Prefix thy selfe certaine bounds which thou wilt not exceede or breake although thou mightest. The flattering and deceiueable blessings, and such as proue better to those that hope for them then those that enioy them, will vanishe in the end. If there were any solid thing in them, they would sometime satiate vs: or contrariwise they inuite vs to taste them onely for their appearance; and the more a man tasteth the more is he altered. But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with it selfe, why should I rather intreat fortune to bestow vpon me, or my selfe not to demand the same? And why in demanding the same should I forget the frailtie of mankind? Shall I

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hoord vp wealth? To what? Shall I take paines? Beholde here the last day, or if it be not, it is the next neighbour to the last.

EPIST. XVI.

That Philosophie is necessarie to life; but that is the true onely which is in action and proficient. Dispose by that thine actions and counsailes. It skilleth not whether fate or fortune be: for Philosophie teacheth to obey God, and contemne fortune and casualties. There is a cleafe likewise of Epicurus. He that liueth according to nature is rich. Despise opinion.



Know, friend *Lucilius*, that thou perfectly vnderstandest that no man can liue happily, nay, scarcely tollerably without the studie of wisdome, and that the life is made happy by the perfection of the same, and tollerable by her onely beginning. But it sufficeth not onely that thou know this, it behooueth thee also to imprint it in thy soule, and assure the same by continuall contemplation. For there is lesse to do to propose a thing which is honest, then to conserue the same, when a man hath proposed the same to himselfe. We must perseuer, and by continuall diligence adde strength, till that which is now only a good will, may become an habituall good minde. Thou needest not therefore to court me with many affirmatiue and long discourses: for I know that thou hast profited very much. I know from what minde the things thou writtest do proceed, and that they are neyther fained nor disguised: yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion. I haue already some hope of thee, but not as yet an entire assurance; and if thou wilt beleue, thou shalt conceiue no otherwise of thy selfe. Beleue not thy selfe so suddenly and so easily. Sound and obserue thy selfe, and about all things see whether thou hast profited, eyther in thy science or in thy life it selfe. Philosophie is no vulgar craft, neyther is it for ostentation: it consisteth not in wordes but in deedes. She must not be made vse of to passe the time withall, or extinguish the tediousnesse of idleness. She it is that formeth and conformeth the minde, that disposeth life, and guideth our actions, and sheweth vs what wee ought eyther to flie or follow. She it is that guideth the helme, and directeth their course that saile amidst the shoales and rocks of this life: without her no man is assured. Daily and hourelly there fall out innumerable things which require counsel, which no man may receiue from any other but her selfe. But some may say, whereto serueth Philosophie, if there be a destinie of a God that ruleth all things, or a fortune that commandeth ouer all men? For such things as are certaine cannot be changed, and against those that are vnertaine what prouision may be made, if God hath preoccupied all the deliberations of men? If already he hath determined that which ought to be done? or if fortune permitte nothing vnto my counsaile? whatsoever be of all this, or if all this were so, we must, say *Lucilius*, intend Philosophie, whether that destinie detain vs captiues to her irreuocable lawes, or God the gouernor of the world, disposeth of all things; or fortune confusedly enforceth, or altereth humane affairs. Philosophie must be outretreat. She will exhort vs to obey God willingly, and to resist fortune constantly: she will teach vs to follow God, and to beare with casualties. But we are not now to call in question, whether we haue any interest, and whether prouidence be in our will or power, or whether fate with inuincible bonds

bondes draweth vs to his subiection, or any sudden or casual power be our absolute mistress. I returne to exhort thee not to suffer thy selfe to waxe colde, or permit this heate and constancie of thy minde to be weakened. Entertaine the same in such sort, that the viuacitie and agilitie that at this present is contained therein may grow into a habitude. From thy very infancie (if I haue knowne thee well) thou hast fixed thine eie on that which this present letter importeth. Peruse it well, and thou shalt finde it, thou needest not maruaile at me. I continue still to be liberal of other mens goods; yet are they not others, because that all that which is well said, by whomsoever it be spoken, I may tearme mine owne. Epicurus saith, *If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou shalt neuer be rich: nature hath neede but of a little, opinion of infinite.* Be it thou were Lord of all that wealth which many mightie men doe possesse, or that fortune enricheth thee beyond the measure of a priuate man: although the couer thee with golde, and cloath thee in purple, and bring thee to that height of delights and riches, that thou mayest couer the earth with marble, and mightest not onely possesse riches, but treade on them: adde hereto moreouer pictures and statues, and what else soeuer any arte or engine hath inuentured; thou shalt learne from those to couer alwayes more. Our naturall desires are limited; those that are deriued from false opinion haue no end: for there is no limit from a false ground; to him that goeth in the right way, there is an end; error is infinite. Retire thy selfe therefore from vaine things, and when thou wouldest know, whether that thou askest haue a naturall or blinde desire, consider whether it may rest any where: if the nearer thou approachest it, the farther daily it flieth from thee, be assured it is not according to nature.

EPIST. XVII.

That Philosophie is not to be deferred, but, all other things laide aside, to be embraced. But I shall be poore. What if this were to be wished for? Thou shalt play the Philosopher more freely. Nature desireth but a little, and that shall not be wanting. A clause. To him that accounteth pouertie grievous, riches will be likewise burthen some, for the defect is in the minde.



Cast away all these things if thou beest wife, or rather to the end thou mayest be wise: then addresse thy selfe speedily and with all thy power to get a good minde. If any thing detaineth thee, eyther vnbinde thee also out of the bond or breake it. I am (thou wilt say) hindered by my home-affaires: I will take such a course that my reuenue may maintain me, without doing any thing; to the end that pouertie may not be a hinderance to me, nor I to any other. Whilst thou sayest this, thou seemest not to know the power and strength of that thing whereof thou thinkest. Thou seekest generally and in summe, how much Philosophie is profitable to thee; but thou doest not subtilly examine all her parts, neither knowest thou yet how much she helpeth vs, and in what sort she may succor vs in great affaires (that I may use *Tullies* words) and in what sort she assisteth vs in great things, and applieth her selfe to the lesse things. Beleeue me, take aduice of her, she will counsell thee not to busie thy selfe about thine accounts. All then that thou searest is to exempt thy selfe from pouertie; and what wilt thou say if be desirable? Riches haue hindered many men from studying Philosophie: pouertie

pouertie is alwayes free, is alwayes safe. When the enemies trumpet soundeth, the poore man knowes well that the alarm threatneth not him: in a surprise or yelding vp of a towne for lost, he takes no care how to get away, or what to carrie with him: if he must needs make a voyage by Sea, no man attendeth him at his entrance nor at his launching forth: he hath not so great a troupe of seruants to attend him, that he must needs nourish them vpon the fertilitie of a forraigne cuntry. For it is easie to fill a few bellies, and well taught, that desire but to be filled: it costeth litle to appease hunger; but a dainty mouth too much. Pouertie is contented with the satisfaction and supplie of her necessitie: why then wilt thou refuse to make her thy companion, whose manners the richell themselves doe imitate? If thou desirest to enioy the freedome of thy minde, cyther it behooueth thee to be poore, or like a poore man. A man cannot profit in this studie without the care of frugalitie, which is a voluntarie pouertie. Lay then apart all these excuses; say not that thou hast not as yet all that which thou hast neede of, and that if thou mightest compass that summe, thou wouldest retire thy selfe from the world, to consecrate thy selfe wholly vnto Philosophie. But contrariwise, she it is that ought especially to be sought after, which thou deferrest and seekest to attaine last of all. By her it is by whom thou oughtest to begin. I will, sayest thou, recouer whereupon to lue: learne then afterwards how thou oughtest to get; if any thing hinder thee from liuing well, nothing hindereth thee from dying well. There is no reason that pouerty should recall vs from Philosophie, no not necessitie it selfe. We ought in her behalfe endure hunger, which diuers men haue voluntarily endured in sieges. As it the onely price of this patience was not to yelde it selfe to the discretion of the conquerour: how much more great is that by which a perpetual libertie is promised, and an assurance neyther to be affrighted by God nor man? Sometimes hunger enforceth vs to this. Whole armies haue suffered extreme necessitie, yea, so great as to feede vpon the rootes of hearbes, and to support an horrible famine; and all this suffered they (to make the wonder the more) to get a Kingdome, and that which is more strange, for another mans seruice: who then will doubt to endure pouertie, and so free the minde from madnes? There needeth not any preparation for maintenance before hand. A man may attaine vnto Philosophie without prouision and supplies. But touching thy selfe, thou wilt attaine thereto after all other things, thou esteemest it for the last instrument of life, or to speake more aptly, the accestion. Contrariwise whether it be that thou hast any thing, apply thy selfe vnto her (for whence mayest thou know whether alreadie thou hast so much?) or be it thou hast nothing at all, seeke after her the rather, and more then any other thing. Feare not, the want of any necessarie supplies; nature is contented with a litle, to which let a wise man accommodate himselfe: and if happily extreme necessitie doe surcharge him, he shall escape from this life, and shall cease to be troublesome to himselfe. And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the same, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeavour himselfe, but for those things that are necessarie: he will bellow that on his bellie and his backe which appertaineth vnto them and being content with himselfe, shall laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and comings of those who sweat to get riches, and shall say, To what end searest thou the longer way? Wherefore expectest thou the gain of thy vsurie or the succession of some olde man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou canst become rich suddenly. It concerneth thee no more but to recouer wisdom, she will pay thee before hand, and giueth riches to

to whomsoever he maketh them seeme to be superfluous. But this were good payment for another man; for thine own part thou art rich, discharge thy selfe therefore, for thou hast too much. In euery age shalt thou finde that which is sufficient. I might in this place end my Letter, if I had not taught thee an euill custome. A man may not salute the Kings of *Parthia* without a present; but to thee a man may not bid adieu *gratis*. I will therefore borrow of *Epicurus* to pay thee: *To manie the abuying of riches hath not bene the end, but the change of their miserie*. Hereat wonder I not; for vices not in the things themselves, but in the minde. The same occasion made riches tedious, that made pouertie grieuous. Euen as it is all one to put a sicke man into a bedde of wood, or into a bed of golde, because that into what place soeuer he be removed, he beareth alwaies his griefe with him. In like manner, there is no difference to thrust a sicke mind into riches or into pouertie, because his euill alwayes followeth him.

EPIST. XVIII.

That a wise man temperately behaueth himselfe in publique ryots, and is tainted little or nothing with their manners. Howsoever, that it is profitable some dayes to abstaine, spare, and resemble the poore; it is a fore exercise to trie pouertie if it come so. A claffe from Epicurus: wrath assisteth madnesse.

December is a moneth wherein all the Cittie is much busied; euery one in publique gueth way to lasciuiousnesse, each care is filled with the rumour and report of those preparations which are made to ryot with, as if the time were extraordinary, and that there were some difference betwixt the Saturnals and other delights. So little difference is there, that in my opinion hee seemeth to haue no way erred, that saith, that in times past December was a moneth, but that now it is a yere. If I had thee heere, I would willingly inquire of thee, what in thine opinion ought to be done, whether we should change any thing of our ordinarie custome, or if (lest we should seeme to distaste the common fashion) wee should fall to, and frame our selues to doe that which other men doe: for that which was not wont to be done but in times of tumult, and in the turbulent estate of the Cittie, for pleasure and the holy dayes sake we changed our garment. If I knew thee well, the matter being committed to thy iudgement; neyther wouldst thou permit that in all things we should resemble the round-cap multitude; neyther also in euery sort to be vnlike vnto them, except happily in these dayes especially, we ought to command our mindes to retire themselves, and to abstaine from pleasures, wherein all the world is so disordered: she receiueth a most certaine proofe of her firmitie, if she neyther yeeld nor suffer her selfe to be transported by adulations, and such things as inuite her to superfluitie. But it is a matter farre more difficult, and worthy a noble mind, to be sober alone: at such time as all the people surfeiteth in drunkennesse, this hath more temperance and discretion in it selfe, not to sequester a mans selfe wholly from popularitie, neyther to particularize himselfe ouer-much, neyther intermix himselfe with them, but to do the same things that they do, but not after the same manner. For a man may celebrate a festiual day without drunkennesse. But so am I pleased to tempt the constancie of thy minde, that according to the counsailes of many great men, I aduise thee to choose out certaine dayes, wherein thou mayest

mayest content thy selfe with the least, and cheapest dyet, and mayst cloath thy selfe in a hard and course garment: say to thy selfe, Is this that which the world so much feared? In the fulnesse of thy securitie let thy mind prepare it selfe vnto aduercities, and against fortunes iniuries confirme it selfe euen in the height of her fauours. In the middelt of peace the Souldier exerciseth himselfe in armes and skirmishes, and wearie himselfe with superfluous labour, to the end he be more able and exercised when time requireth. If thou desirest a man should not feare vpon any occurrence, exercise him before hand to the accident. They that euery moneth exercise themselves in imitation of pouertie, haue profited to haue as not to feare pouertie it selfe, which they so oftentimes had both entertained and apprehended. Thinke not now that I command thee to go sometimes and take an ill supper with a poore man, contenting thy selfe with his bread and iwin; or whatsoeuer else it is, whereby luxurie smootheneth ouer, and playeth with the tediousnesse of riches. I aduise thee that both thy bedde and thy apparel be truly poore, and that thy bread be stale and mouldie, and that thou entertaine this hard pittance for three or foure dayes; yea, sometimes more, to the end it may be vnto thee, not as a pastime but as a proofe. Then beleeueme, my *Lucius*, thou shalt leap for ioy, when being satisfied with a little, thou shalt vnderstand that to satisfie our selues we haue no need of fortune, for that which sufficeth necessitie she oweth vs in spite of her displeasure, yet hast thou no reason in accomplishing all this, to perswade thy selfe that thou hast done much: for what doest thou that many thousand slaues and beggars doe not daily? All the hon or thou canst giue thy selfe, is, that thou doest it voluntarily. It shall be as easie for thee to endure it alwayes, as to attempt it sometimes. Let vs therefore prepare our selues to all casualties, lest fortune surprise vs vnprovided. Let vs make pouertie familiar vnto vs: we shall be more assuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore. That Master of pleasure *Epicurus* had certaine dayes wherein he very sparingly and niggardly repressed his hunger, to proue if any thing were wanting of his full and consummate pleasure, or how much wanted, or whether it were a thing of that desert, that a man should employ much labour in repaying the same. Himselfe saith this in his Epistles, which he wrote to *Policius Charinus*, being magistrate, & he glorieth therein, that all his victuals for one day cost him not three pence halfe-penie, and that *Metrodorus* diet, who had not so farre forth profited as himselfe, cost him no more. Thinkest thou that in this kinde of life there is not a society? Vndoubtedly there is pleasure in it, and not such pleasure which is fomic and fleeting, and oftentimes to be repaired, but stable and certaine: for neyther is water, nor broth, nor a morsell of barley bread a pleasant dyet; but it is an especiall pleasure for a man to be able to take his contentment in these, and to haue established himselfe so farre in himselfe, that no iniurie of fortune can shake his resolution. The ordinarie allowance of the prisons is farre more then this, and they that are condemned to die, are not so poorely intreated by him that is their executioner. How great is the magnitude of this minde, that maketh that habitudinarie in himselfe, to admit those things with willingness which ordinarily are accustomed to be enioyned for a penaltie: this is to preoccupate the weapons of fortune. Begin therefore, my *Lucius*, to follow these mens customes, and take some dayes to thy selfe, wherein thou mayest retire thy selfe from thine affaires, and content thy selfe with a little. Begin to haue some conuerse and familiarity with pouertie.

*Be bold my guest, and set proude wealth at naught,
And make thee worthy God by modest thought.*

No other man is worthie God, but he that hath contemned riches, of whose possession I debarre thee not; but my desire is, that thou mightest possesse them without feare, which by one means thou shalt obtaine, if thou canst perswade thy selfe that thou mayest liue happily without them, and regard them nootherwise then as fleeting benefites, thou canst well want. But now let vs begin to conclude our Epistle: first, sayest thou, Pay me that thou owest. I will send Epicurus to pay thee my debt: *Immoderate wrath engendreth madness.* How true this is thou must needs know, when thou hast had both a slaue and an enemy. This affection kindleth it selfe against all men, it ariseth as wel from loue as from hate, as well amongst ferious things as playes and pastimes; neyther skilleth it from how great a cause it grow, but what kinde of minde it meeteth with: soe is no matter how great the fire be, but where it falleth; for the greatest and foundest tymbers haue fustyned a great fire: againe, drie trees and such as are apt to be fired, nourish a sparkle so long till it breake into a flame. So is it, my Lucilius, furie is the end of immoderate wrath, and therefore is anger to beayoudded, not for moderation, but for healths sake.

EPIST. XIX.

That publique affaires are to be omitted and cast off, and priuacie to be affected: but priuacie and not solitude, and detestation of conuersation. He counselleth to forsake the Court and the pompe thereof, both which are attended with tumults and troubles. A clause of the same Masters. See with whom thou communicatest at the table.



Am heartily glad as oftentimes I receiue thy letters, for they fill me with much good hope: for now they promise not, but assure me in thy behalfe. Doe therefore in such sort, I pray and beseech thee, as thy letters doe import: for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I should implore God in his behalfe? Withdraw thy selfe, if thou mayest, from these busie affaires, or if thou canst not forcibly deliuer thy selfe, we haue ouer-long bene prodigall of time, let vs begin now in our age to play the good husbands. Is this distastfull to thee? We haue liued in the stormie Ocean, let vs die in a quiet harbor. Yet would I not aduise thee to affect a singularity and name by thy retirement, which neyther thou oughtest to boast of or to conceale. For neuer will I so much condemne the furie of mankind, that to the end thou mayest auoyde the same, I would haue thee locke thy selfe vp in an hermitage, and burie the affaires of this world in euermlasting forgetfulness. Behaue thy selfe in such sort, that retreat of thine be apparent but not eminent; and then shalt they who haue libertie to liue according to their own good liking, perceiue whether they ought wholly to hide themselves or no. For thine owne part thou mayest not. The vigor of thy wit, the elegancy of thy writings, thy many great and famous alliances haue brought thee forth into the face of the world. Thou art already so farre engaged in the knowledge of men, that though thou wert confined in the furthestmost corner of the world, yet would thy former actions discouer them.

themselves. Thou canst not be concealed, there will beayoues some lustre of thy former light, which will attend thee, whither soeuer thou retirest thy selfe. Canst thou settle thy selfe in repose without the hate of any man, without desire or agonie of minde? For what wilt thou leaue which thou mayest imagine to haue forsaken willingly? What thy clients? But of these no one affecteth thee, but gapeth for somewhat from thee, shall it be thy friends? In times past men affected friendships, now hunt they after profits. Art thou afraid that the older sort, being abandoned by thee, should change their willes? Consider in counterpoize of all this, that a thing so pretious as is libertie, cannot be purchased but very dearly. Finally, bestink thy selfe, whether thou hadst rather lose either those things that belong vnto thee, or thy selfe. Would to God thou hadst bene so happy as no waxe older after the manner of thine ancestors; and fortune had not made thee so eminent as she hath done; a sudden felicitie thy prouince and procreation, and what seuer is promised by these haue transported thee very farre from the sight of a contented life. And greater things besides these shall cease thee hereafter, and the one shall beget the other. What shall be the end? Thinkest thou thy contents and honours shall be so sufficient, that nothing shall remaine for thee to desire? That time shall neuer happen. That which we say to be the order and vnitng of causes which tie destinie, the same likewise say we to be of conuersiones; the one taketh his beginning from the end of the other. Into that life art thou demised, which shall neyther and thy miserie nor seruitude. Pull thy necke therefore out from the yoke: it is better to cut it in pieces all at once, then to suffer it perpetually to be restrained. If thou withdraw thy selfe to a priuate life, all things will be lesse, but they will fill thee the more; but now diuers things, and heaped one vpon another, satisfie thee not. But whether haddest thou rather to haue securitie in want, or hunger in abundance? Felicitie is both couetous and exposed to others greedinesse. As long as nothing shall suffice thee, thou shalt not giue contentment to others. How sayest thou, shall I escape this? By any means what thou wilt. Be- think thy selfe, how many things thou hast already attempted for money, how many things thou hast laboriously vndertaken for honor; something also is to be attempted for thy quiet sake, or in this solitude of prouocation, and after wards of ciuill offices, thou must waxe old in trauell, and be alwayes tossed with new waues, which thou canst not auoyde by any modestie or quiet life. For what anylet thee to be willing to settle thy selfe in quiet? What shall not? What shall so if thou permit the same to encrease I the better the success is; the more the feare increaseth. I will recount vnto thee in this place the saying of old Menelaus, who spake truth amidst the tortures of his dignitie, and saunders in the Court of AEGYSTVS: For *Higheas it selfe thundereth at the highest.* If you criquie some in what booke he said it: it was in that which was intituled *Præmeditationes*. In this would he say that feare and amaze possesse the highest. Is there therefore any power of that effect that thy speech should be so disordered? The mind was ingenious, and such as was to giue a great example of Roman eloquence, it felicitie had not enfeebled him, nay rather gelded him. This bond and meekness if thou restrain not thy selfe presently, and thorow thy sayles, except (which he so lately affected) thou beate for the land. I could be quiet with thee for this sentence of *Meonias*, but I feare me thou wilt not recollit in thy good playment in this sort, but wilt caull (if I know thee well) and accept of my paymēt in the coyne I hold currant. How soeuer the matter be, I will borrow from *BACCHVS*: Thou art (saith he) to take care with whom thou eatst and drinkest before

thy meate, then what thou eatest and drinkest: for a plentifull and fleshie feast without a friend, is the life of a Lion or a Wolfe. T his shall not happen to thee, except thou retire thy selfe, & separate thee from the multitude; otherwise thou shalt haue at thy table, not thy friends, but such as thy remembrancer hath chosen amongst the multitude of thy saluters. But he deceiueh himselfe that searcheth a friend in the base court, and approueth him in the banquet. A man much occupied and besieged by his goods, hath no one greater mischiefe, then that hee thinketh them to be his friends whom he loueth not, that belecueh that his benefites are powerfull enough to get him friends, whereas some the more they owe a man, the more they hate him. A little debt maketh a man a debtor, a great anemie? What therefore, doe not benefites beget friendships? They doe, if a man might make choise of those that should receiue them, if they were well employed, and not rashly cast away. Therefore whilst thou beginnest to be thine owne man, in the mean while vse this counsell of the wise-men, that thou think it to be more pertinent to the matter, to regard who receiueh then what.

EPIST. XX.

That Philosophie is in deedes not in words, and that therefore we ought to adresse our selues to them, and that constantly. For wisdom is the conueniency and vniuerse tenor of our will and life. Pouertie also is not to be feared, and riches if they be present not to be loved. Moreover a warning that on certaine dayes we use and imitate poore men.

IF thou art in health, and thinkest thy selfe worthy at some time to be made thine owne I reioyce: for it shall be my glorie, if I may drawe thee out from thence, whereas thou floatest without hope of getting out. But this I heartily begge and earnestly exhort thee too, my *Lucilius*, that thou shut vp Philosophie in the secret of thy heart, and that thou make an experiment of thy progresse, not by thy speech or writings, but by the firmite of thy minde, and the diminution of thy desires. Approoue the words by the deedes. One is the scope of those that declaine and demand applaue of an assembly. Another of those that detain the cares of yong and idle men with diuers and voluble disputation. Philosophie teacheth vs to doe and not to speake, and exacteth this of vs, that euery one liue according to her law, lest the life should differ from speech, that the life be in it selfe of one colour, without any discord of actions. This is both the greatest office, and token of wisdom, that the actions be correspondent to the words, and that hee which followeth her be alwayes equal & like vnto himselfe. Who shal perform this? Few, yet some shall. T his thing is difficult, neyther say I that a wise-man should alwayes march one pace, but one path. Obserue therefore whether thy garment and thy house doe disagree, whether thou art liberall towards thy selfe, and niggardly towards thine, whether thou suppest frugally and buildest prodigally? Take once vnto thee a certaine rule and measure of life, and leuell the same according to that square. Some men in their houses restraime themselves, abroad are lauish and prodigall. T his diuersitie is a vice, and the signe of an vnconstant minde, and not as yet brought in frame. Moreover I will tell thee whence this inconstancy of affaires and counsailes doth proceed. No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end wherevnto he will tend, neyther if he haue pro-

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posed it, doth he persecuer in the same, but ouer-shooteth himselfe; and not only changeth he, but returneth and re-intangleth himselfe in those vices, which he himselfe had forsaken and condemned. That I may therefore, leaue the olde definitions of wisdom, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I can be content with this. What is wisdom? T o will one thing, and to will the same: although thou adde not the exception, that it be iust which thou wilt. One and the same thing cannot alwayes please any man, except it bee right. Men therefore know not what they will except in that very moment wherein they will. In summe, no man is positue in his willing or nilling. The iudgement is daily varied, and turned into the contrarie, and to many men life passeth away like a May-game. Purfue then that which thou hast begun, and thou shalt happily attaine cyther to the height, or at least-wise to that thou alone shalt vnderstand that as yet it is not complet. What shall become, sayest thou, of this troope of my familiars? All this troope when thou desistest to feed them will feede themselves, or that which thou canst not know by thy merites, thou shalt vnderstand by the meanes of pouertie. She will retaine thy true and certain friends, and whosoever shall leaue, followed not thee but another thing. And is not pouertie to be loved for this one thing, that the discloseth vnto thee who are thy vnfaired friends? O when will that day come that no man will belie thine honour? Let therefore all thy thoughts tend hither, studie and wish this, remitting all other vovs vnto God, that thou mayest be content with thy selfe and such goods that accrue by thy selfe. What felicitie may be neerer vnto God? Reduce thy selfe, and content thee with the least estate, lower then which thou canst not fall: and that thou mayest the more willingly doe it, yet shall this shall belong the tribute of this Epistle. Although thou enuie it, yet shall *Epicurus* euen at this present voluntarie defray the ductie for me. Beleeue me, this thy discourse shall haue more lustre and magnificence in a lowe bedde, and vnder a ragged coate; for it shall not onely be said but approued. And for mine owne part haue I during my life time otherwise heard that which my friend *Demetrius* said, when as I saw him naked, couched and lying vpon lesse then straw? For then is he not a Master of truth, but a witness. What then, sought we to set light by the riches which are in our possession, and as it were in our bosome? Why may we not? Great is his courage, which hauing long time and much admired them about him, laugheth at them, and rather heareth then seetheth that they are his. It is much, not to be corrupted by the fellowship of riches. Great is he that is poore in his riches, but more secure is hee that wanteth riches. I know not, sayest thou, how this man will beare his pouertie, if he fall into the same; neyther know I, saith *Epicurus*, if this poore man wil contemne his riches if he fall on them. T herefore in both of them the minde is to be esteemed and looked into; whether the one affected his pouertie, the other flattered not his riches. Otherwise the strawe bed, and ragged coate would be but a slender argument of good will, except it were manifest, that any one suffered them not of necessitie but voluntarily. But it is the signe of a great wit, not to runne after the things as if they were the better, but to prepare himselfe to endure them with facilitie. And truly, *Lucilius*, they are easie: but when as with mature consideration thou shalt entertaine them, they will be pleasant also for in them there is a securitie, without which nothing is pleasant. I therefore iudge that necessarie, which as I wrote vnto thee, great men haue often done, to interpose certaine dayes, wherein by imaginarie pouertie we may exercise our selues to entertaine the true; which is the rather to be done because we haue beene

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drowned in delights, and all things in our iudgements are hard and difficult: rather ought the minde to be awakened and roused from sleepe, & to be instructed and admonished, that nature hath proposed vs the least. No man is borne rich: who foucer enureth life, is commanded to bee contented with bread and milke. From these beginnings Kingdomes containe vs not.

EPIST. XXI.

That true splendor is in Philosophie, and proceedeth not from honours or titles. That she gives to those that haue her, and cleaue vnto her, a perpetuall name and fame. An embleme from Epicurus. To the intent thou mayest increase thy riches diminish thy desires.

THinkest thou that thou hast to doe with those thoughts whereof thou haddelt writ to me? Thou hatt a mightie bulinesse with thy selfe, and art troublesome to thy selfe. Thou knowest not what thou wouldest: thou doest better allow then follow honest things. Thou seest where felicitie is planted, but thou darst not attaine therevnto. But what it is that hindereth thee, because thou thy selfe doest little conceiue or priue into, I will tell thee. Thou thinkest these things great matters which thou art to leaue, and when as thou hast proposed to thy selfe that securitie wherunto thou art to passe the light of this life from whence thou art to part, retaineth thee as if thou wert to fall into some loathsome and darke places. Thou abusest thy selfe *Lucilius*, we ascend from this life to the other. The difference which is betweene splendor and light, whereas this hath a certaine originall, and from it selfe, that shineth by reason of another: the same difference is there twixt this life and that. This because it is reflected vpon by an externall light will presently yeeld a thicke shadow to whomsoever setteth himselfe before the same; but that other shineth by his owne light. Thy studies will make thee famous and noble. I will relate an example of *Epicurus* when he wrote to *Idomenaeus*, and reuoked him from a pompeous life to a faithfull and stable glorie, who was a minister at that time of rigorous and regall power and had the handling of many mightie matters. If (saith he) *thou art touched with glorie, my Epistles shall make thee more famous then all those things which thou honourst, and for which thou art honoured.* Whether, I pray you, lied he? Who had knowne *Idomenaeus* except *Epicurus* had registred and engraued him in his Letters? All those Potentates, Princes, and the King him selfe, from whom *Idomenaeus* had his estate and dignitie, are buried in eternall obliuion. *Cicero's* Epistles suffer not the name of *Atticus* to be extinguished, neither had *Agrippa* his sonne in law, nor *Tiberius* his neeces husband, nor *Drusus Caesar* his nephews sonne, amongst so great names he had beene obscured, had not *Cicero* maintained his reputation, and kept him in memorie. After vs there shall come a long and hidden tract of time, some few wits shall lift vp their heads, and being likely at length to sleepe in the same silence, shall resist obliuion, and shall keepe themselves long time in reputation. That which *Epicurus* could promise his friend, that promise I thee, *Lucilius*, I shall haue fauour with posteritie, and can beare away with me the names of such as shall liue in memorie. One *Virgil* promised and performed to two eternall memorie:

*You both are fortunate if ought my verses can,
No day shall you exempt from memorie of man;
Whilst haught *Æneas* house shall stand, and lasting bide
Vpon the Capitols rocky and loslie side,
And *Romane* father shall the *Romane* Empire guide.*

All those whom fortune hath aduanced, al they that haue bin the members and parcels of another mans power, their credite hath beene inhaunced, their houses haue beene frequented during the time that they themselves flourished; after them their memorie was quickly extinguished. The reputation of wits increaseth daily, and not onely continueth for them, but all that is receiued, which is adherent vnto them. And to the end that *Idomenaeus* be not *gratis* inclosed in my Epistle, he shall redeeme the fame at his owne charge. To him *Epicurus* wrote this noble sentence, wherein he exhorteeth him to make *Pitholes* rich after no vulgar or vncertaine manner: *If thou wilt* (saith he) *make *Pithocles* rich, thou must not amplifie his possessions, but diminish his desires.* This sentence is so plain that it needeth no interpretation, and so expresse as it needeth no helpe. I admonish thee this one thing, that thou suppose not this onely to be spoken of riches, how foucer thou applyest it, it is all one. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* honest thou must not amplifie his honours, but diminish his desires. If thou wilt that *Pithocles* be in perpetuall pleasure, thou must not amplifie his pleasures but diminish his desires. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* olde, and cause him to liue a compleat life, thou must not amplifie his yeares, but diminish his desires. Thou hast no reason to iudge that these are onely *Epicurus* speeches, for they are publick. That which was wont to be don in the Senate, that also think I fit to be don in Philosophie. When any one hath deliuered his minde, which partly pleaseth me, I bid him diuide his sentence, and I follow the same so diuided. The more willingly recite I these good sayings of *Epicurus*, to the end I may shew those who build therevpon, being conducted with a foolish presumption, and that thinke to haue a cloake for their vices, that they ought to liue honestly in what place foucer they bide. When they shall approach these Gardens, and shall see written ouer the gate of them,

*Heere well mayst thou abide my gentle guest,
Heere pleasure is esteemd the chiefeest best.*

The Host of this house courteous vnto his guests, full of hospitalitie and humanitie, will be addrested, and shall entertain thee with a cake, and present thee with water, as much as will suffice thee, and in the end I will say vnto thee: *Host thou hast bene well entertained?* These Gardens, I tell thee, prouoke not but extinguish hunger: neither make they thee thirfe more great by the drinkings; but assuage them by a naturall and gratuitall remedie. In this pleasure am I waxen olde. I speake with thee of these desires which receiue no consolation, to which it is good to release som things, to the end they may cease. For in regard of the extraordinarie which a man may desire, chastitie and oppresse, I will aduertise thee of one thing, that this is neither a naturall nor necessarie voluptuousnesse. To this thou art in no manner tyed, what foucer thou bestowest on it, it is voluntarie. The bellie heareth no precepts, it demandeth and calleth on vs; yett he not a troublesome creditor, but satisfied with little, provided thou giue him, that which thou owest, not that which thou payest.

EPIST. XXII.

We ought manfully to dislodge our felues of busineses, and how the snares are eyther to be loosed or broken; yet let opportunity and good occasion be respected, and not let slip. Furthermore be despitte and casteth from him these false splendours. Then citeth he a sentence of EPICVRVS. That all men part out of this life children, that is ignorant of the true life.



How understandest now that thou art to acquit thy selfe of these busineses, in appearance faire, but euill: but how thou mayest escape the same, thou askest my counsell. Many things cannot be taught but in presence. A Physitian cannot choole by his Lecters the time of repast and bathing, he must feelee the pulse. It is an olde proverbe; *That the Fencer taketh counsaile in the field appointed for combat.* The countenance of his aduersarie makes him thinke on somewhat, the motion of his hand, and the inclination of his bodie aduileth somewhat to him that beholdeth or looketh on. A man may in generall giue aduice eyther by speech, or writing of that which hath bene accustomed, or of that which is needfull to be done; and such counsell both to the absent and to posteritie, but that other when it ought to be done, and how, no man will aduise from a farre off: we must deliberate with the things themselves. It is the duetie of a good man that is not onely present but well aduised, to take the occasion when it commeth; and therefore be intente after her, take her by the forlocke when thou seest her, and with all the force of thy minde, and to the vttermost of thy power labour to disburden thee of all these charges, which thou hast taken on thee. Abooue all things obserue what my counsaile is; my opinion is, that cyther thou must dismissee this kinde of life, or lose thy life. But I thinke this also that thou must keepe some moderate course, to the end that what thou hast intangled lewdly, thou mayest rather loose then breake off. And when there should be no other means to discharge thy selfe, that thou mightest boldly breake the same. There is no man so faint hearted, that had rather abide alwayes hanging in the ayre, then to fall once. Meane while beware thou principally, that thou engage not thy selfe ouer-farre, content thy selfe with those affaires thou hast vnder taken, or (since thou wilt that be beleue so) that haue surprisid thee. Thou must not entangle thy selfe further; otherwise thou wilt loose thy excuse, and wilt make it knowne, that they haue not surprisid thee. For these excuses which are wont to be made, are false. I could not do otherwise; and what if I will not? I was forced to doe it. There is no man that is constrained to follow felicitie head-long. It is much if a man cannot repulse her, at least wile to make head against her, and to resist the swiftnesse of fortune. Art thou displeased if I come not onely to giue thee counsaile, but if I call others also to thy assistance? Truly they are more wile then I am, it is of them that I take aduice, if I haue any thing to deliberate. I haue read an Epistle of *Epicurus*, that tendeth to this purpose, which is written to *Idemeneus*, whom he intreateth that as much as in him lieth, he shie and labour before any greater force intercept, and cut off his liberty from retiring: yet addeth the same man, that nothing is to be attempted except when it may be aptly and liuely executed. But when the time that a man hath so long expected shall come, he saith that we ought to dislodge suddenly. He forbiddeth him sleepe that supposeth to shie; hee hopeth also an happy issue of those things that are most difficult, if we hasten not our felues before the time, and if wee be not negligent when it shall bee time to hasten. But I thinke

thinke thou demaundest the aduice of the Stoicks; there is no man ought to accuse them towards thee of temeritie, they are more warie then strong. Happily thou expectest that these things be spoken to thee. It is a shame to faint vnder the burthen; thou oughtest to wrastle against the charge thou hast vnder taken. A man that flyeth trauel, is neither valiant nor hardie; he is the man whose courage redoubleth, the more difficult his affaires grow. All this shall be said vnto thee, if perseverance ought to bring any profit, if it be necessarie if nothing ought to be done or suffered that is vnworthie a good man; otherwise hee will not tire himselfe after a shamefull and dishonest trauaile, and would not meddle with affaires, lest he should reape paine thereby, much lesse would he doe that which thou thinkest he would doe, that finding himselfe entangled in affaires, full of ambition he would alwayes support that passion: but after that he shall know the dangers wherein he is plunged, to be full of incertaintie and doubts, he will withdraw his foote, yet not turne his backe, but by little and little will retire in safetie. Truly it is an easie thing, my *Lucilius*, to escape from businesse, if thou contemne the profit of them: they are those that retain and stay vs. What shall I doe then? Shall I leaue so long hopes? Shall I then desist when I am to receiue the profite? Shall I not haue any man to attend me, and giue me? Shall my litter be vnattended? and my base Court without sutors? With much hearts-griefe and vnwillingnesse doe men depart from these hopes; they loue the profit that proceedeth from these miseries, yet hate they the miseries themselves. So complaine they of their ambitions as of their miseries: and if thou consider well their true affection, they hate them not, but they are angrie with them. Shake off those men which deplore that which they haue desired, and speake of the forsaking of those things which they cannot want, thou shalt see that they incessantly keepe company with that which they report incessantly to be most distastefull and disliking to them. True it is, my *Lucilius*, that seruitude retaineth few persons, and few persons retain seruitude: but if thou art resolu'd in thy minde to dismissee the same, and that in good earnest libertie best please thee; and that to this one intent thou demaundest counsaile, that without perpetuall felicitie thou mayest haue power to doe the same. Why should not the whole company of Stoicks allow thereof? All *Zenoes Chrysippi* will persuade moderate, honest, and true things. But if for this cause thou recoilest, that thou mayest looke about thee, how much thou shalt carrie with thee, and what great riches thou needest to liue in repose, thou shalt neuer finde an issue: a man laden with a burden cannot saue himselfe by swimming. Depart from that to enter with the fauour of the goddess into a better life, provided that this fauour be not like vnto theirs, to whom they haue giuen euils with a smiling and gracious countenance, excused by this one thing, that the goods which burn and torment, were giuen to those that wished for them, I had already sealed vp my litter, but I must open it againe, that I may fend it to thee with a solemne present, and bring with it some magnificall sentence; and beholde I know not whether one more true or more eloquent is false in my hand. Whose is it, sayest thou? *Epicurus*: for as yet do I fill my packet with other mens purposes. No man departeth otherwise out of this life, but as if he did but newly enter. Surprise what man thou wilt, young, of middle age or olde; thou shalt finde them alike afraid of death, and all of them as ignorant of life. No man hath finished any thing: for we alwayes refer our affaires to the time to come. There is nothing in this sentence that please me so much, then when it reproacheth olde men, that as yet they are infants. No man, saith he, doth otherwise depart out of this life, then

then as he was borne. It is false, we die worse then we were borne: it is our error and not natures; the mult complaint of vs, and say, what meaneth this, I haue bred you without desires, without feares, without superstition, without perditionnelle, and other plagues, depart out of life such as you entred? That man is seasoned in wisdom, who dieth as securely as he is borne. But now feare we, when danger approacheth our heart, our colour faileth vs, and fruitlesse teares fall from our eyes. What is more absurd then to be fearefull euen in the very entrance of securitie? But the cause hereof is this; because we are voyde of all goodnesse, whereas in the end of our life we labour with the desire of them: for no part thereof remaineth with vs, it is lost, it is vanished, no man careth how well he liueth, but how long, whereas all men might haue the hap to liue well, as no men haue to liue long.

EPIST. XXIII.

How wretched is, seek out true ioy: what is that? That which is seuer and bred of true goodnesse. The rest are fallacious and fugitive, this solid and firme, because it is seated in a resolute mind, which is the best part of vs: in a word, it is seated in conscience. At last Epicurus vs his saying. It is a loathsome and trouble some thing always to begin to liue, and such as are inconstant are condemned.

Thou supposeth that I will write vnto thee how kindly the winter hath dealt with vs, which was both remisse and short; how kindly the spring was, and preposterous the colde, and such other toys as delight those that loue words. But I will write something which may profit both thee and me. And what else shall that be but to exhort thee to a good mind? Askest thou me what the foundation thereof is? Doe not ioy in vaine things. Said I that this is the foundation, it is the perfection and fulnesse thereof. Hee obtaineth the fulnesse of this good, who knoweth wherein his pleasure lyeth, and hath not builded his felicitie on another mans power: he is altogether in care, and ill assured, who is tickled with any hope, although hee holdeth it in his hand, although hee easily obtaine the same, although the things he hoped for haue neuer deceiued him. Doe this about all things, my *Lucilius*, learne to reioyce. Thou thinkest now that I take many of thy pleasures from thee, who driue from thee those that are gotten by casualtie, who suppose that these hopes and sweetest delights are to be auoyded, nay, rather it is quite contrarie. I will not that at any time thou be without ioy. I will that it be bred vnto thee in thine owne house; and it is bred, if so be that it be within thy selfe. All other delights replenish not the soule, but cleare the countenance: they are toys except thou iudgeth him to be merrie that laugheth. The minde ought to be resolute and confident, and lifted vp about all things. Trust me, true ioy is a seuer thing. Thinkest thou that a man with a smooth and smiling countenance, and, as these wanton fellows speake, with a merrie eye, contemneth death, openeth his house to povertie, bridleth his delights, and mediateth on patience? He that thinketh on all these things is in great gladnesse, but little pleasing: in possession of this gladnesse I would haue thee be, it will neuer faile thee, when as thou once findest out from whence it proceedeth. The best of the slightest metalls is in the vpper part, they are the most rich which haue their vaine hidden in their centre, and will make him most rich who shall search their mine with diligence. These toys and trifles where-

with

with the common sort are delighted, haue a pleasure tender and facile to melt, and all that ioy which cometh from without vs, is without foundation. This whereof I speake, wherevnto I endeavour to draw thee, is solid and farre more apparent inwardly. Endeavour, I beseech thee, my welbeloued *Lucilius*, to practise that only which may make thee happie: despise and spurne at those things that outwardly shine, and which are promised thee from another: fixe thine eye vpon the true good, and take thou pleasure in that which is thine owne. But what meaneth this? of thy selfe, and the better part of thy selfe: thinke also of thy bodie (although nothing may be done without it) to be a thing rather necessary then great. It suggesteth vaine, short and remorsfull pleasures, and such as, if they be not well tempered with great moderation, will turne into a contrarie effect. I say this, that pleasure is still falling headlong, and declining vnto griefe, except it keep a mediocritie; and hard it is to keep a mean in that which thou firmly beleeuest to be good. The desire of true good is assured, Askest thou me what this true good is, and whence it proceedeth? I will tell thee, from a good conscience, from honest deliberations, from vertuous and iustifiable actions, from contempt of such things as are casual, from a peaceable, and continual institution of life, which hath alwayes traced the same course. For they who leapt from some purposes to other, or else iumpe not, but by a certaine chance are transported; how can they haue any thing certaine or permanent, being themselves inconstant and in suspense? Few there are that dispose both themselves and their estates by counsaile. The rest after the manner of those sedges that float on great riuers, goe not, but are carried; whereof some are detayned, and are softly conuayed by a slower streame, other from carried away by a more vehement, others a soft tyde hath slowly carried to the shoare, others a strong current hath cast into the Sea. We must therefore be resolute what we will, and in it must we perseuer. Here is the place to pay my debt: for I can pay thee in the words of thine owne *Epicurus* and discharge this Epistle: *It is a tedious thing always to begin life: or if in this manner the sense may be the better expressed, Badly liue they who alwayes begin to liue.* Why sayest thou? for this world requirith an explanation. Because their life is alwayes imperfect: but it cannot be that hee should be prepared for death, that doth but lately beginne to liue. We must so doe, as if we had liued long enough. No man hath thought it that beginneth to liue, when he onely beginneth in good earnest: neuertheless thinke thou not that these are few in number, for almost all are such. Some doe then begin to liue, when they ought to cease: if thou thinke this and wonder, I will add that which shall draw thee more into admiration; some haue ceased to liue before they haue begun.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXIII.

An Epistle worthie to be ranked amongst the best. He exhorteth not to feare euils to come, although they threaten. But rather to propose them to happen, and so to forme a mans selfe by examining or extenuating them. For what are all these feares? The last of them is death, and contemne that by reason. Great men haue done it. Plebeians and Slaves haue done it. Why shouldst thou not aspire? Take the wisdom from things: that which thou fearest is paine, which a tender woman hath suffered in her child-bed. Finally, thou art borne to this, to be tossed, to grieve, to die: acknowledge thy destinee: yet with Epicurus precept, neither wish for death, neither feare it.



How writest vnto me that thou art disquieted in mind about the euent of thy iudgement, which the furie of thine enemy doth denounce against thee, and thou thinkest that I will perswade thee; to propose vnto thy selfe in the meane time good successe, and feed thy selfe with vaine hopes. For what needeth it vs to call on and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too soone, and lose the present good for feare of the euill to come? Vndoubtedly it is a great folly to make a mans selfe miserable for the present, because that sometimes hereafter he must be: but I will leade thee to securitie by another way, if thou wilt disburthen thy selfe of all care; make account, that what euill thou fearest shall befall thee, is already happened, and what euill thou fearest be, measure it by thy selfe, and taxe thy feare. Thereby shalt thou iudge vndoubtedly, either that thine euill is not great, or that it is not long: neither mayest thou spend much time in gathering examples, to conforme thee, euery age is stored with them. In what focuer part of affaires, either ciuill or externall, thou fixest thy memorie, thou shalt meet with wits, either proficient in wisdom, or of great towardnesse. Can there then, if so be thou be condemned, a worse fortune befall thee, then to be banished, to be led to prison? Is there any thing more to be feared by any man, then that he shall be burned, then that he shall die? I thinke verie necerly on euery one of these things, and represent vnto thy selfe all those that haue despised them, who are not to be sought for, but chosen out. *Rutilius* so suffered his condemnation, as if no other thing more troubled him, then for that he was wrongfully iudged. *Antellus* tooke his exile courageously, and *Rutilius* also willingly; the one vouchsafeing his returne for the good of the Commonwealth; the other refusing *Sylla* his returne, to whom in those dayes nothing was denied. *Socrates* disputed in the prison, and whereas there were some that promised him flight, he refused to make escape; yea and he remained to the intent to take from men the feare of two the most dreadfull things, that is to say, Imprisonment and Death. *Mutius* thrust his hand into the flame. A bitter thing it is to be burned, but how farre more intolerable, if thou suffer it by thine owne act? Thou seest an vnlearned man, neuer strengthened by my Precepts against death or griefe, only furnished with militarie fortitude, exacting punishment from himselfe, of his frustrated attempt: he stood looking on his right hand dropping away in his enemies fire, neither remoued he his scorched hand burned to the bones, before the fire was withdrawn from him by the enemy himselfe. Something might he haue performed in that campe more happily, but nothing more courageously. See how more eager Vertue is to enter-taine perill, then crueltie to command it. More easily did *Porcena* pardon *Mu-*

tius,

tus, for that he would haue killed him, then *Mutius* did himselfe, because he had not murdered him. These fables, thou wilt say are ouerborne, and sung amidst the Schooles. Now wilt thou (now the cause is handled of contempt of death) alledge me *Cato*. And why should I not nominate and represent him reading that last night *Platoes* booke with his sword behind his pillow? These two instruments in extremities had he provided, the one to haue will to die, the other to haue power. Having then giuen order to his affaires; as farre as a broken and desperate estate permitted him; he thought that onely concerned him to act: that no man might either haue power to kill, or opportunitie to slay *Cato*. And hauing his sword drawne, which vntill that time he had kept pure and neate from all murder. Thou hast nor O Fortune, said hee, as yet done any thing against me, in opposing thy selfe against all my desires and enterprises. I haue not as yet fought for mine owne, but my countrys libertie, neither haue I endeouored so much to liue free, as to liue amongst free men. Now since the affaires of humane kind are desperate, *Cato* will well finde a meanes to see himselfe at libertie. After this he grievously wounded himselfe in the bodie, which being dressed and bound vp by his Physicians. *Cato* that had already lost much blood, and much strength, but nothing lost of the greatnesse and goodnesse of his minde; now not only angrie with *Cassius*, but incensed against himselfe; he forced his naked hands into his mortall wound, and rendered or rather thrust out that generous soule of his, that contemned all power. I heape not vp together these examples for this present, to the intent to exercise my wit, but rather to giue thee courage against a thing that seemeth so dreadfull and terrible. And more easily shall I exhort thee in my opinion, if I knew, that not only great and generous persons haue contemned this moment of yielding vp the ghost, but that some men of little value in all other things, haue in this equaled the vertue of the most generous, as that *Scipio* the father in law to *Cincius Pompeius*, who being forced by a contrarie winde to be transported into *Africa*, and perceiuing his ship to be in the possession of his enemies, stabbed himselfe, answering those, who demanded where the emperor was, that the Emperour was well. This vow of his made him equall with his ancestors, and suffered not that the glorie which seemeth to be fatal to the *Scipians* in *Africa*, should be interrupted. It was much to conquer *Carthage*, but more to conquer death. The Emperour, saith he, is well: and in what other sort should an Emperour die, namely, such a one that commanded *Cato*? I will not referre thee to former Histories, nor gather together from all ages the many contemners and despisers of death. Looke onely into these very times of ours, whose negligence and daintinesse we comaine of, thou shalt meet with men of all estates, all fortunes, all ages, which haue cut off the course of their misfortunes by their deaths. Beleeue me *Lucillus*, so little ought death to be feared, that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Heare therefore secretly and confidently the threats of thine enemy, and although thy confidence make thee confident, yet because that many things haue credit, beside the cause, hope for that which is iust, and prepare thy selfe against iniustice. But about all things, remember thou to esteeme things simply as they be, and despoile them of that tumult and bruit that is accustomedly giuen them, and thou shalt find in them, that there is nothing terrible in them, but the only feare. That which thou seest befall yong children, befalleth vs also that are greater boyers: they are afraid of those whom they loue, and with whom they frequent and dispose euery day, if they see them masked and disguised. Not from men onely ought we

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to take the maske, but from things themselves, and yeeld them their true and naturall appearance. Why thewest thou me swords and fire, and a troope of grinning hang-men about thee? Take away this pompe, vnder which thou hast hidden, and wherewith thou terrifiest fooles: thou art Death, which of late my slaue or my hand-maiden hath contemned. Again, why thewest thou me these whippers and torments, vnder so mightie a preparation? Why furell engines for furell ioynts, fitted to torture men, and a thousand other instruments to plucke a man in pieces? Lay aside these things which astonish vs, command the groanes and exclamations, and the irksomeneffe of the cries extorted in the midst of the torture. Vndoubtedly it is but the paine, which this goutie man contemneth, which that man sick with the paine of the stomacke, in his very daintineffe endureth, which the tender woman suffereth in her childing. Light it is, if I can endure it, short it is, if I can suffer it. Toffe these things in thy minde, which thou hast oftentimes heard, which thou hast often said. Approoue it by effect, if thou hast truly said it, or truly heard it. For it is a villanous reproach, which is wont to be objected against vs, if we handle the words of *Philosophie*, but not the workes. What thinkest thou? Suppoest thou that this is the first time that death, banishment, and griefe houered ouer thee? Thou art borne to thode. Let vs thinke that any thing may bee done, as if it were hereafter to be done. That which I aduise thee to do, I surely know thou hast done. Now do I admonish thee, that thou drowne not thy mind in this sollicitude, for it will be dull and haue lesse force, when thou hast reason to raise and roule it. Withdraw the same from a priuate cause to a publike; say that thou hast a mortall and fraile bodie, which forraine iniurie and tyranny may not onely hurt, but the very pleasures themselves may be transformed into torments. The delicacie of meates causeth the cruditie of the stomacke; drunkenesse, trembling and astonishment of the sinewes; the pleasures of the flesh and lusts, a generall deprauation of hands and feet, and all the ioynts. If I be come poore, I haue many fellows; if I be banished, I shall perswade my selfe, that the place wherein I am confined, is the place of my birth; if I be tied and manackled, what then, now I am free? That nature, as soone as we are borne, imprisoneth vs in this lumpish masse of the bodie, as in a strong prison. If I must die, I will comfort my selfe in this, that I shall cease to be any more sicke; I shall cease to be bound; I shall cease to haue power to die. I am not so fond as in this place to persecute *Epicurus* long, or to say that the feare of hell is vaine, that *Ision* is not tost on the wheele, nor *Sisyphus* tied to roule and returne his stone on his shoulder; nor that any mans bowels could be renewed and deuoured daily. There is no man so childlike as to feare *Cerberus*, and darknesse, and the shadowes of ghosts walking by night. Death either consumeth vs, or deliuereth vs. A better condition exempted from all charge, attendeth those who are deliuered by death. To those that are consumed, there remaineth nothing more, since both the good and the euill are equally taken from them. Permit me in this place to put thee in memorie of a verse thou hast made, and thinke that thou hast not written it to others, but to thy selfe. It is a shamefull and vnseemly thing to speake one thing and thinke another, but how odious to write one thing and to thinke another? I remember that thou debating sometime on this place, diddest say, that we fall not suddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and some part of our life is daily scantled: and then also when we encrease, our life doth decrease. We haue lost our infancy, and then our youth, then our mans estate; briefly, all that time which is passed

passed vntill this present day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death. Euen as in an houte-glasse, the last part of the land that falleth is not the onely part that discouereth the houre, but all that also which is false before; so the last houre, in which we cease to be, is not the onely that causeth death, but it is that consummatest it. At that time we attaine thither, but we come thereto long before. These things when thou haddest described according to thy accustomed stile, thou wert alwayes great, but neuer more wittie, then when thou fittedst thy words to truth, and saydest,

*Death hath degrees, that is not fit that fast
Attempts to ransh vs, but that is laid.*

I had rather thou shouldest reade thy selfe, then my Epistle: it will appeare vnto thee, that this death which we feare, is the last, but not the onely which we suffer. I perceiue thy bent. Thou expectest to see what thing I should insert into this my Epistle, what bould speeche of any man, what profitable precept. Of this very matter which we haue in hand, I will afford thee somewhat: *Epicurus* is displeased as much with those that desire death, as those that feare it, & saith thus; *It is ridiculous thing, that the hatred of life maketh vs runne vnto death, when by the course of our life we haue occasioned no lesse, but that needs we must haue recourse vnto death.* Likewise in another place he saith: *What is more ridiculous then to wish for death, when thou the feare of death, a man hath made his life no lesse then a torment?* Thou mayest also adde this, which is of the same stiffe: That the follic or rather madnesse of men is so great, that there are diuers who are constrained to die for feare of death. Which of these sentences thou shalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the sufferance eyther of life or death: for we haue need both to be admonished and confirmed in both of these, to the end we neyther too much loue, nor too much loath our life; and at that very time when reasoning our race ought we to runne vpon it. A couragious and wise man, ought to leaue his life but not to flee from it: but about all things auoyde that affection wherewith many men are possessed, that is a desire to die: for euen as in all other things (my *Lucilius*) so also in death, there is a disordinate and vnbridled inclination of the minde, that oftentimes surpriseth men of high and generous spirits, and oftentimes fearefull and faint-hearted men; the one despise life, the other loath the same. Some other there are that are weary of liuing, and glutted with doing one thing alwayes, and hate not so much their life as they are weary of it. And thereto Philosophie it selfe leadeth vs, whilst we say, *How long the same?* That is, I shall rise, I shall sleepe, I shall be full, I shall be hungry, I shall be a cold, I shall be hote; there is no end of any thing, but all things are shut in a circle, they flee and follow. The day expelleth the night, the night succedeth the day; Summer endeth in Autumne, Winter succedeth it, and the Spring, Winter: all things passe that they may returne againe: I see nothing new, I doe nothing new. In the end we grow in loathing of these things. There are many that account it not a bitter thing to liue, but superfluous.

EPIST. XXV.

He prescribeth of two friends a young and an olde in different sort : how they are to be dealt withall, with the one more roughly, with the other more remissly, lest he despair. He exhorteth LVCILIUS himselfe to mediocritie or pouertie : at length by EPICVRVS words, to take to himselfe a Tutor. Do all things as if a man looked on thee.



S concerning our two friends, we must proceede after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extinguished. I will vse an intire libertie: I loue not him except I shall offend him. What then wilt thou say? Thinkest thou to containe vnder thy discipline a pupill of fortie yeare olde? Behold his age alreadie hard and vntractable: he cannot be reformed, things plicable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I shall preuaile or no; I had rather the successe then my induour should faile me. Despaire not but that a man may heale those that haue bene afflicted with inueterate sickennes; if thou resist their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things against their will. Neyther of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he bluseth to offend. This shamefastnesse is to be nourished, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be some place for good hope. With this old Souldier I think we must deale more sparingly, lest he fall into desperation of himselfe. Neither was there any more fit time to set vpon him then this, whilst he pawseth and pretendeth a shew of reformation. This intermission deceiued others: for my selfe it abaseth me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vsurie, which for the present I know are at repose, but not dispossessed. I will bestow some time vpon this matter, and I will maketriall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy selfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accustomed, and trusse vp the baggage. Nothing of that which we haue is necessitie. Let vs returne to the lawe of nature; riches are at hand, cyther that we want is gratuitall or vile. Nature desires bread & water, no man is poor to these. Vpon those things wherein a man hath confined his desire, he may argue with Iupiter himselfe of his felicitie, as Epicurus saith, some speech, of whom I will inclose in this Epistle: *So doe all things* (saith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is very profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans selfe, and to haue one whom thou mayest respect, whom thou iudgetst to haue an insight into thy thoughts. But it is farre better to liue as if one were a slaue to some one good man, who should be alwayes at his heeles: I likewise holde my selfe content, provided alwayes that that which thou doest, thou doest it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude induceth vs to all euill. When thou hast profited so much that thou art ashamed of thy selfe, thou mayest let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time keepe thy selfe vnder the authoritie of some one: cyther let him be Cato, or Scipio, or Lelius, or such as by whose interview men of least hope would suppress their vices also, whilst thou makest thy selfe him before whom thou darrest not offend. When thou hast done this, and that thou hast thy selfe in good esteeme, I will begin to permit thee that which Epicurus himselfe perswadeth. At that time especially retire thy selfe into thy selfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behooueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while it is no securitie for thee to depart from thy selfe. Consider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatsoever, then with himselfe: then especially retire thy selfe into selfe, when as thou

thou art compelled to be in companie, if thou beest a good, quiet, and temperate man; otherwise forsake thy selfe, and seeke out companie: for in this case thou approachest more neere to a man of euill life.

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That he is olde and yet flourishing in minde. He speaketh stoutly of death, which onely (saith he) sheweth if any thing be done. Therest are words. Force and courage shall appeare when thou art dying. A clause from EPICVRVS. Learn to meditate on death.



Tolde thee not long since that I am in view of olde age, but now I feare me I haue, left olde age behinde me: vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue neede of another word; for olde is the name of an age wearied and feeble, and not of that which is altogether wasted and worn out. Number me amongst the most decrepit; and that haue, as the prouerbe runneth, One foote already in the grave. Neuertheless I accompanie thee in thy ioy: in this I feele not the iniurie of my yeares in my mind, although I am sensible of them in my bodie, only vices and the ministeries of them are quenched by old-age. The mind is frolicke and reioyced, because it hath not much to doe with the bodie: hee hath discharged himselfe of the greatest part of his burthen, hee exulteth and quarrelleth with me for olde age: This, saith he, is his flower. Let vs belecue him, and suffer him to enioy his good. I take pleasure to re-knowledge and discern in my selfe, what part of this tranquillitie and modestie of maners which I haue, I owe vnto Philosophie, and what part vnto mine age, and diligently to discusse what things I cannot do, and what things I would not do, and whether I can any thing that I will not: for if I cannot any thing, I am glad I cannot: for what cause of complaint is there, or what discommoditie, if that which needes must not be, hath ceased to be? It is a great discommoditie, sayest thou, to bee diminished and to perish; and to speake more properly, to melt away. For we are not suddenly forced and cast downe, we are weakened, and every day deprieth vs of some part of our forces. And what end is better, then to steale softly on a mans end by the dissolution of nature? not that there is any euill in this, to be stricken and suddenly depriued of life, but this way is sweet and gentle, to be by little and little dispossessed and robbed of a mans selfe. For mine owne part as if I were on the point of tryall, and the day were come which should pronounce the sentence of all my yeares, I obserue, and after this manner speake vnto my selfe. All that which we haue cyther spoken or done, vntill this houre, is nought else but a simple and light promise of the soule, conured with much deceit: death shall be the only faithfull testimonie, whether I haue profited or not. Thus prepare I my selfe courageously for that day, wherein I will pronounce of my selfe and iudge, all crafts & subtilities laide aside, whether I speake or thinke constantly, whether the contumacious wordes, whatsoever which I vrged and darted out against fortune, were dissembled or fained. Remove the estimation of men, it is alwayes doubtfull and diuided on both parts. Remove thy studies, thou hast handled all thy life time, death must pronounce of thee. I say, this, that the disputes and learned conferences, and the wordes gathered from the precepts of wise-men, neyther the well-composed discourse doth

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make shew, and approue the true value of a mans minde : for the fearfulllest and forward, and bolde in words. It then will appeare what thou hast done when thou departest thy life. I accept this condition : I feare not the iudgement. Thus speake I with my selfe, but suppose likewise that I speake this to thee. Thou art younger : what skillst thou ? our yeares are not numbered ; it is vncertaine in what place death expecteth thee, therefore expect thou him in all places. I would now haue made an end, and my hand was prefixing the period : but all solemnities must be obserued, and I must giue this Epistle his safe conduct. Think that I tell thee not whence I meant to borrow ; for thou knowest whose coffer I vse. Tarrie a litle and thou shalt be satisfied out of mine owne stocke ; in the meane time *Epicurus* shall lend me somewhat, who saith ; *Meditate whether it be more commodious that death come vnto vs, or we vnto her.* The end hereof is manifest : it is an excellent thing to learne to die. Happily thou thinkest it to be a fruitlesse thing to learne that which thou must vse but once. This is that for which we ought to meditate ; wee must alwayes learne which whether we know, we cannot make proofe of. Meditate on death, who saith thus, commandeth to meditate on libertie : he that hath learned to die, hath forgotten to feare, it is aboute all power, vndoubtedly beyond all. What careth he for prisons, holds, or restraints ? He hath alwayes free passage. There is but one chaine that holdeth vs bound, that is the loue of life, which as it is not to bereiected, so is it to be diminished, to the end that if occasion so fall out, nothing may detain or hinder vs, but that we may be ready to do that presently, which at some other time hereafter we must needs doe.

EPIST. XXVII.

He warneth and excuseth, but what ? Is he already good, already perfect ? I am not, saith he, but amongst those that are rich. I debate with thee of the common end, and the remedy of the same. Pleasures hurt or falsly helpe. Vertue alone bringeth forth a solidiuy. But assume thou and possesse thou her, by another thou mayest not. A short and merrie historie of CALVISIVS. EPICVRVS saying : Riches are a naturall poertie.

DOest thou admonish me, sayest thou, for already thou hast admonished, already corrected thy selfe ? And therefore employest thou thy selfe to reforme others. And I am not so impudent to goe about to cure others, being sicke my selfe ; but lying, as it were, in the same Hospital with thee, and of the same sicknesse, I confesse with thee vpon our common infirmities, and communicate the remedies. I lend me therefore thine eare, as if I spake within my selfe. I giue thee entrance into my country-houise, and hauing entertained thee, I expostulate with my selfe : I crie vnto my selfe : number thy yeares, and thou wilt blush for shame, that thou wilt sell the same which thou wouldest being a childe, and professest the like ; doe thy selfe this good at the last, that thy vices may die in thee before the day of thy death befall thee. Forsake these loathsome pleasures, which thou shalt full dearly satisfie for, not onely those that are to come, but those also which are past doe hurt thee. Euen as the remorse of sinnes (although vnspied when they were committed) remaineth after them, so the repentance of loathsome pleasures liueth after them : they are not solid, they are not faithfull. Although

though they hurt not, they take their flight. Rather looke after some good that remaineth firme : and no one there is, except that which the mind of it selfe findeth out for himselfe. Vertue onely giueth perpetuall and assured ioy, although there be some obstacle. Yet happeneth it after the manner of clouds, which alwayes fall downwards, and neuer surmount the day. When shall it be our good hap to attaine vnto this ioy ? There remaineth much labor for him that maketh halt, what for him that giueth ouer and ceaseth ? In which worke it concerneth thee to bestow both thy vigilancie and labour, if thou wilt see it effected. This thing admitteth no procuracion. If thou wilt be assisted, thou shalt haue need of another forme of letters. *Calvisius Sabinus* in our time was a rich man, and had both the patrimonie and wit of a libertine and freed man. Neuer saw I man more vndoubtedly happie then he was. This man had so bad a memorie, that now he forgot the name of *Ulysses*, now of *Achilles*, and sometimes of *Priam*, whom he knew as well, as we at this present remember, our Masters. No old fellow, keeping the rowles of the people and seruants, not to report their proper names, but to giue them surnames, that more impertinently saluted the tribes of the people, then he saluted the *Troians* and *Grecians*, yet would he be esteemed learned. He therefore found out these short meanes, he bought him slaues with great summes of money, one that held *Homer* before him, another that held *Hesiodus*, and to the nine *Liriques*, besides he assigned a furrall person. That he bought them so hugely deare, thou needest not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained. As soone as he had gotten him this family, he began to importunate those, whom he inuited, to eate with him. At his tooke he had his slaues, of whom, when he demanded a verse, to recite the same, for the most part he forgot himselfe in the midst of a word. *Satellius Quadratus* a smell-feast, and sharker of foolish rich men, and which followeth, a iester, and that which is adiunct to both these, a scoffer, perswaded him to get him *Grammarians*, who should recollect that he let slip, and new informe him. And when *Sabinus* had told him, that euery one of his slaues had cost him one hundred thousand *Seitercies*. Thou mightest (said he) haue bought so many cabinets for thy *Acates*, for lesse price, and better cheape. Yet was hee of that opinion, that he thought he knew all that, that any may in his house knew. The same *Satellius* on a time began to perswade him to wrastle, being both a sicke, pale and leaneman. After that *Sabinus* had answered him. Alas, how can I doe it, who haue scarcely a handfull of life ? Say not so, I pray you, said the other, seest thou not how many robust and well-set slaues thou hast ? A good mind may not be borrowed or bought, and thinke that if it were to bee sold, it should scarcely finde a chapman ; but the euill and vnlettered mind is daily bought. But now receiue thou that which I owe thee, and farewell. *Poertie disposed according to the law of Nature, is a great riches.* This doth *Epicurus* inculcate oftentimes in different manners. But it is neuer said so much, that is neuer learned enough. To some we must shew, to other some forcibly apply remedies.

EPIST. XXVIII.

The change of place changeth not the minde, 'thou oughtest to change thy selfe. Take from thee thy inward pensiuenesse, every place will be good and pleasant; yet will I, if I can, chuse the quietest and least subject to troubles or vices. A clause, know thine owne sinnes, now art thou safe.

THOU supposest that this hath only befallen thee, and admirest it as a noueltie, that in so long a voyage, and many diuersitie of places: thou hast not shaken off the sadnesse and heauinesse of spirit, it is thy minde thou must change, and not the aire. Although thou hast ouer-sailed the vast seas, although, as *Virgil* saith, Lands and Cities retire from thee, yet will thy vices follow thee, and tract thee whither-fouer thou trauellest. The same answer made *Socrates* to a certaine man, that made the same complaint: *Why wonderest thou that thy voyages profit thee nothing, since thou thy selfe doest nothing but rowle thy selfe up and downe in thy selfe?* The same cause stayeth thee, that expelleth thee. What can the noueltie of Lands profit thee, whereto serueth the knowledge of Cities and places: it is a fruitlesse and fruituoll labour. Wilt thou heare why these voyages bring thee no good? Thou fliest with thy selfe. Thou must discharge thy selfe of the burthen of the minde, for before that there is no place will please thee: Imagine thy face that it is as the Poet *Virgil* induceth and describeth *Sibyll*, already wholly troubled, touched, and full of spirit, other then his owne:

*The Prophet stormes and cries, and doth aspire
To thrust that god-head out, that did inspire.*

Thou goest heere and there to shake off the burthen that ouer-presseth thee, which puzzleth thee the more by the length of thy journey. As in a ship, the lading that are lesse moueable, are those that are lesse troublesome, & those that are vnequally trusted, doe somelittle drowne that lide on which they settle. All whatfouer thou doest, thou doest against thy selfe, and by thy motion thou hurtest thy selfe; for thou doest shake a sicke man. But when thou hast purged thee of this euill, every change of place cannot but giue thee pleasure. Thou mayest bee driuen into the most remotest countries, and bee confined in a little corner of *Barbarie*, yet shall that state be hospitable vnto thee, whatfouer it be. It importeth more to know what thou art committing, then where thou arriuest. And therefore ought we not to fixe our minde on any place. In this opinion you must liue, I am not borne for one corner. The whole world is my country. And if thou knowest it well, thou wouldest not thinke it strange, that in no sort thou art comforted with the varietie of countries wherein thou hast bin, since that the country wherein thou hast liued was loathsome to thee. For the first thou enteredst had beene agreeable vnto thee if thou haddest made account that euery country had beene throwne downe. Thou trauellest not, but runnest the country: thou trottest and remouest from place to place, although that very thing thou seekest for (that is to say, to liue well) is found in euery place. Can there bee any thing more turbulent then the Pallace; yet if need be, a man may liue peaceably euen there. And yet if it were lawfull for mee to make mine owne choice, I would retire my selfe farre enough from the front-

spice

spice and view of the Court. For euen as melancholy abodes may hazard the firmest constitution, so are things which are lesse healthfull to a good vnderstanding, which is not wholly accomplished; but in the way of recouerie. I differ from their opinions that keepe the mid streame, approuing a tumultuous life, and that courageously fight daily against all sorts of extreames and tribulations. A wise man will endure, but not chuse these, and had rather be in peace, then in sight. For it profiteth not a man very much to reiect his vices, if hee must contest with others. Thirtie tyrants, sayest thou, enuironed *Socrates*, and yet could not make him falter in his resolutions. What skilleth it how many Lords there be? It is but one seruitude. He that hath contemned this seruitude, is free before whatfouer troope of Commanders. It is time to giue ouer, provided that I first pay my tollage. *The knowledge of a mans fault is the beginning of his health.* *Epicurus* in my opinion hath spoken this very worthily. For hee that knoweth not that he hath offended, will not be corrected. Thou must finde out thine owne error, before thou amendest thy selfe. Some glorie in their vices; thinkest thou that they dreame of their remedies, that make no difference betweene villanies and vertues? Therefore as much as in thee lieth reprove thy selfe, enquire and search into thy selfe, play the part of an accuser at the first, then of a Iudge, and lastly of a suppliant; once in thy life offend thy selfe.

EPIST. XXIX.

The MARCELLINVS is hard to be corrected: For he scorneth and mocketh, yet will I not giue him ouer, and happily in this sort I will ouercome him. EPICVRVS Sentence, studie not to please the people, that is to say many.

THOU enquirest some newes of our friend *Marcellinus*, and wouldest know what he doth. He commeth very seldom vnto vs, for no other cause, then for that hee seareth to heare the truth. From which perill he is now free, for we are to speake to none, but such as will giue eare vnto vs. Therefore it is wont to bee doubted, whether *Diogenes*, or any other *Cynicks*, who haue vied a promiscuous and indiscreet libertie, to exhort all such as they meet withall, whether they ought to doe so or no. For to what intent should a man chide the deafe, or controule such as are mute either by nature or sicknesse? Why, sayest thou, should I spare my words, they cost me nothing? I know not whether I shall profit him whom I admonish. This I know, that I shall profit some one, if I admonish many. The hand must be scattered. It cannot be, but he shall effect once, that attempteth often. But I thinke not, my *Lucilius*, that this is to be done to a great man. The authoritie of the instructor is diminished, and hath almost no power in regard of those that might bee corrected by a meaner power. It is not alwayes needfull that a good Archer hit the white, sometimes hee may misse. It is not an Art that casually commeth to the effect. Wisdom is an Art that must ayne at a certaine end. Let her therefore seeke out those that may bee profited by her, and retire her selfe from those of whom the despaireth, provided alwayes that shee abandon them not too soone, but forcibly and desperately attempt all remedies, when as there is lesse hope. I haue not yet lost all my hope of our friend *Marcellinus*, as yet he may be saued, provided he be suddenly assisted. is

is to be feared lest he should draw him, that should set hands to help him. The power of witte is mightie in him, but already depraved, and tending to euill. Notwithstanding I will vndergoe this perill, and dare to shew him his infirmities. I know well that he will follow his old custom, he will summon & marshall out all those iests, which can prouoke laughter in the eye of lamentation, and will leet at himselfe first, then at vs, and alwaies preuent that in all things, which I am to speake. He will search into our schooles, and obiect to our Philosophers their many gifts, their wenchies, and good cheere. Hee will shew mee one in a dulterie, another in a Tauerne, another in Court. He will represent vnto me that merry Greeke, the Philosopher *Ariston*, which was wont to dispute in his Litter, for he had chosen this time to publish his workes. Of whose sect a question being mooued, *Staurus* said vndoubtedly he is no *Peripatetiques*. Of the same man, when a question was mooued to *Iulius Gracinus*, a man of good reckoning, what he thought of him: *I cannot* (saith he) *tell thee, for I know not for what he is proper, for he hath not fixed a firme foote in any degree of Philosophie*; as if hee were to answer from a war-like Chariot. He will cast in my teeth the Montebanckes, which might with more honestie condemne, then sell Philosophy; yet am I resolu'd to suffer his vpbraids. Let him moue me to laughter, happily I will prouoke him to teares; or if he perseuere in his laughter, I will laugh with him, as in a complot sicknelle, because he is fallen into so pleasant a manner of madnesse. But obserue this, this iollitie is not of long continuance. Thou shalt behold such as these for a while laugh very hartly, and in as little while raue most bitterly. I am resolu'd to set on him, and to shew him how farre better he were, when they should esteeme him furelesse. If I cannot wholly cut off his vices, at the least will I restrain them, they shall not cease but intermit, but happily they shall cease also, if they take a custome to intermit. Neither is this to be disliked, because in those that are grievously sicke, a good remission of the sicknesse is taken for heaith. Whilest thus I prepare my selfe for him, see that thou, who canst, and knowest whence thou art escaped, and in what state thou standest, and thereby presumest how farre thou oughtest to attain; gouerne thy manners, raise thy spirit, make head against those things that are to be doubted, and number not those that giue thee cause of feare. If a man should be afraid of a multitude of people gathered together in one place, by which euery one of them, one after another, must haue his passage; wouldest thou not thinke him a foole? Though diuers men threaten thy life, yet diuers cannot attempt after the same manner. The ordinance of Nature is such, that one only may as soone ridde thee of thy life, as one gaue it thee: if thou haddest any shame in thee, thou haddest sent me backe the last quarter of my pension. But lest I behaue my selfe vnwardly in paying the surie of another mans money, I will pay thee that I owe thee. *I would neuer please the people. For those things I know, the people alloweth not, and that which the people alloweth, I know not.* Whole is this, sayest thou? As if thou knewest not whom I command. Is it *Epictetus*? But the very same will all of them declaime vnto thee, from euery house of the *Peripatetiques*, *Academikes*, *Stoikes*, *Cynikes*. For who pleaseth Vertue, that can please the common people: popular fauour is purchased by euill. *Arces*, thou must needs make thy selfe like vnto them. They will not allow thee, except they know thee. But it is farre more expedient that thou take heed to thy selfe, which thou thinkest thy selfe, then either to attend, or intend the opinion of others. The friendship that is borne to dishonest things, cannot be formed, but by dishonest reason. What then; shall this Philosophie, so much esteemed and

preferred

preferred aboue all arts, and other things haue the vpper hand, that is, that rather thou make account to please thy selfe, then to please the people; that thou esteemest the opinions of one iudgement according to their waight, and not according to their number, that thou gouerne thy life without feare, cyther of gods, or of men: & as touching misfortunes, cyther that thou surmount them, or thou end them. But if I shall see thee in credite by common voyce, and fauoured amidst the multitude, if then when thou comest into the Theatre, the acclamations, the applauses, and all the equipage of Players and Mimicks make a brute: if euen to the very women and little children, euery one speaketh well of thee throughout the towne, why should I not haue pittie on thee, knowing what way conducteth thee to this fauour?

EPIST. XXX.

That we ought to be prepared for death, and take courage in it by example of AVFIDIUS BASSVS, who being olde both willingly heareth of the same, and speaketh and proueth it with many reasons, that it is not to be feared. By the way some other things.



Saw that good man *Bassus Aufidius* broken and wrestling with age, but at this present he is so much surcharged therewith, that it is impossible for him to raise himselfe again; age hath throwne himselfe vpon him with his whole waight. Thou knowest very well, that he hath alwayes had a weake, a drie bodie, which hee hath long time continued; or, to speake more properly, repaired and pieced; but in the end it is all at once defeated. Euen as in a leaking Ship a man stoppeth a leake or two, but when it taketh in water on euery side, there is no more means to auoide the same, but that it must needs sink to the bottom: so in a bodie which is olde and crazed, the weakenesse may for a time be relieved and fortified, but when the ioynts fall asunder as an olde building, and as the one is repayed, the other is loosened, there is no other circumspection to be had, but to thinke how a man may get out of it. Yet our *Bassus* hath a good courage, for this Philosophie yeeldeth him: she maketh couragious in all habitudes of the bodie, ioyfull in the presence of death, and not faint, hard in the defiance of life. A good Pilot sailleth although his sailles be rent; and if the tempest hath disarmed him, yet maketh he vse of the rest of his rigging to finish his voyage. The like doth our *Bassus*, and with that minde and countenance beholdeth hee his end, that thou wouldest iudge him to be ouer-firme and resolute, who should in the like sort behold another mans end. This is a great vertue *Lucilius*, and requirerh long time to be learned, to forsake this life with a constant resolution, when that vnauoyleable houre of death shall approach vs. All other kindes of death are intermixed with hope: Sicknesse is healed, fire is extinguished, the ruinous house sometimes softly layeth them on the ground, which it should altogether crush to pieces. He that hath bene swallowed vp with one surge of the Sea, hath bene cast a thoare whole and sound by an opposite billow: the sword which the souldier had aymed to strike, hath bene reuoked by his hand from the very necke of the conquered; but he whom age leadeth vnto death, hath nothing more to hope, onely it is that alone which admitteth no compromise. Men die not more sweetly then after this manner; neyther also in any sort are they longer a dying. Our friend *Bassus* seemeth so to behaue himselfe,

as if he should suruiue himselfe; so great constancie and wisdom sheweth he in this his decadence: for he speaketh much of death, and doth it the more carefully, that if there be eyther in commoditie or feare in this businesse, it is the fault of him that dyeth, not of death; and that there is no more euill in the same, then after the same: and as mad is he, who feareth that which he is to suffer, as he that feareth that which he is not to feele. Can any man thinke that these should come to passe, that a man should feele death, by which we feele nothing? Therefore, saith he, death is not onely out of euill, but out of the feare of all euill. I know very well that such discourses haue bene often had, and must oftentimes be made: but it neuer profited mee so much to reade or heare them; when they that saw the same necer themselves, were farre from danger of those things, which they said should not be feared. But this man had very much credite and authoritie with me, speaking thus of death, whom I saw in himselfe addressed to die. I will freely speake that which I thinke, that he giueth a better testimonie of his vertue and constant minde, that approacheth the confines of death, then he that is in death it selfe, for that it is which giueth heart to the most fearefull, and animateth against that which is ineuitable. So the fearefull and dismayed Fencer during the combate, willingly presenteth his throat vnto his enemy, and if the sword slip aside, himselfe addresth and guideth it with his owne hand. But despise her that giueth vs leisure to see her approach, and is vpon the point to lay hands on vs, there needeth more settled and maturely established constancie, which cannot be but in him that is perfectly wise. I therefore attentively lent eare vnto him, and more willingly heard him how hee sentenced of death, and discoursed on the nature thereof; as one that had eyed her very nigh. More trust and credite, as I thinke, should he haue with thee that were newly reuiued from death, and that being experienced in the same, should shew thee that there were no euill in death. What perturbation the accessse of death bringeth, they can best tell thee that haue more neerely obserued her, that haue both seene her coming, and entertained her being come. Amongst these thou mayest number *Bassus*; who vnwilling and loth to haue vs deceiued, telleth vs that it is as foolish a thing to feare death, as to feare olde age: for euen as age followeth youth, so death followeth age. He would not liue that will not die: for life is giuen with an exception of death, to feare which is as much more foolish, then if a man should feare doubtful things, and attend certaine. Death hath a necessitie equall and inuincible, who can complaine that he is in that estate which no man is not in? for the first part of equitie is equalitie. But now it is a vaine matter to pleade natures cause, which would that our condition should be no other then her owne. She resoluth that which the hath compounded, and whatsoeuer she hath resolved, that compoundeth she againe. Now if it be any mans chance to be gently carried away by age, and not suddenly pulled out of life, but drawne away by minutes, hath he not cause to praise the gods, for sending him after sicetic, a necessarie repose to humanitie, and agreeable vnto his wearinesse. Thou seest some men wishing death, yea with faire greater zeale, then they were accustomed to demand life. I cannot very well tell which of these giues vs more heart, eyther they which demand, or else they which attend death without trouble or tediousnesse; because rage and sudden indignation may be cause of this first affection, whereas this last can be no other thing, then a tranquillitie which proceedeth from discretion and iudgement. Some men may precipitate himselfe into death through despise and choler, but no man entertaineth her with contentment when she cometh.

cometh, but he that is formed by long custome and continuance. I confesse that I haue more often visited this good man, and my great friend, to see if I might alwayes finde him the same, and whether the constancie of his mind decayed not through the feeblenesse of bodie: but contrariwise, I haue alwayes found that it encreased in him, euen as we see the ioy more manifest in those, who after they haue been long time tired to gaine the prize of a course, approach the place where the palme is propoled. Hee said (conforming himselfe to the precepts of *Epicurus*) that first of all he should haue no paine in that last gaspe; or if he had, that he comforted himselfe in this, that it should not be long, because there is no griefe which is long, that is, great: and put the case vpon the same point of the diuision of soule and bodie, if there should fall out any torment; he comforted himselfe with this assurance, that at leastwise after this griefe, there could neuer any more succeed, and that he knew very well, that the soule and life of an old man sticke but a little within his lippes, and with a little breath would be easily seuered. The fire that hath sufficient matter to feed vpon, is extinguished by water, and sometimes by raine; that fire that wanteth fuel, dieth of it selfe. I very willingly giue eare to these things, my *Lucilius*, not as novelties, but such as presently henceforth I must make prooue of. What then? haue I not seene very many that haue abridged the course of their life? I haue seene them, but I esteeme them farre more, which come vnto death without hatred of life, and which draw her not on, but enteraine her. Furthermore he said, that this trembling and feare which wee haue, when wee beleue that death is neere vnto vs, is forged by our selues, and we trauell to tire our selues. For to whom is she not assitant in all places, and at all times? But let vs consider, saith he, when any occasion of death seemeth to approach vs, how many other causes there bee that are more neere, which are not feared at all. Wee should feare death at the hands of our enemy, and in the meane while cruditie, or a cathar cutteth vs short. If we would distinguish the causes of our feare, wee shall finde that they are other then they seeme to be. We feare not the stroke of death, but the thought. For we are not further off her at one time then wee are at another. So if death be to be feared, it is alwayes to be feared, for what time is exempted from death? But I had need to feare, lest thou hate so long Epistles worse then death. I will therefore make an end. But thinke thou alwaies on death, that thou mayest neuer feare her.

EPIST. XXXI.

That both the voyces and iudgements of the common people are to be despised. That the true good is to be sought for, and that is the knowledge of things, by which thou mayest discern truth from falsehood, perishable from durable. He doth illustrate it by examples.

Now doe I acknowledge my *Lucilius*, he beginneth to discover himselfe to be such a one, as he alwayes promised he would bee. Continue then to keepe this course, and follow this tract and seruour of mind, by which in contemning the popular goods, thou embracest those things that are of better condition. I desire not that thou shouldst make thy selfe either more great or better, then thou enduourest to be. Thy foundations haue occupied a great place, onely doe as much

much as thou hast intended to doe, and keepe thy selfe to those things which thou hast already conceived. In summe, thou shalt be wise, if thou knowest well how to close vp thine eares, which it sufficeth not to damme vp with waxe: thou must close stop them after another manner, then *Vissus* did those of his companions. The voice which he feared was sweet and alluring, yet not publike. But that which is to be feared, cometh not from one rocke only, it soundeth from all parts of the earth. Passe therefore speedily, not onely one suspected place of this trayterous pleasure, but all Cities. Be thou deafe vnto those that loue thee most. They with a good intent afford thee euill withes, and if thou wilt be happy, beseech the gods that no one of those things that are wished thee, may fall vpon thee. They are no goods, which they with thou shouldest be replenished with. There is but one good, which is the cause and foundation of a blessed life, to trust a mans selfe. But this cannot happen except labour be contemned, and esteemed in the number of these things, which are neither good nor euill. For it cannot come to passe, that one thing should bee now euill, and straight good; now light and to be suffered, now insupportable, and to be feared. Labour is not good, what then is good? the contempt of labour. I should blame those that are vainly industrious, and to no purpose. Again, such as endeavour after honest things, the more they busie themselves, and the lesse they permit themselves to be overcome and kept at a stand, I shall admire and cry, arise by so much better, and respire and get the top of this cliffe with one breath, if thou canst. Labour nourisheth generous minds. Thou art not therefore, according to that old vow of thy parents, to make choice, what thou wouldst, should befall thee, or what thou shouldest with: and in summe, to a man that hath overpassed already mightie things, it is vnseemely and loathsome as yet to weare the gods. What need thee any vowes? Make thou thy selfe happy, and happy shalt thou make thy selfe, if thou vnderstand that those things are good, which are mixed with verue; euill, which are coupled with malice. Euen as nothing is cleere without the mixture of light, nothing black, but that which hath darkness in it, or hath drawne some obscuritie into it selfe. Euen as without the helpe of fire nothing is hot, nothing without the aire is cold; so the societie of vertue and vice, make things honest, or dishonest. What therefore is good? the knowledge of things: what is euill? the ignorance of things. Hee is a prudent man, and his arts master, that according to the time repelleth or chuseth euery thing. But neither feareth he that which he repelleth, neither admireth he that which he chuseth, if so be his mind be great and inuincible. I forbid thee to submit or suffer thy selfe to be deprest. If thou refuse not labour, it is a little matter, require it. What labour therefore, sayest thou, is fruituous and void? that in to which base causes haue called vs, is not euill no more then that which is employed in worthy actions, because it is onely the patience of the minde, which encourageth it selfe to hard and desperate attempts, and saith: Why fearest thou? It is not a manly part to feare labour: and hereto let that be annexed, that thy vertue may be perfect, namely, an equalitie and tenour of life in euery thing consonant vnto it selfe, which cannot be, except the knowledge of things happen, and Art, by which both diuine and humane things may bee knowen. This is the chiefest good, which if thou possessest, thou beginnest to be a companion, not a suppliant of the gods. But how, sayest thou, may one attaine thereunto? It is not by the *Apennine Alpes*, or the mount *Graius*, neither by the deserts of *Candavia*, neither art thou to passe the *Syrtes* or *Stilla*, or *Cheribdis*, all which thou hast done, for the price of a base pettie government. The way that

that nature hath made and taught thee, is full of securitie and pleasure. Shee hath giuen thee those things, which if thou forsake not, thou shalt be made like vnto God; but equall with God thy money will not make thee. God hath nothing: Thy proud ornaments will not make thee. God is naked: The reputation of men, thy ostentation, and the knowledge of thy name will not make thee. No man knoweth God, diuers men haue a preposterous opinion of him, yet are they vnpunished. The troope of seruitors and slaues which are about thy litter, and that beare thee vpon their armes in field and Citie, cannot likewise serue thee any thing. That mightie and most powerfull God, he it is that carrieth all things. Neither thy beautie or strength likewise can make thee blessed, none of these but is subiect to alteration. Thou art therefore to seeke out that, that is not impaired by any, and that is such a thing, as a man cannot with a better. What is this? a minde: but this right, good, and great. What else wilt thou call this, but a god, dwelling in humane bodie? This mind may fall as well, into a Romane Knight, as a Libertine, or seruant. For these names are forged out of ambition or injury. It is lawfull from the least corner of the world, to leape vp into heauen. Raise thy selfe therefore, and fashion thy selfe worthe of God: but this cannot be made either with gold or siluer. Of such matter as this a man cannot make an Image that resembleth God. Remember that they when they were fauourable vnto vs, their Images were made of earth.

EPIST. XXXII.

He praeseth LVCILIUS his solitude and rettyring. Moreover, he exhorteth that no man should steale away the time, being so short, and slitting. That he contemne also vulgar vowes.

Diligently enquire of thy behaviour, and demand of all those that come from the place where thou dwellest, what thou doest, and where, and with whom thou abidest. Thou canst not deceiue me, I am with thee. Liue thou in that fashion, as if I heard what thou diddest, yea as if I saw thine actions. Thou requirest of me, what delighteth me most, of those things I heare of thee? Truly it is that I heare nothing of thee, and that the most part of those whom I question with about thee, know not what thou doest. It is a wholesome aduice not to conuerse with those which are different from thy nature, and that affect other things then thou doest. I am settled in this hope, that thou canst not be misled, and that thou wilt firmly keepe thy deliberation; although a troope of troublesome men doe haunt round about thee. What is it then? I feare not that they will change thee, but I feare they will hinder thee. But he hurteth very much that delayeth and especially in this life, which is so short, which we abbreviate by inconstancy, giuing it now one beginning, afterwards, and that instantly another. We diuide it, and cut it in peeces. Hasten thee then, my dearest *Lucilius*, and thinke with thy selfe, how much thou shouldest double thy pace, if behind thee thou wert pressed by thine enemy, if thou thoughtest the horse-man pursued thee, and traced after the foot-steps of those that fled. Thou art at that point, thou art chased, hasten thee, and escape: bring thy selfe into a place of securitie; and then incontinently after consider, how worthy a thing it is to consummate a mans life, before death, then to expect securitie in the remainder part of his

time placed in the possession of a blessed life, which is not made more blessed if longer. O when shalt thou see that time, wherein thou knowest that time appertaineth not vnto thee, wherein thou shalt be peaceable and contented, and neglectfull of to morrow, and in chiefest facierie of thy selfe? Wilt thou know what it is that maketh men greedie of that which is to come? No man is for himselfe: thy father and mother haue witheld thee diuers things; but contrariwise, I with thee the contempt of all those things, whereof they would haue thee enioy the affluence. Their vowes spoyle manie to enrich thee: whatsoeuer they transfere vnto thee, is to be extorted from another. My desire is, that thou shouldst dispose of thy selfe, that thy spirit being assailed with incertaine fantasies should resist them, and be settled, that it should please it selfe, and vnderstanding true goods, which are possessed as soon as they are known, should need no adiection of age. Finally, he hath ouer-gone his necessities, and is discharged and free, who liueth when his life is done.

EPIST. XXXIII.

He denieth that sentences or short lessons should be gathered from the Stoicks: first, because all things are replenished and full of such things; againe, because it is vnseemly to speake alwayes by authoritie. Let vs make them ours, and preferre them in our life.



Hou desirest in these Epistles also, as in the former, that I set down certain sentences of our Masters. They were not much occupied about the flowers of discourse: all their maner of speech was substantiall and manly: know thou that inequalitye is there, where those things that are eminent are notable. No man admireth one tree, when as all the wood is growne to the same height. With these and such like sentences, all Poems and Histories are stuffed. I will not therefore haue thee thinke that they are of *Epicurus*: they are vulgar, and especially mine owne. But in that are they most noted, because they seldom occurre, because vnexpressed, because it is a wonder that any thing should be constantly spoken by a man that professeth delicacie: for so doe diuers men iudge; but in my opinion *Epicurus* is valiant, although offensively dressed. Fortitude and industrie, and a minde addressed to warre, as well lodgeth in a Persian as a high-girt Roman. Thou must not therefore exact at my handes choyce and well digested stuffe, that is continuall amongst our Masters, which amongst others is selected. We vent not therefore these eye-pleasing and odoriferous wares, neyther deceiue we our Merchant, like to finde nothing when he entreteth, besides those which are hanged vp in the front for a show. We permit them to take their patterne from whence they please. Thinkest thou that I will take out of the whole Map the particular sentences of any? To whom shall I assigne them, to *Zeno*, or *Cleanthes*, or *Chrysippus*, or *Panatus*, or *Pesidonius*? We are not vnder a King; euery one maintaineth himselfe in his owne libertie: with them whatsoeuer *Hermachus* saith, whatsoeuer *Metrodorus*, it is referred to one. All whatsoeuer any man hath spoken in that companie, is spoken by authoritie, and directions of one alone. We cannot, I tell thee, although we attempt that out of so great abundance of equall things, bring forth any thing:

It is a poore mans part to count his stocke.

Where-

Where soeuer thou fixell thine eye, thou shalt meete with that which might be eminent, vnlesse it were read amongst others of equall worthinesse: for which cause lay apart this hope, which flattereth thee with the possibilitie, that thou mayest summarily conceiue the choycest things, which the greatest spirits haue conceited. They are intirely to be looked over, & wholly to be discusled. When a man doth any thing he intendeth the same, and by the proiect of his spirit the worke is compiled, of which a man can dismember nothing without the ruine of the whole. I denie thee not but that thou mayest consider euery member one after another, provided it be in a man that hath them. The woman is not faire whose legges or arme is praised, but thee whose full representation is cause that a man admireth not her parts; yet if thou exact the same; I will not deale so niggardly with thee as I make shew for, but with a full hand. There is a huge companie of them that lie scattered here and there: they are to be taken, but not gathered; for they fall not, but flow perpetually, and are tyed together amongst themselves: neyther doubt I but that they will profite those who are as yet rude, and yeeld but a superficiall attention. For those things that are circumscribed and moulded after the manner of a verse, are more easily remembered. Therefore giue we children certaine sentences to commit to memorie, and those which the Grecians call *Chries*, because a childish wit can comprehend them, being as yet vncapable of a more certaine and solid science. A complete man hath no honour to gather nose-gayes, to stay himselfe and build on certaine vsuall or few wordes, and to trust vnto his memorie, hee ought to trust himselfe. Let him speake these but not retaineth them: for it is a base thing for an olde man, or such a one as is steeped in yeares to be wise in nothing but his note-booke. This said *Zeno*, what sayest thou? This *Cleanthes*, but what thou? How long art thou directed by others? both command and say, what shall be committed to memorie, and produce somewhat of thine owne. I thinke therefore that these neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid vnder the shadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer dared to publish that which they had learned in long space of time, but haue exercised their memorie on other mens labours. It is one thing to remember, another thing to know: to remember is to keepe a thing in memorie which is committed; but contrariwise, to know is to make euery thing his owne, neyther to hang on examples, and so oftentimes to looke backe to his Master. This saith *Zeno*, that *Cleanthes*: make some difference betwixt thee and thy booke; how long wilt thou be a learner? At last employ thy selfe to teach others: what profiteth it me to heare that I may read? The liuing voyce, faith hee, doth much; not that which is recommended by another mans wordes, and serueth but in head of a Register. Adde hereunto now, that they who are neuer their owne Masters, first in that thing doe follow their ancestors, wherein no man hath not reuoked from the former. Again, they follow them in that, which is yet in question: and it will neuer be found, if we shall be content with those things that are found. Morcouer, he that followeth another man hath found nothing, and which is worse, he seeketh nothing. What then? Shall I not follow the steps of mine ancestors? Truly I will keepe the olde wayes: but if I finde out one more short, I will take it and maintaine it. They that before vs haue managed these things, were not our Lords; but our guides. Truth is open vnto all men: she is not as yet boried away all; there is much of her left for posteritie to finde out.

V 3

EPIST.

see an old man at his *Abec*. The yong man must get, and the old man enjoy. Thou shalt therefore doe a thing profitable for thy selfe, if thou makest him a good man, we ought to seeke to giue thee presents, where it is as much expedient to giue as to receiue. Finally, since he hath alreadie promised very much of himselfe, it concerneth him to continue. For it is lesse absurd to play the banquerout with a mans creditour, then with good hope. To pay this debt of anothers: hee that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie nauigation: hee that tilleth the field, of a fertile soile and a fauourable climate, he onely with a good wil may testifie that which he oweth. Fortune hath no power ouer maners. Let him dispose these in such sort, that that most quiet mind of his may come to perfection, which feeleth nothing taken from him, neither added to him, but remaineth in the same state, whatsoeuer casualties befall him: who, if common fortunes be heaped on him, is eminent aboue his meanes, or if any of these things, or all by fortune are taken from him, is no wayes lessened by his misery. If he were borne in *Parthia*, he would presently bend his bow, being an infant, if in *Germany* he were a very infant, he would shake his tender speare. If he had liued in the time of our ancestors, he had learned to ride, and to combat with the enemie hand to hand. These are the things which the discipline of the Countrey teacheth and commandeth euery one. What is it then that this man ought to learne? That which is prooue against all offensive armes, and all sorts of enemies, is the contempt of death. For it is not to bee doubted, but that it hath in it selfe something terrible, that may offend our mindes (which Nature hath formed in loue of her selfe) neither also should it be needfull for him to adresse and accustom himselfe to that, whereunto our naturall inclination sufficiently disposeth vs, as is the desire to conserue a mans selfe. No man learneth to haue power, if need so required, to lye sweetly and softly amongst the roses: but to this he accustomed not to submit his faith and honour to torments, but to keepe watch in the trenches standing, yea sometimes wounded: neither leaning to the dart, because in the interim sleepe seemeth to steale on those that leane to any stay. Death hath no incommodie, for there must bee some thing, whereby the would be indemnified. And if thou hast so great a desire of prolonging thy life, consider that none of these things that lye before our eyes, and hide themselves in the bosome of Nature, from which once they are parted, and shall againe depart, is not consumed. They cease, but perish not, and the death which we feare and refuse, onely intermitcheth life, but rauisheth it not. A day will come that shall restore vs once more to light, which happily diuers would refuse, except it reduced those that are forgotten. But hereafter I will shew more exactly, if all things which seeme to perish are changed: he therefore that must returne, ought not to be grieved to depart. Obserue the circle of things that returne into themselves, thou shalt see that nothing is extinguished in this world, but that all things descend and mount againe by changes. The Summer departeth, but another yeare bringeth it againe. The Winter passeth, but yet hath he his moneths to bring him backe againe. The night concealeth the Sunne, and presently the day driueth this away. This course of the Starres returneth backe againe to the place where first they began, and which they passed ouer. A part of the heauen is continually rising, and a part setting. To conclude, after I haue annexed this one thing, I will make an end, neither infants nor children or madde men feare death. It were therefore more then an abiect error in vs, if reason should not afford vs that securitie, whereunto folly animates vs.

EPIST.

EPIST. XXXVII.

That wee ought to perseuere in the way and warfare of wisdome: on her dependeth health, felicitie, and libertie. That wee may obtaine, and ouercome the same by the conduct of warre.



That which is the greatest obligation to prepare a man to a good minde, thou hast promised to be a good man, and by oath thou hast confirmed it. If any man tell thee that a fouldiers profession is delicate and facile, he deceiueth thee; I will not haue thee deceived. The forme of that honorable oath, and of that other so dishonorable are in the same termes, that is, *To be burnt, bound, and slaine with the sword*. To those that gaue their hands to hire vpon the sands of the Theater, that eat and drink that which they ought to pay with the price of their bloods, it is couenanted with them that they suffer these things against their willes: from thee it is expected, that thou willingly and freely suffer the same. To them it is permitted to lay downe their weapons, and to implore the mercie of the people. Thou shalt neither submit thy selfe, nor beg for thy life, it is thy part to die constantly, and with an inuincible minde. But what profiteth it to gaine a few dayes or yeares? We come into this world without releasement. How then, sayest thou, may I acquite my selfe? Thou canst not auoide necessities, but thou mayest ouercome them. Make thy way, and *Philosophie* shall giue it thee; to her haue thy recourse, if thou wilt be safe, if secure, if blessed, and finally (which is aboue all) if thou desirest to be free. This cannot otherwise happen. Folly is a base abiect, sordide, and a seruile thing, subiect to many, and they most cruel affections. Wisdome which is the sole libertie, dismisseth those rude masters, which sometimes command by course, and sometimes are together. There is but one way to attaine thereunto, and certainly it is the right way: thou canst not wander out of it, march boldly, if thou wilt make all things subiect vnto thee, subiect thy selfe to reason; thou shalt gouerne many; if thou be gouerned by reason. Thou shalt learne of her, how and to whom thou shalt adresse thy selfe. Thou shalt not be surprised in affaires. Thou shalt not bring me any man that knoweth how he began to will that which he willeth. He is not inuited thereunto by mature deliberation, but it is an enforcement that driueth him thereunto. Fortune oftentimes doth no lesse baunt vs, then we hunt after her. It is a base thing, not to goe, but to be carried perforce, and suddenly (being altogether amazed amidst the storme of affaires) to aske; How came I hither.

EPIST. XXXVIII.

That precepts are oftentimes more profitable to wisdome then disputes. That they doe steale vpon the minde, and doe fructifie and spend themselves after the manner of seeds.



One without cause requirest thou, that we frequent this commerce of Epistles betwixt thee and me. The discourse profiteth much, that by little and little stealeth into the minde. The disputes which a man is adressed to vent in the cares of the ardent multitude, haue brute enough and lesse priuacie. *Philosophie* is good

good counsell. No man giueth counsell with clamour, yet must we sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced. But where this is not to be effected, to inkindle a will in man to learne; but that in good earnest hee learneth, it is good to vse these more submissiue speeches. They enter more sweetly; but they continue, for there neede not many, but such as are effectuell. We ought to spread them as seede, which although it be little, dilaterh his forces, when it fallerh into a good soile; and of so little as it is, it extendeth it selfe into great and meruillous great encrease. The like doth speech, it hath no extent, if thou looke into it, it encreaseh in the worke. They are few things which are spoken, but if the minde entertaine them well, they fructificand encrease in themselves. The same I tell thee is the condition of precepts, as of seeds, they effect much, although they be short but as I haue said; let a minde well disposed and settled, draw them to it selfe. Her selfe will profit very much at her time, and shall restore more then it hath received.

EPIST. XXXIX.

That diuers, and they diuersly haue written in Philosophy. That we ought to be stirred up, and enkindled by example. That Nature hath this scope to call vs to high things, in which there is no plebeian felicitie, neither pleasure, because they are either fraille or hurtfull.

THe Commentaries thou demandest at my hands carefully disposed and reduced into an abridgement, I will truly compose. But see whether an ordinarie Oration be not more profitable, then this which is now commonly called a *Breniarie*, and in times past when we spake Latine, a *Summarie*. The one is more, necessarie for him that learneth, the other for him that vnderstandeth; the one teacheth, the other remembreth. But of both these I will reconcile both the one and the other. It needeth not now that thou exact at my hands, either this or that authoritie. He is vnkowne that brings his Proctor with him. I will write what thou wilt; but after mine owne manner. In the meane time thou hast many, whose writings I know not whether they be sufficiently digested or no. Take in hand the list of the *Philosophers*. This very sight will compell thee to rouse thy selfe, and if thou seekest how many haue laboured for thee, thou thy selfe likewise wilt desire to be one of them. For a generous minde hath this excellent impression in it, that it is inkindled and incited to honest things. There is no nobly minded man, that is delighted with base and contemptible things: he only seeketh after, and extolleth those things, which make shew of greatnes and worthines. Euen as the flame directly mounteth vpward, neither may be diuerted nor depressed, or lose his actiuitie: so is our spirit in continuall motion, by so much the more stirring and actiue, by how much it is more vehement and mightie. But happie is he that hath employed the viuacitie hereof in matters of better estimate: he shall settle himselfe in a place exempted from Fortunes command or iniuridiction: his felicitie he shall temper, his aduersities conquer, and contemne those things that draw other men to admiration. It is the effect of a great minde to contemne great things, and rather to affect the meane, then bee infected with excessse. For these are profitable and permanent, the other

hurtfull,

hurtfull, because superfluous. So too great fertility layeth the corne, so boughes over-loaden are broken, so too much fruitfulness neuer endeth in maturitie. The like also befallerh those mindes that are broken, and corrupt with immoderate felicitie, because they are not onely employed to other mens iniurie, but also to their owne. What enimie so outrageous against any man, as is some mens voluptuousnesse against themselves? whose impotencie and mad lust thou mayest pardon for this one reason, because they suffer that which they offended in. Neither vnderstandest thou this furie vexeth them; for it is necessarie, that desire should extend it selfe aboue measure, that hath falsified the medicrie of nature: for naturall affection hath his end, but vaine things, and such as spring from an excesssue lust, are interminable. Profit measureth things necessarie; how wilt thou confine superfluities? They therefore drowne themselves in pleasures, which they cannot shake off, in that they are brought into a custome; and for this cause are they most miserable, because they are growne vnto those termes, that those things which were superfluous vnto them, are made necessarie; they therefore sicke their pleasures, and enioy them not, and loue their owne mischiefe, which is the worst of all mischiefs. And then is infelicitie consummat, whereas such things as are dishonest, not onely doe delight, but also please: and then is the remedy hopelesse, where such things as were dishonest, are reputed for common custome.

EPIST. XL.

He exhorteth to write, because in it is the Image of the minde. Then of SERAPIONS prompt and profuse speech, which he allegeth to be vndecent for a Philosopher. A graue and slowe speech entreteth and descendeth farther.

IN that thou writest often vnto me, I thanke thee; for by that onely means which thou canst, thou shewest thy selfe vnto me. I neuer receiue thy Epistle, but that forthwith we are together. If the pictures of our absent friends be pleasing vnto vs, which renew their memorie, and by a false and fained solace do lighten the grieft of their absence; how much more pleasing are letters, which set before our eyes the true trace & liuely picture of our absent friends? For that which giueth vs an vnspokeable content, the hand of a friend that writeth a letter vnto vs, causeth vs to feele. Thou writest vnto me, that thou heardest *Serapion* the Philosopher, when he arrived in those parts, and how it was his custome in discoursing to huddle vp his wordes with great volubilitie, which he powreth not out together, but smothereth and foreteth: for more is vtered then one voyce can articulate. This allow I not in a Philosopher, whose pronounciation, as his life, ought to be composed. But nothing is well ordered that is precipitate and hastic. For this cause that running and continuall discourse in *Homer* that fallerh incessantly like snow, is properly attributed to the Orator; where that which is more slow, & sweeter the honey floweth from an olde man. Resolue therefore on this, that this violent and abundant vigor of discourse, is more fitt for a jester or Mountebank; then him that debateth on a graue and serious subject, or such a one that will teach another man. Neyther will I that the discourse be too headlong, neyther too dreaming, neyther such as may suspend attention, or confound the heareing. For that defect & imbecillitie of speech maketh the auditor lesse attentive,

rue,

ture, by reason of the disgust of interrupted slownesse: yet is that more easily imprinted in memorie which is expected, then that which passeth away slightly. Furthermore men are said to giue precepts to those will learne: it is not given, that sleeth. Adde hereunto now, that the discourse which serueth to manifest truth, ought to be simple and without flourish. This popular discourse, hath no truth in it, it tenderth onely to moue the people, & is forcible to rauish inconsiderate cares, it admitteth no moderation, but suffereth it selfe to be carried away. But how can it gouerne, which cannot be gouerned? Finally, what should a man thinke of that discoule, which serueth to heale the infirmities of the spirit, except it should search and descend into vs? Medicines cure not except they be digested: moreover, it hath much lightnesse and vanity in it, and hath more report then reckoning in it. The things that terrifie me must be lenified, which prouoke me must be pacified, that deceiue me must be shaken off: lecherie must be restrained, couetousnesse repressed; what one of these things can be done suddenly? What Philitian cureth his Patients by only passing by them? What profiteeth this noyce of headlong and vnchosen wordes, which yeeld not a shadow of any pleasure? But euen as it is sufficient to know diuers things, which thou wouldst not beleue they could be done, so is it sufficient to heare them once, that haue exercised themselves in this manner of discourse. For what can a man learne, or what will he imitate, or what can he iudge of their minds whose speech is confused and huddled, and cannot be restrayned? Euen as they that runne from a sleepe hill, stay not themselves in that place where their intention was, but are borne downe swiftly by the waight of their bodies, and transported further then they would: so this viuacitie and celerite of speech, cannot command it selfe, neyther is it sufficiently becoming Philosophie, which ought to employ wordes, and not to cast them away, but by little and little to aduance it selfe. What then? Shall it not sometimes swell also? Why not, provided that the honestie of maners be not interceded; which is not deprived by maine force and minicke impetuositie of wordes? Let her haue great force but moderate. The water must haue a continuall course, but not rauishing. I scarcely will permit an Orator to haue such swiftnesse in discourse so irremouable, and boundles: for how can a Iudge follow the list of his discourse, especially if it be impertinent and rude, if hee suffer himselfe at that time to be borne away by ostentation, or such a passion as he cannot master? Let him in such sort make halt, and infer that his auditories attention may be able to conceiue. Thou shalt therefore do well, if thou visite them not who seeke how much, and not what they speake. And if it happen that thou art to make an Oration, then make thy choyce to speake after the maner of *Publius Vinicius*, of whom it being on a time demanded, how he discoursed? *Astilius* answered continually: for *Geminus Varius* had said, I know not how you call this man an eloquent man, hee cannot couple three words together. Why haddest thou not rather say so as *Venicius* did? Let some foole come hither, and when he shall see him dreame out his wordes one after another, as if he dictated and not discoursed, bid him *Speake or neuer speake*. My opinion is, that the forme of halting speech, which in that time the famous Orator *Hartorius* vsed, ought to be reiected by men of vnderstanding: hee neuer doubted, he neuer intermitted, he began and ended after the same manner: yet thinke I, that some things are more or lesse conuenient for people of different nations. Amongst the Greekes this licence were to be borne withall, and we also when we write, are wont to point euery word. And now *Cicero* also from whom Roman eloquence gathered excellency, was temperate in his discourse.

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The Roman tongue ouerlooketh all, and will be both respected and courted. *Fabianus* is a worthy man both in life and science (and that is least of these) in eloquence also, disputed more quickly then vehemently, so as it might be said, that it was a facilitie, and not a celeritie. This admit I in a wise-man: I exact not that his speech be deliuered without impediment, rather had I it should be pronounced then lausied. And the more doe I deterre thee from this sicknesse, because this thing cannot otherwise befall thee, then by ceasing to haue modestie. Thou mayest rubbe thy brow, and not heare thy selfe: for this vnaquised course will draw on many things, which thou wouldst not let slip without reprehension. These things I tell thee cannot happen vnto thee without prejudice of thy modestie: Besides, thou haddest neede of daily exercise, and thy studie is to be transferred from matters to words: and these also, although they flowe with thee, and may runne fluent without any labor of thine, yet are they to be tempered: for euen as a modest gate becommeth a wise-man, so doth a setled and not extrauagant discourse. The totall summe then of this account shall be this, I enioyne thee to be slowe in speech.

EPIST. XL I.

Oh excellent and deep Epistle! That God dwelleth in vs, and that a good man is nothing without him. Let vs honour him, and the minde that descendeth from him. In him are our peculiar and proper goods, all other are forraine. But the thing that is good is perfect reason.

THOU doest a worthie thing, and profitable to thy selfe, if, as thou writest, thou perseuerest to obtaine a good minde. How fond is it to wish the same, when as it dependeth on thine owne will? Thy hands are not to be lifted vp to heauen, neyther is the Pre-late to be intreated, to admit thee to the cares of an Image, that thou mightest bee the better heard: God is neere vnto thee, hee is with thee, hee is within thee. Thus tell I thee, *Lucilius*: A sacred spirit is resident in vs, an obseruer and guardian both of our good and euils: he in like manner as we intreat him, so handleth he vs. There is no good man but hath a God within him. May any man insult ouer fortune, except he be assisted by him? he is that giueth the noblest and most vpright counsailes. In euery good man (but what God it is vncertaine) God inhabiteth. If happily thou light into a thicke groue, full of auncient trees, and such as exceede the common height, shewing the sight of heauen from thee, through the thickenesse of boughes coupling one another; that height of the wood, and secrecie of the place, and the admiration of the shadow, so thicke and continuante in the open skie, will perlwade thee there is some diuine presence. And if a Cave ouer-hangeth a Mountaine, eaten out of the Rocks, not made by handes, but hollowed by natural causes into such a concavity, it will strike thy mind with a certaine conceit of Religion. We adore the head-springs of great riuers. A suddaine eruption of a vast riuier out of the depth hath alters. The fountains of warme waters are honoured, and the shadow or huge depth of some standing pool hath sacred it. If thou behold a man that is dreads of perills, vntouched with desires, happy in his afflictions, pacified in midst of tempests, beholding men from a high place, the gods from an equal; wilt thou not grow into a certaine veneration

X

of

of him? Wilt thou not say this is a greater and more high thing, then that it might be trusted to so little a bodie as it inhabiteth? The diuine power descendeth hither. This excellent and moderate minde, ouerpassing all things as if abiect, laughing at whatsoeuer we eyther feare or hope is inkindled by a celestiall power. So great a thing cannot consist without the helpe of a God. Therefore as touching the greatest part of him, he is there from whence he descended. Euen as the Sunne beames doe in a manner touch the earth, but remaine there from whence they are sent; so a great and sacred minde, and to this end humbled, that he may more neerely apprehend diuine things is conuerfant in vs, but cleaueth to his originall. Thereon it dependeth, thereat it ay meth, and thereto it endeouoreth, to vs it appertaineth, as the better part. What a one therefore is this? a minde that dependeth on no other good but his owne. For what is more foolish then to praise that in a man which is forraigne to him? And what more mad then that man, that admireth those things, which may immediately be transferred vnto another man? The golden raynes make not the horse the better. In one fort doth the golden crested Lion subiect himselfe whilst he is handled, and is compelled (being ouer-wearied) patiently to receiue his ornaments; in another fort such a one as is generous and vntamed. This being sharp in his assault, such a nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulness, whose comelines is in this, not to be beheld without feare, is preferred before that faint and trapped one: no man ought to glorie but in that which is his owne. We praise the Vine if he loadeth her branches with fruit, if he beareth down her vnder-props vnto the ground, by reason of the waight of those branches she beareth. Will any man preferre that Vine before this, that hath golden grapes and golden leaues hanging from it? The proper vertue in the Vine is fertilitie: in a man also that is to be praised which is his own. He hath a faire traine, a goodly house, he soweth much, he makes much by vsurie; none of these things is in him but about him. Praise that in him, which neyther may be taken away, nor giuen, which is properly a mans. Askest thou what it is? The minde, and perfect reason in the minde. For man is a reasonable creature; his good therefore is consummate, if he hath fulfilled that to which he was borne. But what is that which this reason exacteth at his handes? An easie matter; to liue according to his nature: but common madnesse maketh this thing difficult. We thrust one another into vices, but how may they be recalled vnto health, whom no man restraineth, and the people thrusteth on.

EPIST. XLII.

That we are not suddenly to giue credite or iudgement of a good man, because it is a matter of much moment. That some make few, others dissemble; not unlikely to proue euill, if occasion be offered. He teacheth this by a certaine mans example. Then, that we are not to labour in externall things, which haue incommodities, or false commodities in them.

This man hath alreadie perswaded thee, that he is a good man, and yet a good man may not so soone eyther be made or vnderstood: Knowest thou now whom I terme a good man? Him who is ordinarily so reputed: for that other happily like another *Phoenix* is borne once in fiew hundred years: neyther is it to be wondred at, that great and rare things are in long continuance and space of time begotten.

ten. Fortune often times produceth meane things, such are borne in troupes; but such things as are excellent she commendeth in their raritie. But this man as yet is very farre from that which he professeth; and if he knew what a good man were, he would not as yet beleue himselfe to be one, and happily also hee would despair that he might be one. But he thinketh ill of the euill, and this doth the euill also: neyther is there any greater punishment of wickednesse, then that it displeaseth both himselfe and his. But hee hateth those that importunely vse a sudden and great power: the same will hee doe when he can the same. Diuers mens vices lie hidden because they are weake, addressed notwithstanding to attempt, and dare as much as they whom felicitie hath discovered, as soone as they may haue any assurance of their forces. They want the instruments to expresse their malice. So may a venomous serpent likewise be safely handled whilst he is stiffe with cold, not that he wanteth his venom, but because they are benumbed. The cruelty, ambition, and intemperance of diuers men would attempt as bad offices as the basest men, if fortune stayled them not, giue them onely the power as much as they list, thou shalt easily perceiue their will. Dost thou not remember, that when thou toldest me, that thou haddest such a man in thy power, that I answered thee, that he was vnconstant and variable, and that thou heldst him not by the foote but by the thier? I tolde thee a lie? He was held by a feather, which he shaked off and fled. Thou knowest verie well what Tragedies he afterwards excited, and how many things he attempted, which in all likelihood at last were to fall on his owne head: he perceived not how by other mens perils hee came headlong into his owne, hee thought not how burthenfom the things were which he asked, although they were not superfluous. This therefore in those things which we affect, and for which we trauell; for with great labour we ought to obserue and looke into, eyther that there is no commoditie in them; or else more incommodie. Some things are superfluous, some are not of so much esteeme; but these things wee foresee not, and those things that cost vs most dearly, seeme vnto vs to be giuen for nothing. Herein although our stupiditie be most apparant, that we onely thinke those things to be bought, for which we pay our money, and those things we call gratuitall, for which we sell and giue our selues; which we would not buy if it should cost vs one of our houses, if wee should redeeme the same with som fruitfull and pleasant possession: to these are we most ready to attaine with much care, with perill, with hazard of our modesties, libertie, and time; so is there nothing more abiect and contemptible to euerie man then himselfe. Let vs therefore in all our counsailes and affaires doe that which we are wont to doe: as often as we goe to the Merchant of any ware to buy, let vs see and examine that which we desire, and know the price thereof. That often-times is highest prized for which no price is giuen. I can shew thee many things, which being gotten and possessed, haue extorted our liberty from vs: we should be our owne if these were not ours. I thinke therefore very carefully vpon these things, not onely where there shall be question of gain, but also of losse: is this perillable? for it was casual; thou shalt as easily liue without this as thou liuest before. If thou hast had it long, thou lovest it after thou art glutted therewith: if but a little while, thou lovest it before thou haddest the true taste and vse therefore. If thou haue lesse money, thy trouble shall be the lesse; if lesse fauour, thou shalt haue lesse enuie also. Look into all these things which enrage vs, and which we lose with many teares, and thou shalt know that the opinion of the damage, and not the damage it selfe is troublesome vnto vs, no man

feeleth but apprehendeth that these are lost. He that hath himselfe hath lost nothing; but how many haue had the hap to possesse themselves?

EPIST. XLIII.

That he doth, lies not hidden, but that rumour publisheth all things. Therefore so line (saith he) as if thou liuedst in publike. What if thou be hid also? Thy minde knoweth and seeth.



Hou desirest to know how these newes came to mine eares, who it was that tolde me that thy thought was thus, whereas thou haddest dislofed it to no man liuing: he that knoweth the most, rumor. What then (sayest thou) am I so great that I can excite a rumor? Thou art not to measure thy selfe in regard of this place where I bide, but respect thou that wherein thou liuest: whatsoeuer is eminent amidst the places neere vnto thee, is great in that place where it is eminent. For greatnes hath no certaine measure; comparision cyther extingwileth or depreffeth it. The Ship which is great in the Riuer, is little in the Sea: the helme that to one ship is great, to another is little. Now in that Province where thou liuest thou art great, although thou contemnethy selfe. It is both inquired of and knowne, both how thou suppest and how thou sleepest. So much the more oughtest thou to be more circumspect in thy carriage. Then iudge thy selfe happie when thou canst liue publiquely, when as thy rooke and walles may couer and not hide thee; which for the most part wee iudge to be builded about vs, not to the intent we may liue more safely, but to the end we may sinne more secretly. I will tell thee a thing by which thou mayest estimate our maners, thou shalt scarcely find any man that can liue with an open doore. Our confidence, and not our arrogance hath set a guard at our gates: so liue we that we esteeme a sudden espiall to be an actuall surprisall. But what profiteth it a man to hide himselfe, and to haue both the eyes and eares of men? A good confidence challengeth the whole world, an euill is alwayes doubtfull and carefull, yea euen in the desert. If thine actions be honest, let all men know them: if dishonest, what skilleth it if no man know them, so thou know them thy selfe? O wretch that thou art, if thou contemnest this witnesse.

EPIST. XLIIII.

An excellent Epistle. Let no man contemne himselfe for his basenesse of birth, if hee cometh vnto wisdom, that is, to vertue. This onely enobleth.



Nee againe thou playest the coward with me, and sayest that nature first; and after her, fortune haue bene contrarie and vnkind toward thee, whereas thou mayest exempt thy selfe from the common sort, and obtaine the most high felicitie that may befall men. Ifought else be good in Philosophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or descent. If all men be reuoked to their first originall they are of the gods. Thou art a Romane Knight, and to this order thine industrie hath aduanced thee: but vndoubtedly there are diuers to whom the four-

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teene degrees are closed. The Court admitteth not all men, The Campe-like wife cannot without trouble, make choyse of those whom they entertaine for labour and trauell. A good spirit and intention is open to all men, to this we are all noble, neyther dooth Philosophie reiect or elect any man, but openeth vnto all. Socrates was no Patriian: Cleombes drew water, and employed his handes in watering his Garden. Philosophie intainted Plag, not so thoroughly nobles he made him. And what cause hast thou to despaire, but that thou mayest be like vnto these? All these were thine auncelors, if thou behauest thy selfe worthy of them: and so shalt thou behaue and carrie thy selfe, if thou incontinently perswade thy selfe that no man can out-strip thee in Nobilitie. There are before vs as many as we are, and the originall of all very farre surpasseth our memorie. Plato saith that there is not any King that is not descended of a slave, & that there is not any slave which is not descended from Kings. All these things hath long varietie mingled together, and fortune hath turned topsie-turvie: Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well composed by nature vnto vertue. This onely is to be expected, otherwise if thou recallest mee to antiquitie, no man is not but from thence, before which nothing is. From the first beginning of this world vnto this day, the line of alteration hath deriued vs from noble to villeinies. It maketh not a Noble-man to haue his Court full of smoake Images: no man liued for our glorie, neyther is that which was before vs, ours: The minde maketh the Noble-man, which from how base condition soeuer, enobleth vs to rise aboue fortune. Thinke thy selfe therefore that thou art no Roman Knight, but a libertine. Thou mayest attaine this, that thou alone mayest be free amongst libertines. But how sayest thou, if thou distinguish not good and euill by the peoples iudgements? We must regard, not whence they come, but whether they goe. For if there be any thing may make the life happie, it is absolutely good, because it may not be depraued or turned into euill: what is it then wherein we erre? In this, that all who affect a happy life, take the instruments thereof for the thing it selfe; and whilst they seeke the same, flie the same: for whereas solid securitie is the scope of a blessed life, and the vnshaken confidence thereof, they gather the causes of sollicitude, and by a dangerous journey they not only beare, but draw the burthens of life. Thus alwayes recoyle they farre from the effect of that they seeke, and the more labour they employ, the more are they intangled, and carried backward, which happeneth to those that haste them in a labyrinth, their very speed intangleth them.

EPIST. XLV.

That not many, but good bookes are necessarie to obtaine wisdom. That the ancient vaine wrote some things superfluous, some subtilly. Then against Cauillers and mislaking of words. The matter, and the difference thereof is to be sought for. Who is blessed, and what is truly good?



Hou complaineest thee of the want of bookes in those parts where thou bidest. It skilleth not how many, but how good thou hast, a certain reading profiteth, & that which is full of varietie delighteth. He that will attaine to his predestinated scope, let him follow one way, and not wander in many, for this is not to go, but to erre. I had rather, sayest thou, that thou gauest me bookes, then counsell, and

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for mine owne part, I am readie to send thee wholly, if I haue, and to voidé my whole store, and I would transport my selfe vnto those parts, if it were possible, and had I not a hope, that very shortly I should accomplish and set an end to this endeour, I had vnderaken the iorney in these mine old yeares, neither might *Charibdis*, *Scylla*, and this fabulous sea affright me. I had not onely failed, but swomme ouer these seas, so as I might embrace thee, and being present with thee, estimated, how much thou wert encreased in thy courage. And whereas thou desirest, that my bookes should bee sent vnto thee, I esteeme my selfe no more eloquent, for that then I would account my selfe faire, if so be thou should require my picture of me. I know that this proceedeth from thy goodwill towards mee, and not from thy iudgement, and that affection hath entangled and deceived thee, and not thy iudgement. But whatsoeuer they be, see thou reade them in such sort, as if as yet thou sought the truth, but knew it not, but peremptorily sought it. For I haue not seuerely tied my selfe to any, I beare the name of no man, I ascribe much to the iudgement of great men, and challenge something to my selfe. For they also leir vs not things onely found by them, but also those which remaine to be found, and peradventure they had found out things necessarie, had they not sought after the superfluous. The cauillation of words, and captious disputations, which exercise a vaine braine, stole much time from them. We weaue knots, and tie ambiguous signification to words, and then dissolue them. Haue we so much leasure? Know wee now how to liue, and how to die? Thither with all our mindes are we to adresse our selues, where prouision may be taken, that the things themselues may deceiue vs, and not the words. Why distinguishest thou vnto me the similitudes of words, wherewith no man is euer caught, but when he disputeth, the things themselues deceiue vs, discern them: we embrace euill things in stead of good, we with contrarie to that we haue wished, our vowes impugne our vowes, our counsels our counsels. How much doth flattery resemble friendship? It doth not onely imitate the same, but it ouercumeth and outstrippeth it: it is received with open and fauourable cares, and descendeth into the inward heart, gracious in that wherein it hurteth. Teach me how I may know this similitude. There comes vnto me, in stead of a friend, a flattering enemy. Vices creepe vpon vs vnder pretext of vertues; temeritie lies hidden vnder the name of fortitude: moderation is called sloth, a warie man is accounted fearefull. In those things we erre with great danger; imprint certaine notes on these to make them knowne. But he that is demanded whether he hath hornes, is not so foolish to rub his brow; neither againe so foolish and beetle-headed, that he is ignorant that he hath none of those hornes, which thou wouldst perswade him to haue by a subtill collection of arguments. But these deceiue without damage; in such manner as the boxes and lots of the Iuglers, in which the very deceit is a delight. Bring to passe that I may vnderstand how it is done, I haue lost the vse. The same say I of these cauellings, for by what more fit name can I call Sophismes? Neither hurt they the ignorant, neither helpe they the vnderstanding: verily if thou wilt take away all ambiguitie of words, teach vs this, that he is not blessed whom the common people tearmeth so, into whose hands great summes of money are gathered; but he, whose minde is all his goodnesse, who is erect, vpriight, high minded, and a contemner of those things which other men wonder at, who seeth no man with whom he would exchange himselfe, which estimateth a man onely in that part wherein he is a man, who vseth Nature as his mistresse, and is composed according to her lawes, and so liueth as

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the prescribeth. From whom no force can rauish his good, who turneth euill into goodnesse, assured in his iudgement, vnshaken, vndaunted: whom some power moueth, but none perturbeth; whom Fortune, when with her greatest force, hath darted the most dangerous dart the hath against him, pricketh, but woundeth not, and that very seldome. For all other weapons of hers, wherewith she warreth against mankind, are as the baile which falleth on the houses, it striketh on them, without any incommodie to the inhabitants of the same, and maketh a noise, and is dissolued. Why detainest thou me in this, that thou callest thy selfe *Pseudomenon*, (that is to say, a lyer) of whom so many bookes haue bene written. Behold, all my life is but lying, reprove thou it, reduce this to truth, if thou art so subtill. She iudgeth those things necessarie, the greater part wherof is superfluous, that likewise which is not superfluous, hath no moment in it selfe, in this that it may make a man fortunate or blessed. For if any thing be necessarie, it is not presently good. And wee prostitute goodnesse and abuse it, if wee attribute that name to bread and cakes, and such like things, without which life cannot be maintained. That which is truly good is necessarie, but that which is necessarie is not presently good, for some things are necessarie which are most abiekt. There is no man that is so ignorant of the dignitie of goodnesse, which comparingly will abuse it with those things that haue their lasting but for a day. What then? Wilt thou not employ thy study and care to make manifest vnto every man, and let them see, that with great losse of time a man searcheth for superfluous and vnprofitable things; and that diuers haue ouerpassed their life, in onely imploying themselves in seeking out the instruments of life. Look into euery particular, and consider the whole, there is no mans life, but is aimed at to morrow. Thou askest me what euill there is herein? Infinite, for they liue not, but are to liue, they deferre all things. Although we were circumspect, yet life would outstrip vs, and now when wee are flayed, the commeth and ouergoeth vs, and is ended in the last day, and euery day perisheth. But lest I should exceed the measure of an Epistle, which should not fill a mans left hand in reading. I will deferre this debate with the ouer-subtill Logicians till another time, who onely haue care of this, and not of that.

EPIST. XLVI.

Heindegth of LVCILIUS his Booke, and praiseth it.



Haue receiued the booke which thou promisedst me, and as if I should reade it ouer at leasure; I opened it, and had onely a will to taste it. But afterwards it so flattered and tolde me on, that I thought fit to passe further, which how eloquent it is, thou mayst coniecture by this, it seemed short vnto me, for that neither of thy time nor of mine, but at first sight it seemed to be either *Titus Linius*, or *Epicurus*: but with so much sweetnesse it detained and allured me, that without all delay I ouer-read it. The Sunne inuited me, hunger admonished mee, the shower threatened me, yet did I reade it ouer, not so much delighted as gladdened. And I would say vnto thee, what a with hath this man? What a minde? What abilitie? If he had pawfed, if he had risen by degrees. Now hath it not bene vehemencie, but a continue forme, and a composition masculine and holy,

holy, notwithstanding there was a mixture of sweetnesse and grace. Thou art great and vpright, this course I aduise thee to; so proceed thou. The matter also did somewhat, therefore is it to be chosen fruitfull, that may rauish a mans minde and excite him. I will write more of thy booke when I haue reexamined it; but as yet my iudgement is not settled. I seeme but as one that hath heard it, and not ouer-read it. Suffer me likewise to make inquisition. Thou needst not feare, thou shalt heare the truth. O happie man that thou art, that hast nothing for which a man should lie vnto thee from so farre off: but that (euen where the cause is taken away) we lye for customes sake.

EPIST. XLVII.

That we ought to behaue our selues, and liue with our seruants familiarly. That the error of his age was in their pride and contempt: yet that according to each mans disposition and vertue, that the one and the other are either more freely or severely to be handled.



Haue willingly vnderstood by those that come from thee, that thou liuest familiarly with thy slaues: this becommeth thy prudence, this is answerable to thy wisdom. Are they thy slaues? nay rather thy companions. Are they thy slaues? nay rather thine humble friends. Are they thy slaues? nay rather thy fellow seruants. If thou knowest that Fortune hath as much power ouer the one, as ouer the other. I therefore laugh at those that thinke it an abiect and base thing to sup with their seruants: and why? But for that their ouerweening custome hath enuironed the supping Lord with a troope of attending seruants. Farre more careth he, then he digesteth, and with an excessiue greedines loadeth hee his distended belly, that with greater labour hee may vomit vp all those things, when with surfeit he hath ingested them; but his vnhappy seruants haue scarce leaue to moue their lips, no not to this end, to speake. Each murmure is stifled by the rod, and scarce casuall things escape the whip, a cough, a sneeze, a hicket; a great penaltie is threatned, if by any speech a renewed silence be interrupted: the liuelong night stand they fasting, and waite they mute. So cometh it to passe, that these speake of their Lord, who in his presence haue no libertie to discoure. But they who had not onely libertie to speake before their Masters, but to conferre with them, whose mouth was not sewed vp, were readie to hazard their heads for their Masters, and turne their imminent perill on their owne neckes. At the banquets they spake, but in their torments they were silent. Furthermore, a proverb of no lesse arrogancie is published. That as many seruants we haue, so many enemies. We haue them not our enemies, but we make them. In the meane space, I let passe many both cruell and inhumane things: that we abuse them not, as men only, but as beasts. That where as we are set at supper, one wipeth away our spittings, and other crouching vnder the table, gathereth the reliques of the drunkards: another cutteth vp the decreet fowle, and conueying his cunning hand thorow their breasts and binder parts, in certaine conceits of caruing, cut them in peeces: vnhappy he that liueth to this one thing, to cut vp wilde fowle decently. But that he is more miserable, that for voluptuousnesse sake teacheth this, then he that learneth it for necessitie. Another skinking the wine, attired after woman-like fashion, striueth

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with age: he cannot flee child-hood, yet is hee drawne backe, and now sweete faced, his haire either shauen or pulled vp by the rootes, in his martiall habite attendeth and watcheth hee all night, which hee diuideth betwixt his Lords drunkennesse and lust, and in the chamber is a man, and at the banquet a boy. Another to whom the censure of the guests is permitted, attendeth vnhappy as he is, and expecteth those, whom flattery or the intemperance either of their moutnes or tongues reuoketh the next day. Ad to these, the Caterers, who haue a certaine and subtil knowledge of their Lords best liking; who know the fauour of that meate, they hold beitt pleasing to their appetite, what most affecteth their eye, what meate will quicken their loathing stomackes, when hee loatheth in his fulnesse, what he longeth for that very day. With these he cannot abide to sup, and thinketh it a diminution of his maiestic, to sit downe at the same table with his seruant. God forbid that of those they should find their masters. I saw *Callistus* master attend at his doore, and him excluded amongst many that entered, who had set him a seruile schedule on his breast to be sold, and had brought him forth to saile amongst his most ridiculous and abiect slaues. That very slaue of his did him fauour, who was by him set to saile amongst the most abiect first rancke, fruitlessly prostituted by the Crier, basely made vendible by the maller, yea he himselfe thought him unworthy of his house. The Lord sold *Callistus*: but how many things did *Callistus* sell to his master? Wilt thou thinke, that he whom thou termest thy slaue, was borne of the same seed, enioyeth the same aire, equally breatheth, liueth and dieth with thou shalt? Thou mayest see him as noble, as he thee seruile. How many men did Fortune depresse in the Marian slaughter, of noble birth, and such as after being thrice Tribunes were in election to be Senators? One of those she made a shepherd, the other the keeper of a Cottage! Contemne not the man of that fortune, into which thou mayest be transferred, whilst thou contemnest. I will not intrude my selfe into a large field of discourse, and dispute of the vse of seruants, in respect of whom wee are most cruell, proud, and contemptuous: yet is this the summe of my precept. So liue with thine inferiour, as thou wouldest thy superior should liue with thee. As often as thou be thinkest thy selfe what power thou hast ouer thy seruant, thinke thy selfe that so much power thy master hath ouer thee. But I, sayest thou, haue no master, the better thy fortune, happily thou shalt haue. Knowest thou not in what yeares *Aeneas* began to serue, in what time *Craesus*, in what time *Darius* mother, in what time *Plautus*, in what time *Dioegenes*? Liue with thy seruant kindly and courteously, vouchsafe him conference, admit him to counsaile, and conseruation with thee. In this place the whole troope of these nice companions will crie out at me: There is nothing more base, nothing more abiect then this is. These very same men will I finde kissing the hand of other mens slaues. See you not, that likewise how by this means our ancestors withdrew all enuie from the masters, all contumely from the seruants? They called the master the father of the household, the seruants (which as yet continueth amongst the Mimicks) his familiars. They instituted a holy day, wherein not onely the masters feasted with their seruants, but wherein beside that, they permitted them to beare honor in their house, and to giue sentence and iudgement, their house to be a little common weale. What then? Shall I set all my seruants at my table? No more then all my children. Thou errest, if thou thinkest that I will reiect some of them, as designated to a more seruile office, as that Mulier, and that Cow-keeper, I will not measure them by their offices, but by their manners. Each one giueth himselfe

manners.

manners, casualtie assigneth him ministeries. Let some of them sup with thee, because they are worthy, some that they may be worthy. For if any thing bee seruile in them by reason of their fordid couersation, their liuing & conuersing with those that are better nurtured will shake it off. Thou art not, my *Lucilius*, onely to seeke thy friend in the Market-place, and in the Court, if thou diligently attend, thou shalt finde him in thy house also. Oftentimes a good matter ceaseth without the work-man; trie and make experiment. Euen as he is a foole, who hauing a horse to buy, looketh not on him, but on his furniture and bit; so is he most fond, that esteemeth a man, either by his garment, or by his condition, which is wrapped about vs after the manner of a garment. Is hee a seruuant? But happily a free man in minde. Is he a seruant? Shall this hurt him? Shew one that is not. One serueth his lust, another his auarice, another ambition, another feare. I will shew you a man that hath bene Consul, serueng an old woman. I will let you see a rich man serueng a poore maid: I will shew you the noblest yong men, the very bond-slaves of Players. There is no seruitude more foule, then that which is voluntarie. For which cause, thou hast no reason that these disdainfull fellows should deterre thee from shewing thy selfe affable to thy seruants, and not proudly superiour. Let them rather honour thee, then feare thee. Will any man say that I call seruants to libertie, and cast downe masters from their dignitie, in that I say they should rather honor their master then feare him? Is it so, saith he, shall they wholly honor thee as clients and fauours? He that saith thus, forgetteth that that is very small to masters, which is enough for God, who is worshipped and loued. Loue cannot be mingled with feare. I therefore thinke, that thou dost most vprightly; if thou wilt not be feared by thy seruants, that thou vnest the chastisement of words. Such as are dumbe are admonished by stripes: euery thing that offendeth vs, hurteth vs not. But daintinesse compelleth vs to outrage, so that whatsoeuer is not answerable to our will, prouoketh vs to wrath. Wee put vpon vs the mindes of Kings, for they also forgetfull of their own strength, and other mens imbecillitie are so incensed, so wrathfull, as if they had receiued an iniurie, from the perill of which thing, the greatnesse of their fortune secureth them most; neither are they ignorant hereof, but they take occasion of hurting by seeking it; they receiued an iniurie, that they might doe wrong. I will not detain thee longer, for thou hast no need of exhortation. Good manners haue this amongst other things, they please themselves and remaine. Malice is light, and is often changed, not to the better, but to another thing.

EPIST. XLVIII.

That the same things are expedient for friends, and that the one is profitable to the other. Then against captious cauits and difficult follies. What doeyou? What playyou? The question is of life. A sūit and forme it. Of fortune. Against her gūe defence.



That Epistle of thine, which thou sendest to me in my journey, so long as the very journey it selfe was, I will make answer. I must recreate my selfe, and looke about me what I counsaile. For thou also who counseilest me, diddest bethinke thee long, whether thou shouldst counsaile; how much more ought I to doe the like, whereas a longer respice is requisite to dissolue and answer thee, to propound

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the question: verily one course is expedient for thee, another for me: once more I speake I like *Epicurus*. But to me the same is expedient that to thee, else am I not thy friend, except whatsoeuer is done that concerneth thee, be mine. Friendship maketh a mutuall interchange of all things betwene vs, neyther hath any one of vs in particular a felicitie or aduersitie, but they are communicable to both. Neyther can any man liue happily who onely respecteth himselfe, that conuerteth all things to his own profits: thou must liue vnto another, if thou wilt liue vnto thy selfe. This societie both diligently and holily is to be obserued, which mixeth all of vs together, and iudgeth that there is some common right of humane race. It auayleth very much also to perfitte that interior societie of friendship, of which I spake. For he shall haue all things in common with his friend, that hath many things common with man. This would I haue taught me, O *Lucilius*, the best of men, by those subtil Sophisters, what I ought to performe vnto my friend, what vnto a man: then after how many manners a friend may be called, and how many this word man significth. Behold wisdom, and folly are separated diuerly, to which doe I incline? to which part wilt thou me to goe? To this Stoicke a man is a friend, to that Epicure a friend is not for a man: he getteth a friend for himselfe, this other himselfe for a friend. Thou wrestlest my wordes, and distinguishest syllables. Verily except I compose idle Interrogations, and by a false conclusion deriued from truth, I vnite a lie, I cannot distinguish those things that are to be desired from such as are to be eschued. I am ashamed. In so serious a thing as this is, though olde, yet we trifle. Moufe is a syllable, but Moufe gnaweth the Cheefe, *Ergo*, a syllable gnaweth the Cheefe. Thinke now that I cannot resolute this doubt, what damage should this ignorance of mine doe me? What discommoditie? Doubtlesse it is to be feared, lest at sometimes I should catch the syllables in my Mouf-trap, or that happily if I should become negligent, my Book should cate the Cheefe: vnlesse happily that collection is more acute; Moufe is a syllable, but the syllable gnaweth not the Cheefe; the Moufe therefore gnaweth not the Cheefe. O childish triflings. For this cause haue wee humbled our browes? For this cause haue we lengthened our beards? Is it this wee teach both sad and pale? Wilt thou know what Philosophie promifeth to humane kinde? It is counsaile. One man death calleth, another pouertie burneth, another man cyther his owne or other mens riches torment; this man is affraide and terrified at euill fortune, that man would withdraw himselfe, and escape his felicitie, this man disliketh men, that man the goddes: Why propolest thou vnto me these toyes? There is no place of jesting; the miserable craue thy assistance. Thou hast promised that thou wilt help such as are ship-wrackt, captiue, poore, such as subiect their heads to axe and block: whether art thou diuered? what doest thou? The very man with whom thou jestest is affraide. Yeld succours, whatsoeuer thou art more indued with eloquence, to the paines of such as perish. All of them, on euery side lift vp their hands vnto thee, and implore som help in their perished and decaying life, in thee is the hope, in thee the meanes. They beseech thee to draw them out of so great turmoyle, that thou wouldst shew them that are scattered and wandering the cleere light of truth. Shew what nature hath made necessarie, what superfluous, what easie lawes she hath established: how pleasant and expedite the life of those men is that follow them, how bitter and implicate theirs is, that haue beleued opinion more then truth. What extinguisheth these mens desires? What temperatech them? Would to God they did but onely not profit. They hurt. This will I make

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make manifest vnto thee when thou wilt, that a generous spirit is broken and weakened, being puzzled with these subtilties. I am alhamed to tel, what weapons it lendeth to those, that are to warre against fortune, and how they suborne them. This is the way to the chiefest good, by this Philosophicall exceptions are blacke, filthy, and infamous, yea euen to those that are young Students: for what else doe you, when as wittingly you entangle him whom you aske, then that he might seeme to be non-suited: but euen as the Pretor wholly restoreth the one, so doth Philosophie these. Why faile you in your great promises I and hauing promised mountains, that you will bring to passe that the shining and brightnesse of gold shall no more dazle mine eyes, then that of the sword: that with great constancie I should contemne and spurne at, both that which all men wish, and that which all men feare, defend you to the elements of the Grammarian? What say you, is this the way to eternitie? For this is it that Philosophie promiseth me, to make me like to God. To this I am inuited, to this end I came, performe thy promise. As much as thou mayest therefore my *Lucilius*, reduce thy selfe from these exceptions and prescriptions of the Philosophers. Open and simple things become honestie and goodnesse. Although a better part of life were yet to be spent, yet must it now be sparingly dispensed, that it may suffice for necessities; now what madnesse is it to learne such vnecessarie things in so great scantling of time?

EPIST. XLIX.

That by the sight of a house called POMPEI the memorie of his *LUCILIUS* was renewed in him. Of the shortnesse and swiftnesse of time, that nothing is long or olde in it. By the way against the Logicians, and that all that sort are onely to be looked on.



Let truly my *Lucilius*, is idle and negligent, who admonished from any Region is reduced to the memorie of his friend; yet sometimes familiar places summon and call forth the reposed desire in our minde, neyther suffer they the memorie to be extinguished, but prouoke the same when it is pacified, euen as the griefe of those that mourne, although for a time it be mitigated, cyther the familiar ad-milition of a seruant, or argument, or the house reneweth the same. Behold how *Campania*, and in especial *Naples*, in the beholding of thy *Pompeii* it is incredible how liuing a memorie of thee it bred in me. Thou art wholly before mine eyes, euen then when I am most separated from thee. I see thee supping vp thy tears, and insufficiently resisting thy affections, breaking forth in their restraint. And now seem I to haue lost thee; for what is not present, if thou rememberst? Not long since I conuerfed being a child, with *Sotion* the Philosopher; anon after I began to pleade causes; nor long after I desisted from being willing to wrangle in them: now giue I ouer to haue power to follow them. Infinite is the swiftnesse of time, which appeareth most to those that looke backe: for to those that intend the present, it deceiueth them, so light is the passage of her headlong flight. Doeft thou demand the cause hercof? Whatsoeuer time is past is in the same place, it is beheld at once, and at once is extinguished, and all things from thence fall into the depth, & otherwise there cannot be long spaces in that thing which is wholly short. It is but a point that we liue, and as yet lesse then a point; yet nature hath diuided this least vnder a certaine kinde of longer

longer space. Of this point he made one part infantic, another childe-hood, another youth, another a certaine inclination from youth to age; another age it selfe. In how small a straight hath he placed so many degrees? Euen presently doe I prosecute thee, and yet this present is a good portion of our age; whose shortnesse let vs thinke on, will at last leue it selfe. The time was not wont to seeme so swift vnto me, now doth the course thereof appeare incredible, eyther because I perceiue the end at hand, eyther because I haue begunne to conceiue and somme vp my losse. And the more am I vexed, because I see some lauish the greater part of this time in vanities, which scarcely can suffice for necessities, although it were kept very diligently. *Cicero* denieth that if his age were doubled, he should haue time enough to reade the *Liriques*; and in like sort the *Logicians*. They are bitterly foolish. These play the professed wantons; they thinke that they doe somewhat. Neyther denie I but these may be looked into, but that they are onely to be looked into, and slightly ouer-past, to this only intent, lest we should be deceived, & that we should iudge that there is some great and secret good in them. Why doeft thou torment and macerate thy selfe about that question, which is more pollicie to contemne then satisfe? Is it the worke of a secure man, and such a one as erreth from his profite to make search after trifles. When the enimie is hard at our heels, and the souldier is commanded to march, necessity shaketh off all that which idle peace had recollected, I haue no leisure to affect these equiuocating words, and make triall of my craft in them.

Behold what armies march, what walls,

What warre with closed gates.

This noyse of warre sounding on euery side, is to be heard by me with a mightie courage. I should worthily be accounted mad in all mens eyes, if when as both olde men and women gathered and brought stones to fortifie the Rampire, when as the young men being armed within the gates, expected or required summons to sally, when the enemies armies were at the ports, and the very ground did shake with mines, if I should sit idle and employ my time in such like questions. That which thou hast not lost thou hast; thou hast not lost thy hornes, Ergo, thou hast hornes, and such like, fashioned according to the tenor of this acute madnesse. And no lesse foolish should I seeme vnto thee, if I should employ my studies in these, whereas euen now I am beleagured: yea then a forraign perill should threaten me being besieged, the wall should seuer me from mine enimie. Now death and danger is with me. Now haue I time for these toys. There is a waightie businesse in hand. What shall I doe? Death followeth me, life fieth. Teach me somewhat against these, bring to passe that I may not flie death and that life may not flie me. Teach me equanimitie against disasters, and distresse against ineuitable harmes, giue libertie to the straightnesse of my time. Teach me that the good of life consisteth not in the space thereof; but in the vse; and that it may be, yea, that it often falleth off, that he who hath liued longest hath liued a little or nothing. Tell me when I lie downe to rest; it may be thou shalt not wake. Tell me when I am awake, it may be thou shalt not sleepe any more. Tell me when I goe forth of doores, it may be thou canst not returne. Tell me when I returne, it may be thou canst not goe out againe. Thou art deceived, if thou thinkest that in saying only, that there is but the least difference and separation twixt life and death; in euery place there is as little distance. Euery where death shews not himselfe so high, yet euery where is heard nigh. Shake

off these cloudes, and thou shalt more easily discouer those things, to which I am prepared. Nature bred vs doctible, and gaue vs imperfect reason, yet such as may be perfected. Dispute with me of Iustice & pietie, of frugalitie, of both sorts of modestie, and of that that can abstaine from anothers bodie, and this that hath care of his owne: if thou wilt not leade me the indirect way, I shall more easily attaine to that I affect. For as that tragicke Poet saith, *The speech of truth is simple*: and therefore we must not implicate the same: for nothing is lesse conuenient then is this subtil craft, to those minds that labour after great matters.

EPIST. L.

That we are blinde in vices, or that we seeke a cloake for them. Yet that they are to be acknowledged, and that the remedies are to be sought for, whence otherwise is the health of the minde deriued, which may likewise happen, euen to the most inueterate vices, because he is easie to be bent, and Nature stiech vnto goodnesse.

I Received the Epistle which thou sentest me after many months. I thought it therefore an idle thing to enquire of him that brought the same, what thou diddest. For it is a signe of a good memorie, if he remembereth, and yet hope I that for the present thou liuest so, that where soeuer thou art, I know what thou diddest. For what other thing shouldst thou doe, then that daily thou shouldst better thy selfe, that thou shouldst lay aside some one of thine errors, that thou mayest vnderstand that they are thine owne follies, that thou thinkest to be forraine. Some things ascribe we to places and times, but they, whither soeuer wee transport our selues, will follow vs. Thou knowest, *Harpaste*, my wiues foole, thou knowest that she remained in my house as an hereditarie burthen. For I am much distast and disgusted with those prodigies, if at any time I will take pleasure in a foole. I neede not seeke furre off, I finde sufficient matter of laughter in my selfe. This foole suddenly lost her eye-sight. I tell thee an incredible matter, but yet true: she knoweth not that she is blinde; oftentimes she prayeth her gouernour to giue her leaue to walke abroad, she saith the house is darke. This that seemeth ridiculous vnto vs in her, take thou notice, that it happeneth vnto vs all: no man vnderstandeth that he is couetous, no man that he is auaritious; yet doe the blinde seeke a guide, but wee erre without a guide, and say: I am not ambitious, but no man can otherwise liue in Rome. I am not sumptuous, but the Citie it selfe requireth great expence. It is not my fault that I am wrathfull, that as yet I haue not seled my selfe in a certaine course of life; it is yowth that causeth this: Why deceiue we our selues? our euill is not extrinsecall, it is within vs, and is seled in our intrayles. And therefore doe we hardly recouer health, because we know not that we are sicke; if wee haue but begunne our cure, when shall we shake off so many plagues and sicknesses? But now scarce seeke we for the Physitian, who should spend lesse time and labour, if he were counselled vpon the beginning of the disease. Tender and rude minds would follow him, directing them aright. No man is hardly reduced vnto Nature, but he that hath revolted from her. Wee are ashamed to learne a good mind, yet vndoubtedly it is a shameful thing to seeke a master in this matter. That is to be dispaired, that so much good may casually befall vs: we must take paines, and (to speake vprightly) the labour is not great: if, as I said, we be taken to conformance and correct our mindes, before they be confirmed in wickednesse.

nesse. Yet despaire I not of those that are indurate. There is nothing that industrious labour and intent, and diligent care cannot compasse and impugne. Thou mayest straighten the stiffest oakes, although crooked; heate straighteneth crooked beames, and such as are otherwise fashioned by Nature, are applied to that which our vse exacteth. How farre more easily doth the minde receiue a forme, being flexible and pliant to any humour. For what other thing is the mind, then after a certaine manner a spirit. But you see that a spirit is by so much more facile then any other matter, by how much he is more thinn and delicate. That, my *Lucilius*, hath no reason to hinder thee from hoping well of vs, because malice already hath hold of vs, that of long time it hath harboured with vs. To no man comes a good minde before an euill. We are all preoccupied in learning vertues, and forgetting vices: but therefore the more ardently must we endeavour our amendment, because the possession of a good once imparted to vs, is perpetual; vertue is not forgotten. For the contrarie euils haue a forraine dependance, and therefore may be expelled and excluded, they are surely seled that succeed in their place. Vertue is according to Nature, vices are our enemies and infectors. But euen as receiued vertues cannot easily be disposseled, and their conseruation is easie: so is the beginning to obtaine and aime at them very difficult, because this especially is the signe of a weake and sicke mind, to feare things vnattempted. Therefore is the minde to be enforced, that it may begin: moreouer the medicine is not bitter, for it quickly delighteth, while it healeth. Of other remedies, there is a certaine pleasure after health: Philosophie is both wholesome and pleasing.

EPIST. LI.

Somewhat of Etna, and more of Baie. And vpon this occasion hee inuiceth against such as are effeminated, and giuen ouer to their pleasure. That this is to be drinen from vs, and that we are to warfare: against whom? against Pleasure, Paine, and others. That he who doth so, doth good in serious and holy places, auoideth lasciuious things, or such as are too delighfull.

E Ven as euery one can, my *Lucilius*, thou hast there *Etna* that noble Mountaine of Sicily, the which *Messala* called the only Mountaine, or *Palgus* (for in both of them haue I read thereof) why I finde not, when as many places vomit out fire, not only such as are high, which oftentimes happeneth, because that fire mounteth vpwards, but also such as are low. We how soeuer we may, are content with *Baie*, which the very next day after I had visited, I forsooke: a place for this cause to be auoided, although that hath certaine naturall endowments, because superfluitie hath made choice thereof her selfe, to celebrate the same. What then? Is there any place to be hated? No, but euen as some garment is more decent and comely for a wise and good man, then another; neither bateth hee any colour, but thinketh one more fit for him that professeth frugalitie: so is there a region, which a wise man, or one that tendeth to wildome, declineth, as if estranged from good manners. Thinking therefore of his retirement, hee will neuer make choice of *Canopus*, although *Canopus* hinder no man from being frugal. Neither *Baie* likewise; they are begun to be the hottie of vices. There Luxurie permiteth her selfe very much, there as if a certaine libertie were due

vnto the place that hath loofenefie. It behoueth vs to chuse a place, not onely healthfull for our bodies, but for our manners. Euen as I would not dwell amongst hangmen and torturers, so would I not lue amongst victualing-houses. What needeth it to see drunks reeling vp and downe the shore, and the banquets of such as faile, as the Lakes receoing the Consent of songs, and other things, which lasciuiousnesse (as if freed from all restraint) not onely sinneth in, but publisheth? That ought we to doe, that we flie farre from the prouocation of vices. The mind is to be confirmed, and abstracted farre from the allurements of pleasures. y One onely Winter weakened *Hannibal*, and the delicacies of *Campany* weakened that man, whom neither Snowes nor Alpes could otherwise vanquish: he conquered in armes, he was conquered by vices. Wee must likewise play the fouldiers, and in such a kind of seruice as neuer affordeth vs rest, or euer giueth vs leisure. Vices in especiall are to be conquered, which (as you see) haue drawne the sternest and cruellest wits vnto them. If a man propose vnto himselfe, what a task he hath vndergone, he shall know that nothing is to be done delicately or effeminately. What haue I to doe with those hot pooles, with those stoues in which a drie vapour is included to waite our bodies? Let all sweate breake forth by labour: if wee should doe as *Hannibal* did, that interrupting the course of affaires, and neglecting warre, wee should employ our selues in nourishing our bodies, there is no man but might iustly reprehend our vnreasonable sloth, not onely dangerous for the conquerour, but for the conquered also? Lasse is permitted vs, then those that followed the Carthaginian warres, more danger impendeth ouer our heads, if we giue way, worse also if wee perseuere. Fortune wageth warre with mee, I will not obey her, I receiue not her yoke, nay more, (which with greater courage I ought to accomplish) I shake it off. The minde is not to be mollified. If I giue place to pleasure, I must be subiect to griefe, slauely to labour, seruant to pouertie; both ambition and wrath will haue the same priuiledge ouer me: amongst so many vices I shall be distracted, or rather dismembred. Libertie is proposed: for this reward doe we labour. Thou askest me what libertie is? To serue nothing, no necessitie, no fortunes; to keepe Fortune at stilles end. That day I vnderstand my selfe, that I can more then the may, the can nothing. Shall I suffer her when as death is at hand? To him that intendeth these thoughts, retirement both serious and sanctified, ought to be sought for and chosen. Too much pleasantnesse effeminateth the minde, and vndoubtedly the contrary may doe somewhat to corrupt the vigor. Those cattell easily trauell in any way, whose hooves are hardened on the craggie wayes: such as breed in the rotten and foggie pastures, are quickly wearied. The fouldier exercised on the mountaines, returneth more hardie, the citizen and home-bred is recreant. Those hands refuse no labour that are transferred from the plough to the pike. The anointed and nice fouldier endureth not the first shock. The feuerer discipline of the place firmeth the courage, and maketh it more apt to attempts. *Scipio* was more honestly banished man at *Literum* then at *Byzas*. His ruine is not to be planted in so effeminate a place. And they also to whom at first, and in especiall, the fortune of the Roman people translated the publike Riches, *Caius Marius*, *Cneius Pompey*, and *Cesar* builded certaine Manor-houses in the region of *Byzas*, but they planted them on the tops of the highest mountaines. This seemed more warlike, from an eminent place to behold the low cuntry farre and neere. Behold what situation they chose, in what places, and what they builded; & thou shalt know that they were in camping places, and not in houses of pleasure.

Thinkest

Thinkest thou *Cato* would euer dwell in *Vtica*, to the end he might number the adulterers that faile by him, and to behold so many kinds of boats painted with diuers colours, and the roses floating ouer the whole lake, that he might heare the night-brawles of such as sing? Had he not rather bene within his Trench, which in one nights space he had digged, & caused to be inclosed, why should it not better please him? Whosoever is a man had rather be awakened from sleep by the Trumpe, then a melodie or consent of voyces. But long enough haue we contended about *Baias*, but neuer enough with vices, which I beseech thee my *Lucilius*, persecute beyond measure, and without end; for neyther haue they end or measure. Cast from thee whatsoever tormenteth thy heart, which if they could not be drawn out otherwise, thy heart were to be pulled out with them. Especially driue from thee pleasures, and hold them in greatesse hatred, after the manner of those thecues whom the Egyptians call *Philetas*; to this end they kill vs, that they may kill vs.

EPIST. LII.

That we are vncertaine in the truth, and haue neede of helpe and direction. But that some are more easily guided and formed; then other some according to their nature. But to the intent that thou mayest be formed, make thy choyce out of the ancient, and the present. Let sue praisers, ambitious, and such as affect applaue.



What is this *Lucilius*, that, when we intend one way, draweth vs another, and forceth vs thither, from whence we desire to flie? What is that which wratteth with our minde, and permitteth vs not to will any thing once? We wauer twixt diuers counsailes, we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing alwayes. It is a folly (sayest thou) he that is constant in nothing, is not long pleased with any thing. But how, or when shall we withdraw our selues from these? No man is able to accomplish it of himselfe; some man must lend a helping hand, some one must bring vs out. Some, saith *Epicurus*, contend vnto truth without any mans helpe, of these, that he made himselfe his owne way. These prayseth he most: that had power of themselves, that advanced themselves: that some want forraigne helpe, and are not like to goe, except some one conduct them, yet are willing to follow. Of this sort he accounteth *Metrodorus*. And this also is an excellent, but a wit of the second rancke. We are not of the first number, it sufficeth vs if we be receiued into this seconcke rancke: neyther contemne thou that man that may be suad by another mans meanes; for it is a very great matter to haue a will to be suad. Besides these, as yet thou shalt finde another sort of men, and they not to be contemned, namely, they that may be enforced and compelled to the right, who haue not onely neede of a guide but a helper, or to speake more properly, a compeller. This is the third kinde. If thou seeke an example hereof; *Epicurus* saith that *Hiermachus* was such a one, therefore gratulateth hee more the one, and admireth the other. For although both of them obtained one and the same end, yet the praise is greater, to haue performed the same in a more difficult matter. Suppose that a man hath builded two houses, both equall, a like high and magnificent, the one of them planted on a firme foundation, whereon the worke is suddenly raised, the other on an vncertaine and fall ground, where we ought to digge deep, and employ infinite paines

Y 3

before

before wee light on firme land. In the one all appeareth in sight, that hath bene builded: in the other the better and more difficult part is hidden. Some wits are facile and expedite, some are (as they say) to be fashioned by the hand, and to be exercised and occupied in making their owne foundation: therefore account I him more happie, that hath had no businesse with himselfe, and him likewise to haue deferred best of himselfe, that hath overcome the malignitie of his nature, and hath not ledde him selfe, but forcibly drawn himselfe to wisdom. Thou must know that this hard and troublesome trauell is forced on vs. We trauell a way full of dangers: let vs therefore combate & call for assistance. Whom sayest thou I shall I call vpon, that or this man? For thine owne part, I counsaile thee to returne vnto the first, that haue now no more to doe: for not onely they of this time, but those that haue bene our predecessors may assist vs. And amongst those that liue, let vs chuse, not them that diuide and precipitate many wordes with great volubilitie, and turne ouer common places, and that in priuate are most courted: but those whose liues are our instructions, who when they haue told vs what is to be done, approoue the same by their actions who teach that which is to be eschued, and are neuer surprisid or found guiltie in doing that, which they haue forbidden to be done. Chooise him for thine assistant, whom thou admirest more when thou seest him, then when thou hearest him: neyther therefore forbid I thee to heare them likewise, whose custom it is to admit the people, and to dispute, if so be they expose themselves to community to this intent, that they may amend themselves & make others the better, provided they exercise not this for ambition sake. For what is more base then Philosophie, that seareth the fauours and acclamations of the people? Doth the sicke man praise the Physitian that launceth him? Be silent, fauour and offer your selues to the cure. Although you yeeld me acclamations of honor, I will not otherwise heare you, except you sigh at the touch of your sinnes. Will you haue it testified, that you are attentiu, and are moued with the greatnesse of things? You haue free libertie; why should I not permit you to iudge, and giue your voyce to that which you thinke best? Vnder *Pythagoras*, his schollars remained siue yeares without speaking: thinkest thou that it was lawfull for them incontinently to speake and praise? But how great is his folly, whom the applauses of the ignorant dismiss with ioyfulness out of the auditorie? Why art thou glad, because thou art praised by those men, whom thou thy selfe canst not praise? *Fabianus* declaymed before the people, but he was heard with modestie. Sometime a great acclamation was raised of those that praised him; but such as the greatnesse of the things prouoked, and not the sound of a discourse smooth & fluent. There is som difference betwixt the applause of a Theatre, and of the Schooles. There is some libertie also in praying. There are alwayes some markes and signes of those things that are discovered. And a man may likewise gather an argument of anothers manners, euen in the slightest things. The gate, the carriage of the hand, and sometimes one onely answer, or the finger dallying with the head, or the bent of the eye discouereth the impudencie of a man. A man knoweth a wicked man by his laughter, and a mad man by his countenance and habite. For these things are outwardly shewed by certaine signes. Thou shalt know what euery one is, if thou consider how he is praised. On euery side the auditor applaudeth the Philosopher with his clapping, and all this troupe that admireth him, sitteth about his head: now is not this man praised, if thou vnderstandest it, but whooted at. Let these applauses be referred to those artes that haue a purpose to please the people, let Philosophie be adored.

red. A man may giue sometimes leaue to young men to vse this heate of spirit, but they will doe this out of violence, when they cannot command themselves silence. This manner of praise serueth sometimes for some exhortation to the auditors, and animateth the mindes of young men. But better were it they should be moued with matter, then with painted wordes. Otherwise eloquence would but endanger them, if it should rather procure a desire of it selfe then of matter. I will speake no more for the present: for it directeth a proper and long discourse and execution, to know how a matter is to be handled before the people, what is permitted him by them, what them by him. It is not to be doubted, but that Philosophie hath lost much after it is prostituted, but she may be shewed in her most retired abode, if one day she finde not a Merchant banker, but some honest Prelate.

EPIST. LIII.

He describeth his Nauigation and toising on the Seas, by occasion that we are tossed in our liues, but that very few know and confesse their owne faults. Philosophie will teach and excite. Let vs giue our selues vnto it, she will make vs equal with God.



Hat cannot I be perswaded vnto, who haue bene perswaded to faile? I set saile in a calme Sea, yet vndoubtedly the skie was ouer-charged with darke cloudes, which for the most part cyther are resolu'd into water, or into winde. But I thought that so few miles betwixt thy *Parthenope* to *Puteoli* might easily and quickly be cut ouer, although the skie were doubtfull and dangerous. To the end therefore that I might more swiftly finish my iourney, I put out forthwith to sea, and shaped my course for *Nesida*, without bearing by the creeks: when I had passed so farre already, that I cared not whether I went forward or returned; first, that equalitie of heauen that perswaded me to faile, was ouer-blowne; as yet it was not tempest, yet begun the Sea to rise, and the surges to swell and beate one another. Then began I to require the Master to set me on some shore. But he told me, that the shoars of the sea were dangerous, and vnfit to land at, and that he feared nothing more in a tempest then to beare vp for land, yet was I so tormented that I remembered not my selfe of any danger: for a certain languishing desire to vomit, that prouoked but preuailed me nothing in emptying my stomacke: it pained me infinitely, which stirred but voyded not choller. I therefore importuned the Master so, that will he kill be, I compelled him to beare for the shoare; whereto when we somewhat neered, I expect not to do any thing that *Virgil* commandeth, that the Prow of the Ship should be turned towards the Sea, or that the Anchor should be let slip into the Sea; but remembering my selfe of that I was accustomed to doe, I cast my selfe into the water, couered in a Velvet mantle, as they are wont who walk themselves in colde water. What thinkst thou I suffered, whilst I strue to escape these perills, whilst I seek, whilst I make a way thorow these dangers? I know well, not without cause, that Mariners feared the land. They are incredible things that I suffered, considering that I could not support my selfe. Learne this of me, that the Sea was not so incensed at the birth of *Vlysses*, that it should cause ship-wracks in all places. He vomited easily. For mine owne part I had rather remaine twenty yeares vpon my way, then passe by Sea to any place. As soone as I had recovered my stomacke

make (for thou knowest well that in leauing the Sea a man loseth not his desire to vomit) and for my recreation had annoynted my bodie, I began to thinke my selfe, how great forgetfulness of our finnes followed vs, not onely of vices, which because they are more great, keepe themselves hid den, but also of the vices of the bodie, which at all times draw vs into remembrance of them. A light alteration may well deceiue some one man; but when it is augmented and groweth to be a burning fever, it causeth the most strong and endurate person to confesse the same. Our feet greue vs, the ioynts feeble some little shooings; we dissemble as yet, and say that it is some straine, or that we haue freed our selues too much in doing some exercise. We are much troubled what to call our infirmities, which is not as yet knowne, but when it beginneth to swell vp our ankles, we are enforced to say it is the goutte. It falleth out farre otherwise in regard of those sicknesses which seize our soules. For the more that a nic one is lick, the lesse sensible is he of the same. Thou must not wonder deere *Lucilius* hereat: for be that slumbereth slightly, and dreameth in some sort during his repose: sometimes in his sleeping thinketh that he sleepeth; but a profound sleepe extinguieth dreames also, and drowneth the mind more deeply, then that it permitte the same to make vse of any her intellectuall faculties. Why doth no man confesse his faults? Because he is as yet plunged in the same. It is the part of one that is awake to leue his dream, and it is a signe of amends for a man to confesse his faults. Let vs awake therefore, to the end wee may blame and correct our errours. But onely Philosophie must quicken vs, the only must shake off our heauie sleepe. To her onely dedicate thy selfe, thou art worthy of her, & she worthy of thee, embrace and listen on another, denie thy selfe constantly and openly to all other things. Thou canst not Philosophie without taking some paynes: if thou wert sicke thou wouldest giue ouer the care of thy whole family, and neglect thy torraine buisinesse; there is no friend so deere vnto thee, whose cause thou wouldest desire to pleade. All thy care and cost should be to recouer thy health speedily. What then, wilt thou not now doe the like? Lay aside all impediments, and thinke on nothing, but how to make thy soule more perfect, no man commeth vnto her that is occupied or distracted. Philosophie vseth foueraigne power as a King, she giueth time, and taketh it not: she is no secundarie care, but will be serued seriously; she is a Mistresse, she is present and commandeth. *Alexander* to whom a Cittie promised to giue a part of their lands and the halfe of all their goods: I am come, saith he, into *Asia* with this resolution, not to take that which you will giue me, but that you should enioy nothing else, but what I leaue you. Philosophie vseth the like authoritie in all things. I will not, saith shee, accept that time that you haue to come, or haue reserved contrariwise: you shall haue none, but which I will giue you. Adresse thy whole minde vnto her, be alwayes neere vnto her, giue her all the honour thou canst; there will be a great difference betwixt thee and others. Thou shalt farre exceed all mortall men, and the gods shall but very little surpass thee. Wilt thou know what difference there is betwixt them and thee? They shall continue more long. But truly it is the honour of a good worke-man to finish his taske speedily. A wife-man is as content with the pace of his life, as God is of all the time of his eternitie. Some thing there is wherein a wife-man exceedeth God; God is not wife but by the goodness of his nature, and the wife-man is by his owne. It is a marvellous thing to haue the frailtie of a man and the securitie of a God. Incredible is the force of Philosophie, to repell all the forces of fortune. There are some sorts of armes that can conquer

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quer her. She is couered with thicke and massiue armour, shee wearieth some things that combat her, and like light darts receiue them with her open brest, some she shaketh off, and darteth them backe on him that cast the same.

EPIST. LIIII.

That he was troubled with often sighing, and thereupon thought on death. That it is not to be feared, because that we shall be the same after death, that we were before. Let vs be prepared.

MY sickness, that had giuen me a long truce and intermission, suddenly invaded me. After what manner, saiest thou? Truly thou hast reason to aske mee, for there is not any one sort, but that I haue bene sensible of it: yet am I, as it were, destitute to one sickness, which why I call by the Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called a sickness. It continueth a very little time in his violence; which is like vnto a gust, and passeth away almost in an houre. For who is he that continueth long time a dying? All the dangers and sicknesses that may trauell a bodie, haue passed by mee, no one of them seemeth more trouble some vnto me; and why? For in all other euils whatsoeuer, a man is but sicke, but this is death it selfe. And therefore the Physitians call it the meditation of death. The shortnesse of breath will at length effect that, which it hath often endeououred to doe. Thinkest thou that I write this vnto thee with great ioy, because I haue escaped? If to this end that I tooke delight to be in health, I doe as ridiculously as he, that thinketh himselfe dismissed of the suite, when he hath deferred his putting in baile to the actio: yet in the very suffocation intermitted, I cease not to comfort my selfe with some pleasing & confident cogitations: What is this (say I?) Doth death come so often to assaile mee? Let him doe it hardly. For mine owne part, it is a long time I haue proued it. When was it (sayest thou?) Before I was borne, it is a death not to be that it was before. I know already what thing it is, that shall be after my death, which was before my birth: if a man feele any torment therein, it must needs follow, that we had some sense thereof before we came into this world; but then felt I no vexation. I pray you, should he not be a great fool, that should think that a candle were more vnhappy after it were extinguished, then before that it was light? So fareth it with vs, we are lightned, & extinguished; betwixt both these times we suffer some things. But before and after is a certaine and profound assurance of our euils. For in this, my *Lucilius*, we erre, except I be deceived, in that we iudge death to follow; wheres it goeth before, and is like to follow. Whatsoeuer was before vs, is death? For what difference is there whether thou beginnest not, or whether thou endest; the effect of both these is not to bee. With these and such like silent exhortations (for speake I might not) I ceased not to talke vnto my selfe, at length by little and little, this sighing which began already to returne to be a breathing, took more long pauses, and hauing more liber- tie, kept his accustomed tune and proportion. Neither as yet, although the fit be ceased, hath my breath his naturall course. I feele a certaine touch and hanging on thereof. Let him doe what he will, prouided that I sigh not in my soules assure thy selfe thus much of mee, that when I shall find my selfe at the last gaspe, I will not be astonished. I am already resolu'd, I care not when the day com-

commeth. Praise and imitate him that is not aggrieved to die, when as he hath the greatest occasion to reape the pleasures of life. For what vertue is it to issue out, then, when thou art cast out? yet is there a vertue herein. True it is, that I am driuen out, but so it is as if I issued voluntarily. And therefore a wife man is neuer driuen out; for to be driuen out, is to be cast out of a place in spite of a mans teeth: but a wife man doth neuer any thing perforce, he lieth necessity, because he willet that which he may constraîne.

EPIST. LV.

Of the Manor-house of Vatia, and of Vatia himselfe. Then of good and euill Lesure. Likewise that friends may and ought to be present in minde.

When I retorne hence from my cariage and exercise in my chaire, I am for the most part no lesse wearie, then if I had walked so long time, as I was sitting: for it is a labour to be long time carried, and I know not whether in that it be more great, because it is against Nature, which gaue vs feet, that we might walke by our selues, eyes, that we might see by our selues. Daintinesse hath caused this infirmity in vs, and that which we would not, long time we haue desired to be able to do: yet had I need to trauell my bodie, and to doe exercise, to the end, that if I had either choller stayed in my throat, I might discusse the same, or if my breath by any cause were growne short, I might extenuate the same by this agitation, which I haue knowne to haue done me much good: and therefore caused I my selfe to bee carried more long time, for the pleasure that I tooke vpon the shoare, which shooteth out a certaine abutment or bowing land, betwixt the towne of *Cuma* and *Seruius Vatia* his Lordship, enclosed as a strait passage betweene the sea, which is on the one side, and the lake which is on the other, because at that time it was more hard and more thicke, by reason of the tempest which had rained a little before. And as thou knowest when the billowes of the raging flouds couer the same very often, the sands become more full and vnite, but a long calme time causeth them to relent, and diuideth the sand which was hardened by the water, after the humour hath bene wholly dried: yet according to my custome I began to looke about me, if I could find any thing in that place that might breed me any profit, and I addrest my sight vpon a country house which had in times past pertained to *Vatia*. There it was, where that rich man, who in times past had bene Pretor, and had neuer bene knowne by any other meanes, but for retiring himselfe thither, spent his later yeares, and was for this cause reputed happy. For as often as *Asinius Gallus* friendship, as often as *Seianus* hatred or fauour had drowned some men, (for it was as dangerous to haue offended him, as to haue loued him) all men cried out, O *Vatia*, thou art the only man that knoweth how to liue; & yet he knew but how to hide himselfe, but not to liue. Truly there is a great difference, whether thy life be idle or slothfull. I neuer passed by this house of *Vatia*, but that I said *Vatia* is entered here. But Philosophie, my *Lucilius*, is a thing so sacred and venerable, that if there be any thing that resembleth it, it pleaseth in the delusion. For the common sort suppose, that a man that is retired from the Citie, to liue in repose, is full of assurance and contentment: and that he liueth but to himselfe, all things, both the one and the other, cannot but be fortune, and attend a wise man. True it is that the

the wise man careth not for any thing, and that he knoweth how to liue vnto himselfe. For (that which is the principall good) he knoweth how to liue. For he that lieth both from men and affaires; he whom the miserie of his ambitions hath banished out of the Citie, that cannot see any more happy then himselfe, that like a fearefull and slothfull creature, hath been hid for feares, he liueth not to himselfe, but that which is more loathsome & disliking, he liueth to his belly, his sleepe and his lust. He liueth not to himselfe, that liueth to no man; yet constancie and perseuerance in our first delignes, is a thing so valued, that obliuious idlenesse retaineth and hath some authoritie also. Touching the building it selfe, I can speake or write thee nothing certaine, for I onely know it outwardly, and by the show it maketh to all passengers. There are are two causes of marvellous workmanship, alike with spacious entrance, and builded by hand, the one whereof neuer admitteth the Sunne, and the other is filled with his reflections vntill he set. There is a place planted with Plane-trees, in the midst whereof there runneth a brooke, that falleth afterwards into the sea, and into the lake of *Achernium*, and it diuided is as an *Euripus*, sufficient to nourish much fish, although a man take them daily: but it is spared when the sea affordeth good fishing time, and when as a tempest restraineth the fisher-men: each one may catch and fish them easily. But the greatest commoditie that is in this house, is that it hath behind the wals thereof, the *Bayas*, and that being exempt from all the incommodities thereof, it pertaketh all the pleasures and delights of the same. I my selfe on my knowledge can giue it this commendation, that I beleue it to be a place fit to be inhabited all the yeare long. For it is opposite against the West-winde, and intercepteth it so conueniently, that it hindereth it from blowing vpon *Bayas*: not inconsiderately, as it seemeth, did *Vatia* make choice of this place, in which he might bestow his idle time, and old age; yet very little or nothing doth place profit to the tranquillitie of the spirit, it is the minde which commendeth all things, I haue seene some liue peniue and melancholie in their houses of pleasure: I haue seene other some liue in solitary places, as if they had much business. Wherefore thou art not to thinke, that therefore thou art little at thine ease, because thou art not in *Campania*; but why art thou not? send thy thought hither: Thou mayest conferre with thine absent friends, yea as often, and as long as thou wilt, then most of all eniue we this pleasure (which is the greatest) when wee are absent. For presence maketh vs wantons, and because that we conferre together, that we walke together, and that at sometimes we sit together, so soone as we are departed one from another we remember them no more, whose presence we haue lost of late. And for this cause ought we not to be grieved with the absence of our friends, for there is not one, that is not farre absent from them, euen in their very presence: if thou wilt first of all recount the nights, wherein thou art separated from them: the diuers occupations that both one and the other haue; the secret studies, the goings and commings out of the Citie; and thou shalt see that the time, which long voyages make vs loose, is not ouer-great. A friend is to be possessed in minde: he seeth alwaies him whom he will see. And therefore I pray thee studie with me, sup with me, and walke with me: we should liue in a miserable restraint, if any thing were hidden from our thoughts. I see thee, my *Lucilius*, then with most content, when I heare thee. I am so truly with thee, that I am in doubt whether I should begin to write, not Epistles, but bookes vnto thee.

EPIST.

EPIST. LVI.

That a settled minde enjoyeth it selfe, and intendeth his studies, yea even amidst the presse of men. This teacheth me by his example. That inward silence and peace is more to be wished for. Furthermore, that sloth is euill, and the mother of desires.

Let me die, if silence be as necessarie, as it seemeth to him that is retired to his studie. Behold what different cries found about me on euery side, I am lodged euen ouer the bathes. Represent vnto thy selfe now all sorts of voyces, that may draw the eares into hatred of them: when the stronger sort doe their exercises, when they spread their hands loaden with leade, when either they trauell, or imitate him that labourerth, I heare their groans. As soone as they haue giuen libertie to their retained breath, I heare their wheelings and waightie breathings. When a man falleth into the hands of an vnmanly sort, that taketh vpon him to annoynt men, and is content to serue them, as he would doe any one of the inferior people, I heare the stroake of his hand that striketh them on the shoulers, which according as hee layeth it on, either flat or hollow, changeth his sound. But if perchance he that casteth the balles annoynted with pitch to nourish the fire vnder the baynes, commeth in, and that he beginneth to reckon them, all is lost. Count him likewise that cleanse the ordures, and the theefe taken in the act, and he also that taketh pleasure to heare his voice ring in the bath. And likewise to this number those that with a full leape, and with a great shout, cast themselves into the bayne. Morcouer, put them in this rancke, who at the least, if they doe no other thing, haue their voices and words full-mouthed; as him that draweth the haire from the arme-pir, that incessantly breatheth forth a small and trembling voice, to the end hee may be the better noted amongst the rest, that neuer holdeth his peace, but at such time when he riddeth the arme-pits of haire, to some one whom he constraineth to crie for him. A man heareth afterward an infinite crie of Cake-sellers, of Saundage-mongers, and crackling Merchants, and all the Cookes skillions, who sell their meate, euerie one of them with their proper tune, to the end they may be the better marked. O how iron a braines is thine (sayest thou) O how deafe art thou, if thy spirit be not troubled, amidst such dimme, and diuersitie of cries, since our *Chrysippus* fell downe almost dead, to heare the good-morrowes which men gaue him in saluting him. For mine owne part, I honestly sweare vnto thee, that I care as little for all these cries, as for the flouds or fall of a riuer; although that I haue heard say, that a people was constrained, for this only cause, to go and rebuild their citie in another country, because they could not endure the fall which the noise of *Aulus* made. In my opinion, words distract a man more then noyses. For words distract the minde, and noise doth no other thing but fill and beate the eare. Amongst those that make a noise, but distract not my spirit, I place those coach-men and smiths that hire my shop, the lock-maker my neighbour, and he that dwelleth neere to the Temple of peace, when hee trieth his Trumpets and Hant-boyes, and who not only singeth, but exclaimeth. The noice likewise more troubleth me that is intermitted, then that which is continued. But I am now in such sort hardened to all this, that I can now heare a Captain of a Gally, when he teacheth his Gally-slaues with a sterne voice, how to manage their oares. For I compell my mind to be intentive to it selfe, and

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not to be distracted by exterior things. Let whatsoever voice be made exteriorly, provided there be no debate in my soule; provided that desire and feare in me are not at odds, provided that auarice and prodigality haue not any quarrell together, and that the one maketh not warre against the other. For what availleth it vs to haue silence round about vs; if the passions of the minde forme and be dis tempered?

Night covered all composed to quiet rest.

This is false, there is no peaceable sleepe, but when as reason engendreth it. It is the night that representeth vnto vs all our troubles, in stead of drawing them from vs, and doth nothing but change our cares. For the dreames of those that sleepe are as troublesome vnto them, as is the day. That is true tranquillitie, on which a good and holy soule may repose. Marke me him that seeketh for his sleepe in a large and spacious house, and how to provide that no noise offend his cares: all the troope of his seruants keepe silence and are still, and how they that would approach his bed, lift vp their feet, and set them softly on the ground. Truly he doth nought else but turne and toss this way and that way, he taketh but a slight rest, intermixed with discontents of the minde, hee complaineth that he heareth that which he heareth not. What thinkest thou is the cause hercof? It is a tumult that is engendred in his soule, that it is; which hee should appeale, it is the sedition of the minde that should bee extinguished, which thou must neuer suppose to haue quiet rest, although thy bones be laid to rest. Repose sometimes as without repose. It shall be therefore requisite for vs to awake our selues by the managing of some affaires, and to occupie our selues, in the search of good arts and sciences, when we perceiue that the sounge of idleness (which cannot endure it selfe) doth ouerwhelme vs. The greatest Generals of armies, at such time as they perceiue that their souldiers doe grow disobedient, they make them march, to keepe them in obedience, and cause them to vndertake some sudden onslaught. They that haue businesse, haue no leasure to wake wanton. It is a thing most certaine, that there is nothing that more confoundeth those vices, which are engendred by idleness, then trauell and occupation doth. We sceme very often to haue retired our selues out of the Citie, by reason of our distaste for the euer managing of publike affaires, and for that we repent our selues, that we haue so long time remained in a place, where we receiue nothing but miseries and displeasures. And yet notwithstanding, in that verie cause, into which our feare and wearinesse hath cast vs, our ambition reuiueeth and flourisheth. For it is not wholly lost, it is only wearied, it is only repulsed, seeing the affaires grew not answerable to his expectation. As much say I of prodigality and lauish expence, which seemeth sometimes to be retired, and commeth afterwards to sollicite those anew, who haue resolu'd with themselves to liue soberly and wisely, and in the midst of their thirst the reassumeth those pleasures (which she had not wholly condemned, but only left for a time) with a force as much more violent, as she is cougely hidden. For those vices which appeare outwardly are much lesse dangerous, and infirmities themselves begin to take remedie, when they appeare in sight, and manifest their venome. Make account therefore, that auarice, ambition, and those other euill passions which trauaile our soules, are more pernicious, when we asaine our selues to be healed, and to haue lost them. We sceme to be idle, and we are not. For if it were true that we are, if we had founded retreat to retire

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our selues from vices, if wee haue condemned that which seemeth to bee faire in outward appearance; as I haue said a little before, there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither song of birds nor musicke of men that may crosse our holy thoughts, when they shall alreadie be firm'd and assured. That wit is slight, and as yet scarce well retired into it selfe, that admireth at the brute of euery small accident. He hath some care hidden in his soule, and some feare that maketh him peniue; and as our *Virgil* saith,

*And me whom erit no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troopes for courage once improu'd,
Now euery winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my sleepes, and breeds my sudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me surprize,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewise.*

The first of these is wile, and is not daunted with the darts that are shot against him, neither with the threatening armes of a great Squadron of the enemy, nor with the out-cries of a Citie disturbed with sedition. But the other is an ignorant lot, he is afraid to lose his goods, he is affrighted at the first noise he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the least motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongst all these rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou shalt see that he is alwaies in feare, both for those that he beareth with him, as for those that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well compos'd, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy selfe, nor at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it shall make a noise in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their slanders? I confesse it. Therefore is it that I would retire my selfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exercise my patience. What needeth it a man to suffer himselfe to be tormented a long time, if *Virgilles* haue found so easie a remedie for his companions, against the Sirens themselves?

EPIST. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault and the horror there. Then that our first motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the tenuitie and celeritie of the minde.



When I would depart from *Baias* to returne to *Naples*, I easily beleued that we should haue a tempest, because I would no more trauaile by sea: but there were so many flowes all the way long, that a man might iustly imagine that I had journeyed by water. I was enforced that day to suffer all the fatallitie of the wreflers. For after we had benee well wet, we were tormented all the day long with dust in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that prison, nothing more obscure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cause that we saw not through the darknesse, but darkenesse themselves; neuerthelesse, although the place had light in it, yet the dust which is likewise as troublesome and displeasing

displeasing in open aire, would obscure the same. What thinkest thou then that it should be in this Vault, where after it is raised like a tempest, enclosed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on those that haue raised it. We haue suffered two great and contrary commodities, in the same way, and the same day, we haue benee tormented with dirt and with dust. Yet this obsecration gaue me some fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great shake and fearelesse change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing so vnaccustomed, and the loathsomenesse of that place had caused. I speake not now with thee of my selfe, who am farre short of a man entirely perfect, but yet of a tollerable taught man. I speake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for that other would change both colour and courage. For there are certaine passions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admoileth him that he is mortall: And therefore he will, frown at the first cause of sorrow, he will tremble for feare at a sudden accident; his sight will be troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountaine, he behold the huge and vaste depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall passion, which reason cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that some valiant men, and most readie to shead their owne blood, that cannot endure to see another mans. Some that cannot behold a fresh wound, and other some that frown, with onely touching an old and mattery fore; and others that are afraid to see a naked sword drawne in iest, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I could thee, not an astonishment, but a change. Again, as soone as we came vnto the light, a sudden ioy surpris'd me, without thinking of that. Then began I to say in my selfe; how without cause wee feare some things more, some things lesse, although the end of all of them be alike. For what difference maketh thou, whether the ruine of a tower, or of a mountaine, fall vpon a sentinell? Thou shalt find none: notwithstanding there are some that will feare more the fall of the tower, although both of them be powerfull enough to make them die: because feare apprehendeth more the effects, then the cause that engendreth them. Thou thinkest (it may be) that I will speake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the soule of a man, which is stified and crushed vnder a great ruine, cannot issue, but that these disperse her selfe incontinently, because she might not escape freely. But I do not; and they that say so are very much deceiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, because it flieth and retireth it selfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a stroake, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but spreadeth it selfe round about the bodie, to which it maketh place: So the soule, which is the subtillest and purest thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her subtiltie; she glideth thorow all that which presseth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beate and hugely blasted an house, departeth thorow a very little hole: So that soule which is farre more subtill then fire, passeth and penetrateth thorow all sorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortal. But hold this for a thing assured, that if it suruiue the bodie, that consequently it cannot perish by any meanes whatsoever, because it may not perish. For there is not any immortalitie, that is subiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing also which may hurt that which is eternall.

our selues from vices, if wee haue contemned that which seemeth to bee faire in outward appearance; as I haue said a little before, there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither song of birds nor musicke of men that may crosse our holy thoughts, when they shall already be firmed and assured. That wit is slight, and as yet scarce well retired into it selfe, that admireth at the bruite of euery small accident. He hath some care hidden in his soule, and some feare that maketh him peniue; and as our *Virgil* saith,

*And me whom erit no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troops for courage once inproud,
Now euery winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my sleepes, and breeds my sudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me surprize,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewise.*

The first of these is wise, and is not daunted with the darts that are shot against him, neither with the threatening armes of a great squadron of the enemy, nor with the out-cries of a Citie disturbed with sedition. But the other is an ignorant lot, he is afraid to lose his goods, he is affrighted at the first noise he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the least motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongst all these rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou shalt see that he is alwaies in feare, both for those that he beareth with him, as for those that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well composed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy selfe, nor at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it shall make a noise in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their slanders? I confesse it. Therefore is it that I would retire my selfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exercise my patience. What needeth it a man to suffer himselfe to be tormented a long time, if *Vlisses* haue found so easie a remedie for his companions, against the Sirens themselves?

EPIST. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault and the horror there. Then that our first motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the temeritie and celeritie of the minde.



When I would depart from *Baias* to returne to *Naples*, I easily beleued that we should haue a tempest, because I would no more traualle by sea: but there were so many slowes all the way long, that a man might iustly imagine that I had journeyed by water.

I was enforced that day to suffer all the fatallitie of the wreflers. For after we had bene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with dust in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that prison, nothing more obscure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cause that we saw not through the darknesse, but darknesse themselves; neuertheless, although the place had light in it, yet the dust which is likewise as troublesome and displeasing

displeasing in open aire, would obscure the same. What thinkest thou then that it should be in this Vault, where after it is raised like a tempest, enclosed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on those that haue raised it. We haue suffered two great and contrary commodities, in the same way, and the same day, we haue bene tormented with dirt and with dust. Yet this obscuritie gaue me some fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great shake and fearelesse change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing so vnaccustomed, and the loathsomenesse of that place had caused. I speake now with thee of my selfe, who am farre short of a man entirely perfect, but yet of a tollerable taught man. I speake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for that other would change both colour and courage. For there are certaine passions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admonisheth him that he is mortal. And therefore he will, frown at the first cause of sorrow, he will tremble for feare at a sudden accident; his sight will be troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountaine, he behold the huge and vaste depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall passion, which reason cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that some valiant men, and most readie to shed their owne blood, that cannot endure to see another mans. Some that cannot behold a freshly wound, and other some that swoone, with onely touching an old and mattery fore; and others that are afraid to see a naked sword drawne in iest, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I could thee, not an astonishment, but a change. Again, as soone as we came vnto the light, a sudden ioy surprised me, without thinking of that. Then began I to say in my selfe; how without cause wee feare some things more, some things lesse, although the end of all of them be alike. For what difference maketh thou, whether the ruine of a tower, or of a mountaine, fall vpon a sentinel? Thou shalt find none: notwithstanding there are some that will feare more the fall of the tower, although both of them be powerfull enough to make them die: because feare apprehendeth more the effects, then the cause that engendreth them. Thou thinkest (it may be) that I will speake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the soule of a man, which is stilled and cruell vnder a great ruine, cannot issue, but that thee dispereth her selfe incontinently, because she might not escape freely. But I do not; and they that say so are very much deuiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, because it lieth and retireth it selfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a stroke, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but spreadeth it selfe round about the bodie, to which it maketh place: So the soule, which is the subtillest and purest thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the means of her subtiltie; shee glideth thorow all that which presseth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blasted an house, departeth thorow a very little hole: So that soule which is farre more subtill then fire, passeth and penetrateth thorow all sorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing assured, that if it suruiue the bodie, that consequently it cannot perish by any meanes what soeuer, because it may not perish. For there is not any immortalitie, that is subiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing also which may hurt that which is eternall.

EPIST. LVIII.

That certaine late wordes are now out of vse. He passeth to the *Plisiques*, and sheweth how manifolde Ens or Being is out of *PLATO*. He fitteth it to the *Ethnick*, and that nothing here is the same, or perpetuall. Then what vse can subtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euery thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neyther is to be wished or refused.

Neuer had I better knowledge of the pueritie, or, to speake truly, the indigence which we haue of wordes, then I haue at this day. A thousand things happened when as casually we spake of *Plato*, which wanted or had not their names, and some which had, and some that through our delicacie had lost that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that disgust in so great pueritie? That Ox-flie which the Grecians call *Oestrum* that stingeth and chafeth beasts, and scattereth them in the Forrests, our Latines called *Asilus*. Thou mayest well beleuee *Virgil*:

*And those Ox-flies that in great troupes do lie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or to Siler wood;
The which in Roome Asilus signifie,
And by the Greekes for Oestrum vnderstood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell stray
Amidst the Forrests scattered with dismay.*

I thinke that he vnderstood that this word was wholly lost. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were some simple words in vse, as when they said amongst themselves *Cernere ferro inter se*, that is to say, to determine their quarrels betwixt themselves by armes. The same *Virgil* shall proue this,

*And King LATINVS too amazed stands
To see two men both borne in forraine landes,
In severall Angles of this mighty frame,
Could thus assembled meete, and ioyne their bands,
To trie their right by sword, and winne the same.*

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to say as Decide. The vse of this simple word is lost. Our ancestors said *Si iussu*, that is to say, *Si iussero*, which signifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleuee me. Heerein *Virgil* is a faithfull witnesse;

*Let all the other troupes
Which I command come after to the fight.*

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may shew how much time I haue lost after the Grammarians, but that thou mayest vnderstand this, how many wordes a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are rustie and out-worne, since those of *Virgil* himselfe, who is daily over-looked and handled by vs, are in some sort lost vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, sayst thou?

Where-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My desire is (without offending thine eare) to say *Essensed*; if not, I will neuertheless say it, although I should displease thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no shame to imitate, author and approver of this word; whose example and authoritie I thinke is sufficient. If thou art desirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vsed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profession, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a stile full of sharpnesse and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neatnesse of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet sometimes disgusteth with too much affectation. What should I doe my *Lucilius*? How should I call this Greeke word *isia*, that is to say, Essence, or Existence, or Being, or Substance? A thing so necessarie, containing in the vnderstanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philosophers both auncient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leave to vse this word. Yet will I make vse of the libertie thou hast giuen me to vse this word, most sparingly; & will not vse it but vpon necessitie, when no other word will so perfectly explicate the sense: and it may be that I will not vse it all, but content my selfe with the priuiledge onely. But whereto shall this facilitie of thine serue me, considering that I cannot in any sort expresse this word in Latine, which is the cause that I haue so much exclaimed against our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pueritie, when thou shalt finde there is a syllable which I cannot translate. Asketh thou me what it is, *isia*, which is as much to say as That which is. Thou mayest suppose me to be grosse witted, and imagine it a very easie matter to be done, and that a man may translate that after this maner, and say, *Quod est*, That which is. But there is a great difference betwene them. For I am constrained to vse a Verbe for a Noun; and if I must needs giue one, I will say *Quod est*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge tolde me this present day, that *Plato* gaue fixe significations to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, so soone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* also: for first of all we ought to seeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kindes doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuisions proceede, and vnder whom all is comprised. But this shall we finde out if we begin to read all things backward: for by this meane we shall ascend and attaine vnto the first. A man, as *Aristotle* saith, is a kinde, a horse is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which kniteth together all these things, and comprehendeth them all in himselfe; and what shall this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all those I named of late; of a man, of a horse, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a soule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing most certaine that feedes and trees haue soules; and therefore we say that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then shall holde the highest place, because that all things which haue life and sense are vnder this forme, yea, feedes also. Some things want a soule, as stones. Some things therefore shall be more high and greater then such as are liuing creatures, that is to say a bodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may say that all bodies are animated or inanimated: and notwithstanding all this, there is something more high then a bodie. For we say that there are somethings corporeate, and more incorporeate: what then shall that be from whence these are deduced? That it is too much, we haue heretofore assigned a name improper enough.

EPIST. LVIII.

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Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell stray
Amidst the Forrests scattered with dismay.*

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That which is: for so will it be diuided into *Species*, if we say, That which is, hath cyther a bodie or is incorporate. So here then is the first Gender & the highest, and if I should say so, the generall; the rest, to speake truth are Genders, but they are *Species*, as a man is a *Genus*. For he containeth vnder him the kindes of Nations, Greekes, Romanes, and Parthians; as white, blacke, and redde. There are also some particulars, as *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Lucretius*. For this cause, when he containeth diuers things vnder him, he taketh the name of a Gender, and when he is contained vnder any other he is called a *Species*. But that Gender which is generall hath nothing about it selfe: it is the beginning of all things. All whatsoeuer is, is vnder the fame. The Stoicks would place another Gender about this as more principall, whereof I will speake anon, so soone as first of all I haue made manifest this, that the Gender whereof I haue spoken, ought in right to be placed in the first ranke, since in it selfe it comprehendeth all things. I diuide That which is, into these kindes; that is to say, into corporeall and incorporeall: for there is no third. But how shall I make diuision of the bodie? I must say, that cyther they are animated, or inanimate. Again, how diuide I things animated? I will say that some haue vnderstanding, other some haue but a soule: or rather thus; some haue motion, walke or passe, some others are tyed to the earth, and are nourished and increase by their roots. Again, into what kindes should I distinguish liuing creatures? Either they are mortall, or immortall. Some Stoicks suppose the *primum Genus* to be *Quid*; but why they so think I will hereafter set downe. In nature, say they, there are some things which are and are not, and that nature comprehendeth those things which are not, and present themselves to our vnderstanding, as are Centaures, Giants, and all other such things; which being formed by a false imagination, begins to haue some Image, although they haue no substance. Now returne I to that which I promised thee, that is to say, how *Plato* hath diuided all things that are in six sorts. That first, which is a man cannot comprehend cyther by light or touch, or by any other fence. That which is generall is but in imagination. As a man in generall is not seene by the eye, but a particular man is, as *Cicero* and *Cato*. A liuing creature is not seene, but is onely comprehended in the vnderstanding; yet are the kindes thereof seene, as a horse and a dogge. Of things which are, *Plato* putteth for the second Gender, that which is called eminent, and surpasseth all other. He saith that this is in way of excellencie. As a Poet is a common name, for all they that make Verses are so called. But now amongst the Greekes this word signifieth but one, and when thou shalt heare them say Poet, thou must vnderstand that it is *Homer*. What is it then that thou wouldst say? It is God who is the greatest and the most powerfull of all other things. The third kind is of those things which are proper, and these are innumerable, but they are also placed out of our sight. Askest thou me what they are? They are *Platos*, proper implements, and moueables, he calleth them *Ideas*, of which all things which we behold are made, and to which all things are formed. These are immortall, immutable, and inuioable. Heare I pray you what *Ideas* is, and what *Plato* thinketh of it. It is a patterne, and eternall mould of all things, which are made by nature: yet will I adde an interpretation to this definition, to the end the matter may more plainly appeare vnto thee, I haue a will to make thy picture. Thou art the patterne of my picture, of which my mind gathereth some habit, which he will delineate in his worke. So that face which teacheth and instructeth me, and from which I deriue my imitation, is *Idea*. Nature then, the mother of all things, hath an infinite of these patternes, as of men, of fishes, of trees, on which is drawne and

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expresseth all that which the ought to doe. The fourth place is giuen to an Image. But behooueth thee to be very carefull in vnderstanding what this Image is, and that thou lay the blame on *Plato* and not on me, as touching the difficultie of things. Yet is there nothing that is subtile, which is not accompanied with difficultie. Not long since I vied the comparison of the Image which a Painter made. He when in colours he would paint *Virgilio* to the life, beheld him. *Virgilio* was the *Idea*, and the patterne of his intended worke; but that which the Painter hath drawne from that visage and that which he hath painted on his table is *Idol*, that is to say, an Image. Askest thou me what difference there is? The one is the patterne, the other the figure, drawne from the patterne, and put vpon the worke: the one is that which the Painter imitateth, and the other is that which he maketh. A statue that representeth a man, hath some face that is the *Idea*. Askest thou as yet another distinction? *Idol*, that is to say, an Image is the worke which is made, and the *Idea* is out of the worke, and is not only out of the worke, but it is before that the worke was. The first Gender is of those that are commonly, and they begin to appertaine vnto vs. There it is where all things are both men, and beastes, and all other things. The sixth Gender is of those things that seeme to be, as voyde and time, *Plato* numbred not amongst these that which we see and touch, because they feere, and passe, and haue, no being, but in a continuall diminution and adiection. There is no one of vs that in his olde age is that which he was when he was young. No one man is the same in the morning which he was in the euening, before our bodies are rauished and rouled after the manner of Riuer. All that which thou seest runneth with the course of time, nothing is permanent whatsoever we see. I my selfe, whilst I say that these things are changed, am changed my selfe. This it is that *Heraditus* sayeth: these things are changed, am changed my selfe. This it is that the Riuer remayneth, but the water is stolne by. This is more manifest in a riuer then in a man; yet doth a no lesse current carrie vs away. And therefore maruell I so much at our follie, that we can so heartily loue the bodie, which is a thing so subiect vnto flight, and that we haue feare to die some day, since euery moment is a death of the first estate, wherein we were. Wilt thou feare that, that shall be once done, which is daily don? I haue spoken of a man, which is a matter fraile, perisshable, and subiect to all accidents of fortune. But the world also, although it be eternall and inuincible, yet is it subiect to changes, and remaineth not in the same estate. For although as yet it hath all that which it euer had, yet hath it the same otherwise then it had it, and changeth his order. What sayest thou, shall this subtilty profite me? If thou aske, I will answer thee nothing. But euen as the Grauer, after he hath held his eyes so long time fixed on his worke, that they are wearied, fauoreth and recreateth them, or, as we are wont to say, reposest them: so likewise ought we sometimes to recreate our spirit, and refresh the same with some delights provided that these recreations be worke. Amiddest which, if thou take good heede, thou shalt finde something that may be whole, some. This my *Lucilius*, am I wont to do. In all things wherein I employ my selfe, although they be far estranged fro Philosophie, I endeavour to draw some profitable wherof I may make vse. But what profit can I take from this Discourse that I haue now intertaind, so estranged from reformation of manners? How can these *Ideas* of *Plato* make me better? What shall I draw from these that may restrain my desires? At leastwise I shall learne that *Plato* denieth, that nothing

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of that which serueth our sensualitie, that heateth and prouoketh vs, is of the number of those things that are really. These things then are imaginative, and beare some appearance for a time: there is nothing in them that is firme and assured; and notwithstanding we desire them as if they should be alwayes durable, and continually permanent with vs. We are wearied and feeble, and linger for a time in the way. Let vs fixe our mindes on those things that are eternall: let vs admire the formes of all things that flie on high, and how God conuersing amongst them, and providing for all conserueth that against death which he could not make immortal because the matter hindered him, and how by reason he might surmount the vices of the bodie. For all things remaine, not because they are eternall, but because they are defended by the care of him that governeth them. Immortall things neede no conseruer or tutor, the work-man that made them, maintayneth them, surmounting by his vertue the frailtie of the matter. Let vs contemall these things which are not so pretious, that it is to be doubted whether they be at all. Let vs thinke also by the same means, that if the diuine prouidence seeth and keepeth this world (which is no lesse mortall then we are) from all perils and dangers, that we likewise may by our prouidence lengthen out a little time, and prolong life in this little bodie of ours, if we can bridle and moderate our pleasures, by meanes whereof the greater part of men are lost. *Plato* himselfe by a discreet gouernement, of himselfe hath attained to olde age. He had a strong and able bodie, and men gaue him that name by reason of the broadnes of his breast; but his voyages by Sea, and those dangers he had passed, had very much diminished his forces: yet his sobrietic and the moderation of those things which call on, and prouoke voracitie, and the diligent gouernment of himselfe; the manie others causes hindered him, continued to his olde age. For thou knowest this as I thinke, that this befall *Plato* by reason of the benefite of his diligence, that he departed on his birth-day, and finished the race of foure-score and one yeres without any deduction. And therefore it was that certaine *Magi*, who by skitune were in the Cittie of *Athen*s at that time, sacrificed vnto him after his death, supposing that his nature was more excellent then that of other mens, because that he had iustly attained the most perfect number of life, which nine times nine accomplish. I doubt not but that he was readie to remit some few daies of this summe, and sacrifice. Frugalicie may lengthen olde age, which in my opinion, as it is not to be desired, so is it not to be refused. It is a matter of great contentment for a man to be with himselfe as long as he may, and especially when he hath made himselfe worthe to enioy the same. Nereely approacheth he the nature of a coward, that slothfully expecteth the last houre of his life: as he is beyond all measure addicted to wine, who after he hath drunke all the wine out of the tunne, would swallow downe the lees likewise. Yet will we notwithstanding dispute further whether the last part of our age be the lees of our life, or whether it be the most purest and liquidest part of our age, prouident that the soule be not any wayes enfeebled, and that the senses be as yet entire for the seruice of the same, and that the bodie be not destitute of his forces, and halfe dead before his time. For it auaileth much whether a man prolong his life, or linger his death. But if the bodie be in such sort vnprofitable, that it cannot any longer performe his functions; why should not a man draw his soule out of prison, that doth but languish? Peradventure it were the best to doe it the soonest that a man might, lest when it should be done thou canst not doe it. And whereas there is a greater danger of liuing badly, then of dying quickly: he is a foole the which the price of the losse

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of a little time will not redeeme the hazard of a great incontinence. Few men hath long age brought to death without iniurie: And diuers men haue ouerpassed their life time idly, without doing any thing. But why shouldst thou esteeme him more cruell to lose some part of life, which mult likewise take an end? Be not displeased to vnderstand that which I say, as if this sentence should be pronounced against thee; but iudge thou of that which I say. I will not abandon mine olde age, if he reserue it wholly vnto my soule. I say wholly in respect of that part which is the best. But if I haue begun to trouble mine vnderstanding, or to ruinate some part, or that Ie hath not lelt me my life, but my soule: I will depart out of this ruinous and rotten house: I will not flie a sicknesse by the remedie of death, provided that it may be healed, and that it breed no damage to my soule: I will not kill my selfe, to make an end of my paine; for it is as much as to be vanquished, to die after this manner: yet if I knew that I should endure the same, all the rest of my life, I would depart from it, not by reason of the griefe; but for that it would hinder me from doing all things for which a man desireth to liue. A man is a recreant, and of little courage, that dyeth to escape from paine. He is a foole likewise that liueth to feele nothing but paine. But I am ouer-long, there is matter besides which cannot be exprest in a day. But how might he make an end of his life, that cannot make an end of his letter? Farewell then: for thou wilt reade these later words more willingly, then the other discourses which intreate of nothing but death.

EPIST. LIX.

The difference betwixt voluptuousnesse and ioy, and that this is an honest word: Then praeth he L. VOLCIUS his stile, and that a Philosopher likewise is not so negligent words: and that parables and similitudes are to be loved, yet that we are seriously, and not lightly to studie Philosophie, neyther must we please our selues quickly, since statere confoundeth vs.

HAue read thy Letter with great pleasure; permit me, I pray thee, to vse these common words; neyther reuoke them to the Stoicks signification. We beleene that pleasure is a vice. Put ease it be, yet are we wont to vse this word to expresse an affection of ioy in our soules. I know well, I tell thee, that pleasure (if we will that our wordes be aymed to our own purpose) is an infamous thing, and that ioy cannot happen but to a wise-man. For ioy is a certaine lifting vpp of the minde, that trusteth to his proper goods and forces. Yet commonly we speake thus, and say that we haue conceiued a great ioy of such a mans Consulate; or of some marriages, or of our wiues bringing to bed, which are not so certaine ioyes, but that oft-times they are the beginnings of future sadness. But true ioy hath this benefite to accompanie it, that it neuer hath end, neyther is turned to his contrarie. Therefore when our *Virgil* saith, *And the euill ioyes of the minde*, he speaketh elegantly, but yet not properly. For there is not any euill that bringeth ioy. He hath giuen this name vnto pleasures, and hath very well exprest that which he would say; for he meant and exprest those men that reioyce in their euill and misfortune: yet haue not I without cause said that I took great pleasure in thy Epistle. For although an ignorant man reioyce vpon a good occasion, yet so it is, that I call that affection which he cannot moderate, and that presently willeth

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it selfe vpon other diuers subiects. I call it, I say pleasure, conceiued by opinion of a fained good, conducted without measure and discretion. But to returne to my purpose, heare what delighted me in thy Epistle: Thou hast wordes at will, thy discourse transporteth thee not, & draweth thee not further then thou hast delineated. There are some that are drawne by the beautie of some word that best likes them, to write more then they had purposed, but the same befalleth not thee, All is well ordered and well applyed. Thou speakest as much as thou wilt, & significst more then thou speakest. This is a sign of some greater matter. Moreover, it appeareth that it hath no superfluitie in it, & nothing proude: yet finde I sometimes Metaphors, which as they are not ouer-hardie, so are they not vnprovided of beautie, and that haue alreadie made proofe of their good grace. I finde certaine comparisons, whereof if there be any one that will interdict vs the vse, and permitteth them onely to Poets, he seemeth to me that hee hath not read any of the auncient authors: amongst whom as yet a plausible speech was not affected or expected. They that speake simply, and to make vs onely vnderstand that they would speake, were full of Metaphors & similitudes, which in my opinion were necessarie, not for the same cause the Poets had to vse them, but to assit the feeblenes of our spirit, and to represent most liuely to the Disciple, and to the auditor that which they said. As behold when I reade amongst other, *Sextius* a vehement and subtil man, Philosophizing in Greeke wordes and Romane manners, I tooke great pleasure to see the similitude and comparison which he vsed, that an armie which feareth to be assailed by an enemy, marcheth in a square battell, to be more readie for the fight: The wise man, saith he, should doe the like he ought to stretch out his vertues on all sides, to the end that if there be any danger that threatneth him, his supply may be in a readinesse, and that without any disorder they may obey their gouernour; which we see to fall out in armies, which great Captains know how to arrange, where all the troopes are so orderly disposed, that both the one and the other vnderstand at the same time the commandement of their Generall, and the watchword is as soone heard amongst the battell of footmen, as the troopes of horsemen. But *Sextius* saith, that this is more necessarie for vs, then for men of warre. For they haue oftentimes had feare of the enemy without cause, and the high-way they feared to be most dangerous to them, was most assured. Folly hath nothing which is exempt from feare. She feareth as much from above, as from beneath; she is afraid both of the one quarter and of the other. There are dangers that come before her, and that follow after her. She is afraid of all things, she is neuer assured, but feareth her owne succours and assistants. But a wise man is armed, and aduised against all fortunes and violences, although poertie, miserie, ignominie and paine assault and charge him, he will neuer retire, he wil march, without any feare against his mischiefs, and in the midst of them, diuers things hold vs bond, and restrain vs, diuers other take from vs our forces, we haue so long time lien soyled in these vices, that wee can hardly be cleansed from them. For we are not onely soyled, but also wholly poysoned. And to the end, that from one comparison we passe not to another. I will aske thee (which I haue oftentimes considered in my selfe) why it is that folly doth so opimatiuely tie vs vnto her? First, because we repulse her not valiantly, and that we will not doe our vttermost endeour to seke helpe. Next, because we giue not sufficient credit to those things which are found out by wise men; neither receiue them, with an open breast, and passe ouer, and that ouer-lightly, a thing of great importance. But how can any man sufficiently learne what suffi-

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ceth against vices, who learneth but then, when he hath leasure to giue ouer the libertie of his vices. There is none of vs that diueth to the bottome, we haue onely gathered the top. It is ouer-much to haue beene employed, and to haue giuen a very little time to Philosophie. But that which most hindereth vs, is that we ouer-much please our felues, with our felues: If we finde any man that will call vs good men; wise and holy men, we beleuee them. We are not satisfied with a moderate praise, whatsoeuer immoderate flatterie hath heaped on vs, we receiue as due vnto vs, we consent vnto those that say we are very wise and very good, although we know well that they are accustomed to lie. And so farre flatter we our felues, that we will be praised for things wholly contrarie to that we doe. Such a one there is that heareth, that euen they whom hee sendeth to execution, call him sweete and mercifull, liberrall in his thefts and robberies, sober and temperate in his drunkenesse and lecherie. Whence it cometh to passe, that wee will not make any change in our felues, because wee iudge our felues to be honest men. *Alexander*, at such time as he ouer-ran all India, and pillaged the same by warre, as far as those nations that were scanty knowne to their neighbors, riding about the wals of a Citie, which he beheld besieged, to know on what side it was most easie to be assaulted, and finding himselfe wounded by the shot of an arrow, he remained a long time on horsebacke, and continued his enterprife. But after the blood was stanchd, and that the paine of the wound which was alreadie dried, began to encrease, and that his legge which hung on his horse pommel, began to be antonied, he was constrained to retire himselfe, and to say, *All the world sweareth that I am a Iupiter's sonne, but this wound of mine crieth out that I am a man.* The like let vs do, when as by force of flattery, euery one of vs are made fooles. Let vs say, You report that I am wise, but I see how many vnprofitable things I desire, and how many hurtfull I will for. Neither vnderstand I this which lascitie teacheth brute-beasts, what measure should be allotted for meat, what for drinke, as yet I know now how much I should take. Now will I teach thee how thou mayest vnderstand, that as yet thou art not wise. Hee may be termed, and is wise, who is replenished with ioy, glad and moderate, and that feeleth no passion, liueth equall with the gods. Now counsell thou thy selfe, if thou art neuer sad, if no hope sollicite thy minde, in expectation of that which is to come, if day and night, thy spirit enioy an equall and assured repose, if it be contented in it selfe, thou hast attained to the fulnesse of that felicitie a man may desire. But if as yet thou huntst after all sorts of pleasures, both heere and there, make account that thou art as fire estranged from wisdom, as thou shalt be from ioy and content. Thou hast a will to attaine thereunto, but thou deceivest thy selfe, if thou thinkest that thou mayest atchieue the same by the meanes of riches. Searchest thou thy ioy amidst honors, that is to say, amongst cares? These things which thou thus desirest, and thinkest to be any tables to breed thee pleasure and content, are but occasions of sorrowes. All these, I say, thinke to finde ioy and pleasure, but they know not the meanes to gaine a great and perdurable contentment. One taketh that in his banquetts and his foolish expences: another in his ambition and great troope of vassalls, that follow and flouke about him on euery side, and others by the fauours of his friends, another by vaine ostentation of the studie of liberrall Arts and Sciences, and letters which heale nothing. All these are bestowed with a flattering pleasure, which continueth not long, as drunkenesse, which yeeldeth some foolish ioy for an honor, and seeth it selfe afterwards followed with a tedious repentance. Or as the honor of an applause, and fauoura-

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ble acclamation of the people, which hath beene gotten and ended with much paine. Thou must then thinke this, that the effect of wisdom is the equalitie of ioy. The minde of a wise man is such, as is the state of the world about the Moone, there is the aire alwaies peaceable and faire. See here wherefore thou oughtest desire to be wife, for the wife man is neuer without ioy. This contentment groweth not, but from the conscience of vertues. No man can reioyce, but he that is constant, iust, and temperate. What then (sayest thou) do fooles and wicked men neuer reioyce? No, no more then Lions doe, that haue found their prey. When they are wearied and glutted with wine, and all other pleasures, when as the night which they wholly ouer-passe in drinking, is as yet but very short vnto them, when in a little bodie a man hath included greater pleasures then it may containe, & that he beginneth to giue ouer, & cast them out, then wretches as they are, begin they to exclaime and cry out this verse of Virgil.

*For how we lewdly spent this later night
In fained pleasures thou wilt vnder it and see.*

They which are addicted to foolish expence and superfluitie, passe all the night long in foolish pleasures, as if it should be their last. But that pleasure and ioy that followeth the gods, and those that liue as they doe, is neuer intermixed or brought to end: it should cease, if it proceeded and were borrowed from another. But because it cometh not by the meanes of another, it dependeth not also on the power and authoritie of another. Fortune cannot take that away which she hath not giuen.

EPIST. LX.

That the vowes of the common sort are to be despised, and Nature is to be heard.

Which thy Nurse, thy Tutor, or mother haue wished thee. Thou knowest not as yet how many euils they haue wished thee. O how harmful are the wishes of our friends vnto vs! Yea even then most hurtfull, when they fall out most happily. I do not now maruell if all the mischiefs of the world befall vs, from our first infancie. We are growne amiddest the execrations of our parents. Let the gods at any time heare our vowes, without asking them any thing. How long shall it be, that we will alwayes craue some good at the hands of the gods, as if we had not wherewith to nourish our selues? how long shall we fill the fields with corne, that might suffice to satiate great Cities: how long time shall it be that a whole Prouince or Nation shall be employed in reaping our corne? How long time shall it be, that a great number of ships shall be employed, to carrie from diuers seas the corne that should serue but one mans table? The Bull is fatned in the pasture of a few acres. One only Forrest sufficeth many Elephants. A man feedeth both of the land and sea. What then? Hath Nature giuen vs so vn-satiable a belly, in regard of that little bodie she hath giuen vs, that it should surpass the voracitie and hunger of the huge and most ravenous beasts in this world? Noe truly. For how little is it that wee owe vnto Nature? A man may content himself with a little. It is not the hunger of our bellies that costeth vs so deere; it is our glorie

glorie and ambition. And for this cause (as Salust faith) they which follow the pleasures of their belly, ought to be reckoned and ranked amiddest the number of beasts, and not of men; and some of them beside, not amongst the number of beasts, but of the dead. He liueth that vseth him selfe, but they that lie hid in sluggishness, so liue in their houses as in a sepulchre. Although in their porches they register their names in marble: yet they are buried before they are dead.

EPIST. LXI.

Let vs studie to be amended and changed. Let vs thinke on death, as if alwaies imminent, and addressed to lay hold on vs.

Et vs desist to will that which we would, for mine owne part, as old as I am, I endeavour my selfe not to will that which I would, when I was a child. In this one thing employ I all my dayes and nights, this is my onely labour, this my care, to be able to bring mine old euils to an end. I endeavour that one day may bee to me as much as my whole life. And to speake truth, I take it not as yet as if it were the last, but I regard it, as if it might bee last of all my dayes that I am to liue. I write vnto thee this letter with such an apprehension, as if death should call mee, whilest I am writing of it. I am addressed and ready to depart, and therefore by securitie enioy I life, because I am not much troubled how long it shall last. Before age I tooke care that I might liue in mine old yeares, that I might die well; and to die well, is to die willingly. Labour with thy selfe that thou doe nothing vnwillingly, whatsoeuer is necessarie will come to passe, necessitie is but to him that refuseth, and not to him that willeth. There is no necessitie for him that hath a will. I auerre it, that he who willingly submitteth himselfe to another mans command, hath fled the most vnreasonable and cruellest part of seruitude, that is to say, to doe that which he would not doe. Not he that vpon any command doth any thing, is a miserable man, but he that doth it against his will. In such sort therefore let vs compose our mindes, that we will that which necessitie requireth to be done; and about all things let vs thinke vpon our end, without any shew of heauinesse. We must sooner prepare our selues to death, then to life. Life hath but ouer-much to entertaine the same, but we are they that long after these instruments, that entertaine the same. Wee thinke, and so shall wee alwayes suppose, that wee want somewhat; neither yeares nor daies shall bring to passe that wee haue liued sufficiently, but the minde. I haue liued, my dearest Lucilius, as much as sufficeth, I expect death, as one glutted with life.

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EPIST. LXII.

That neither men or affaires are hinderances to a good minde. The praise of DEMETRIUS.



Hey that would make men belieue, that the multitude of affaires is a hinderance vnto them, in the pursuite and search of liberrall studies, doe nought else but lie. They pretend and faine occupations, they augment them, and bulie themselves. I am discharged of affaires, my *Lucilius*, I am discharged, and wherefoeuer I am, I am wholly to my selfe. For I subiect not, but accomodate my selfe to affaires. I runne not after the occasions which might make me lose time, and in what place soeuer I bide, there is it that I entertaine my thoughts, and ruminate some profitable matter in my minde. If I giue my selfe vnto my friends, for all that, forsake I not my selfe. I stay not also long time with them, whose company I haue entertained for a time, and for some cause that in due time commanded me. But I am with vertuous men. I send my thoughts and minde vnto them, in what places, and what times soeuer they haue bene. I sende always with me, my *Demetrius*, the best of men, and leauing a part these purpurated fellows, I talke with this man halfe naked, and admire him. But how should I chuse but admire him? He wanteth nothing. A man may contemne all things, and no man can haue all things. The shortest way to riches is by contempt of riches. But our *Demetrius* liueth in such sort, that hee seemeth not to haue contemned all things, but onely to haue permitted that others should enioy them.

EPIST. LXIII.

A consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of a friend, both wise and excellent.



Hou art very impatient, because thy friend *Flaccus* is deceased, yet will I not that thou subiect thy selfe to disordinate sorrow. I dare not exact this at thy hands, that thou shouldst not grieve, yet know I this, that it is the better. But to whom is it, that so firme a constancie of minde may happen, but to him alone, who hath troden fortune vnder his fecte. Yet him also would this thing trouble and pricke, yet would it but onely pricke. For our selues we may be pardoned, if we will, in teares, provided that they be not ouer-lauish, and that we our selues haue repressed them. In the losse of a friend, neither let our eyes be drie, nor ouerflowing; we must shed teares, but not weepe out-right. Supposest thou that I subiect thee to a rigorous law? When as the greatest Poet amongst the Greekes gaue leaue and limit to teares for one day only, when he said that *Niobe* also bethought her of her meate. Wilt thou know from whence these plaints and immeasurable teares proceed? By teares wee seeke the testimonie that wee bewaile them, and wee follow not griefe, but wee shew it. No man is sad to himselfe. O vnhappy folly, there is also some ambition of griefe. What then, sayest thou, shall I forget my friend? Vndoubtedly thou promisest him a verie short remembrance, if it must continue no longer then thy griefe. The least occasion

occasion of fortune, will suddenly change the wrinkles of thy brow into smiles. I grant thee not a more long time, the length whereof notwithstanding might calme and allay the greatest sorrowes of this world, and make an end of the most bitter griefes. As soone as thou shalt cease to flatter and nourish thy griefe, this opinion of sadnesse will forsake thee; now keepst thou, and entertainest thy sorrow, but how charily soeuer thou keepest it, it will escape from thee, and the sooner, the more harper it is. About all things, let vs labour that the remembrance of our friends which we loose, be agreeable and pleasing vnto vs. No man taketh pleasure to remember such a subiect, whereon hee cannot thinke without torment, notwithstanding if it cannot otherwise be, that the name of our friends, whom we haue lost, may be reduced to our memorie, without some touch and attaint of sorrow, that very touch it selfe hath some pleasure in it. For as our *Attalus* was wont to say; The memorie of our deceased friends is pleasing vnto vs no otherwise then the sowrenesse of old wine, or as apples eager-sweet are tastfull vnto vs. But after a little time is ouer-past, all that which tormented vs is extinguished, and then a pure and true pleasure is conceived in our mindes, if wee will giue credit vnto him, to thinke that our friends are in health, is to eate hony and cakes. But the memorie of those that are deceased can yeeld no ioy, but that which is intermixed with some little bitterness. But who is he that would deny that these sharpe things, and such as haue in them some acrimonic, are not hurtfull and displeasing to the stomacke? Yet am not I for all this, of that opinion. The remembrance of my friends that are deceased, is agreeable and pleasing vnto me. For I had them, as if I were to lose them, and I haue lost them, as if I had them. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thy discretion requireth. Forbeare to giue an euill interpretation of the benefits of Fortune, the took away, but she had giuen. Let vs then enioy our friends with a greedie desire, because we know not whether they shall continue with vs a long time or noe. Let vs thinke that we haue oftentimes left them, when as we had made some long voyages, and how oftentimes abiding with them in the same place, we haue not seene them; and we shall find that we haue lost more time when they were aliue. But may a man endure those that make no reckoning and account of their friends when they haue them, but bewaile them afterwards most miserably, and neuer loue any, but euen then when they haue lost him? And therefore do they then more abundantly weepe, because they are afraid, lest it should grow in doubt whether they loued them or no. Thus seeke they to take testimonies of their amitie. If wee haue other friends, we doe them iniurie, and conceiue an euill opinion of them, to thinke that they cannot comfort vs as much, as one onely whom we haue lost. And if we haue not any, we our selues doe our selues greater wrong, then we haue received at Fortunes hands. She hath onely taken one of them, and we haue not made any. Again, he scarcely loued any one, which could not loue more then one. If a man that were robbed, and had lost the onely one coate that he had, had rather bewaile his misfortune, then bethinke him by what meanes hee might escape the cold, and finde something to couer his shoulders, wouldst thou not esteeme him for a great foole? Thou hast buried him thou louedst, seeke now another whom thou mayest loue. It is better to get a new friend, then to bewaile an olde. I know well that the thing which I pretended now to speake is verie vulgar, and knowne vnto euery man: yet will I not permit it, though all the world hath vsed it. Hee that by reason and counsaile, could not finde an end of his sorrow; met with it in time, but it is most contemptible,

temptible for a wife-man to finde no remedie for his sorrow, but by wearying himselfe with the same. I had rather thou shouldst relinquish thy sorrow, then that thou shouldst be left by it. Desist from doing that as soone as thou canst; which although thou wouldest thou canst not long do. Our auncestors limited the tearme of a year for women to mourne in, not that they should mourne so long; but that they might not mourne longer. To men they prefixed no distinct time, because no time is honest yet which of these women wilt thou name me, which could scarcely be drawn from the pile where their husband was burned, or dragged from his dead carcasse, whose moans continued for a whole month? Nothing groweth more soone into hatred then griefe; which being new, findeth a comforter, and draweth some vnto him to solace him, but being inueterate is derided; and not without cause, for eyther it is fained, or it is foolish; yet doe I write this vnto thee, euen I, who haue immeasurably bewayled *Annaeus Serenus* my deere friend, that (which I write with hearts-griefe) I might be numbered amongst the examples of those, whom sorrow hath ouercome. But at this present time I condemne mine owne action, and thorowly perceiue that the greatest cause of my so mourning, was, because I neuer thought that I might haue died before him. I thought onely that he was younger, and farre more young then I, as if the destinies called vs by order of our birth. Let vs therefore continually meditate, as well on our owne mortalitie, as theirs whom we loue. Then should I haue said: my *Serenus* is yonger, what is this to the purpose? he must die after me, but he might also before me: and hauing not thought hereupon, fortune surprising me on the sudden, strooke me thus. Now know I that all things are mortall, and that they are mortall, vnder an vncertaine lawe. That may be done to day, what euer may be done. Let vs thinke therefore deere *Lucilius*, that we shall quickly come thither where he is lodged, whom we solamented. And happily (if the opinion of wife-men fauor, of truth, and any place receiue vs, he whom we suppose to haue perished is but sent before vs.

EPIST. LXIII.

The praise of QVINTVS SEXTIVS, and then of wisdom it selfe. That the true authors thereof are venerable, and that notwithstanding we may adde therunto.

THOU wert yesterday with vs. It may be demanded whether yesterday onely, and therefore I added, with vs; for thou art alwayes with me. Certaine friends came suddenly to me, vpon whose arrivall the Chimney smoaked more then it was accustomed; not that this smoake was of that kind, as that which was wont to fume from the Kitchens of those that intertaine feasts, or to terrifie those that watch by night; but a little smoake that signified that some guests were come to me. We had diuers and different discourses, as it happeneth to those that sit at banquet, reducing nothing to a resolution; but passing from one thing to another. Afterwards the booke of *Quintus Sextius* the father (a man of much knowledge if thou wilt beleeue, and a Stoicke, although some would denie it) was read vnto vs. O good God, how is this man replenished with constancy and courage: Thou shalt not find the like amongst all the Philosophers. Some mens writings haue onely a goodly title, the rest of them are without life, they make insinuations, they dispute, and cauill, they adde no courage, because they haue none. When thou

thou hast read *Sextius*, thou wilt say: he liueth, he is full of vigour, he is free, he is more then a man: He leaueth me alwayes replenished with great assurance. How soeuer my minde be disposed, if I read him (I will confesse vnto thee) I am addressed to prouoke all casualties, and freely to exclaime: Why ceasest thou Fortune? Come and encounter me, thou shalt and doest see me in a readinesse. I cloath my selfe in his courage which serueth for a subiect, against which he may approue, and where he may expresse his vertue.

*He wisheth freely that he might behold
A foaming Boare amidst his idle filde,
Or some sterne Ewe from the hills descend,
With golden crest his cattell to offend.*

I desire to haue somewhat that I may ouercome. I will suffer to exercise my patience: for *Sextius* likewise hath this admirable qualitie in him, that he will do what hee the excellency of a happy life, and will not put thee out of hope to obtaine the same. Thou shalt know that he is lodged in a place very high, notwithstanding a man that hath will, may mount thereunto. Amongst all other things, only vertue may giue thee the same, that thou maist admire therat, without losing thy hope to attaine the same. Truly the onely contemplation of wisdom, very oftentimes robbeth me of very much time: I beholde the same with no lesse astonishment, then I doe the heauens and the world, on which I oftentimes cast mine eyes, as if I had neuer seene the same: therefore is it that I reuerence and honor the intentions of wisdom, and the inuentors also: It delighteth me to goe and take possession thereof, as of an heritage common vnto many. These things are gotten, these things are laboured for me. But let vs play the part of a good father of a family: let vs increase that inheritance which was left vs, and let this possession descend to my posteritie, in more ample manner then I receiued it from mine auncestors. Much there is that as yet remaineth to be done, and much more shall remaine for after the resolution of a thousand ages, the occasion shall neuer be left to them that are borne hereafter, to adde somewhat. And although antiquitie hath inuented all things, yet the vse, the science, and disposition thereof, which hath beene inuented, shall alwayes remaine new. Put case we had finite medicines left vnto vs for the healing of eies, I need not seeke for other; yet are these to be fitted both to the diseases, and to the times: by one of them the heate of the eyes is extinguished, by another the thicknesse of the eye-lids is attenuated; by one a fudden flux of humour and rhuime is diuerted, by another the sight is quickned. It behooueth thee to grinde these remedies, and allay them well, to make choice of the time, and that thou obserue a measure in curing one of them. The remedies of the minde were inuented by our auncestors, but it behooueth vs to seeke, how and when they should be applied. They that liued before vs haue done much, but they haue not finished the same. Yet must we honour them, and reuerence them as Gods. But why should I not haue the Images of these vertuous and great men in my booke, to kindle & quicken vp my spirit? And why should I not celebrate their birth-dayes? Why should I not name them alwayes for honours sake? That veneration that I owe to my Masters, the same owe I to these Masters of mankind, from whom the beginnings of so manie benefices are flowen. If I see eyther a Consul or a Pretor, I will doe all that which is vially done in yeelding them honor & reuerence, I will light off my horse, I will put off my hat, and giue him

him the way : why then can I remember both the *Catoes*, wife *Lalius*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, without some great acknowledgement of honour? Truly I reuerence them, and hearing the greatnesse of these names, I alwayes arise to yeelde thee honour.

EPIST. LXX.

He treateth of the search of naturall things, Of cause and matter : and teacheth how much they are profitable, if they be moderately handled, and to a good end, that is of life: by the selfe he vp his minde to God and honesty.

Diuided yesterday into two parts; the one was for my selfe, the other for my sickness, which vsurped all the fore-noone to itselfe, and left the after-noon for me for which cause I first of all assayed the forces of my spirit in reading some booke. But I saw that hee tooke pleasure herein; I grew bolde to command him farre more, yea, I permitted him. I wrote therefore something with a greater care then I was accustomed, whilst I contend with a difficult matter, and will not be overcome, vntill such time as some of my friends came in vnto me, who withdrew me perforce, and reprehended me for a man intemperate in the time of my sickness. In stead of writing, some discourse was set abroad, whereof I will relate vnto thee that part which is in question, wherein thou art made Vmpeire. Thou hast more businesse in hand then thou thoughtest of. Certaine it is, that there are three causes, & the Stoicks, as thou knowest, say, that there are two things in nature, whereof all other things are made, The Cause and the Matter: the matter remaineth idle; yet prepared to all things, which will not stirre, except it be moued. But the Cause, that is to say the reason, formeth the matter, and turneth it which way soeuer he list, and produceth out of it diuers works. There must be then some thing, whereof a thing may be made, and after that a means by which it is made. This is the Cause, that the Matter. All artes are the imitation of Nature; and therefore all that which I haue said of the world, may be transferred to these, which are to be made by man. A statue had a matter that should receiue the workmanship, and an artizan that should giue form vnto the matter. Therefore in the statue the matter was brasse, and the cause the workman: all other things are of the same and alike condition. They take their Essence from that whereof they are made, and of him which maketh them. The Stoicks say that there is but only one cause, namely that which maketh. But *Aristotle* saith, that the cause may be said after three manners. The first cause, saith he, is the matter it selfe, without which nothing may be made: the second is the workman: the third is the forme, that is annexed to any worke whatsoever, as vpon a statue: for *Aristotle* calleth it *εἶδος*, that is to say, an Image. There is yet another (saith he) which is annexed for the fourth, which is the designe and intention of the whole worke, I will tell thee more plainly what it is: The Brasse is the first cause of the statue, for it had neuer bene made, if that whereof it was founded and drawne had not bene. The second cause is the workman: for this Brasse could not haue fashioned it selfe into the forme of a statue, if some skillfull artist had not bene employed therein. The third cause is the forme, for neither should this statue be called *Dariphoras* or *Diadumenus*, except this forme had bene expressed in the same. The other fourth cause is, the

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purpose and intention wherefore it was made; for without it, it had not bene made. And what is this intention? It is the same that moued the work-masters, that it is which he followed: it is then either *honor*, if he made it to sell on glory, if he made it for reputation; or his deuotion and piety, if he would giue it for a present to a Temple. This fourth cause, then, is that for which it is made. Thinkst thou that amongst the causes of a worke which hath bene made, that we ought not to count that without which it could not be made? For these doth *Plato* annex a fifth, which he calleth *ἰδέα*; for this is the example or pattern, on which the workman casting his eyes, doth that which he had delineated and determined to doe; and it skilleth not whether he haue the pattern abroad whereunto he referreth his eye, or within, in his fancie which he hath conceived and placed in himselfe. God hath the patternes and examples of all things in himselfe. He hath conceived in his vnderstanding the members and fashions of all that which should be made by him; he is full of all these formes and figures, which *Plato* calleth *ἰδέα*, which are immortall, immutable, and indefectible. So that although men die, yet humanitie vpon which man is made, remaineth: and although men become sicke, and doe die, yet that suffreth nothing. There are then six causes, according to *Plato*. That whereof; that by which; that whereby; that whereunto, and that wherefore. In the last place in the worke which is made of these things, as in a statue, because of it, we haue begun to (speake) that whereby is the brasse, that by which is the workman, that whereunto is the forme that is giuen vnto it, that wherefore is the patterne which the workman imitateth, that wherefore is the designe and intention of him that made it, and that which is composed of all these, is the statue. All these things the world hath also, as *Plato* sayeth. The workman is God, that which is made is the matter, and the forme is the fashion, and the order which we see in this world, the pattern and example is that whereon God hath formed the greatnes of this faire worke; the intention is the designe for which he made it. Askest thou me what Gods intention was? His goodnesse. Truly *Plato* saith so: What cause had God to make the world? He is good; he hath made good things. He that is good enuieth not any thing which is good: and therefore he hath made the best that he could. Giue now thy iudgement hereupon, and pronounce who he is, that in thy opinion hath most necerly aimed at the truth, not who hath said the truth, for that is far beyond our apprehension, as the truth it selfe. But this great multitude of causes, set downe by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, eyther comprehend ouer much, or too little. For if they thinke that the cause to make a thing, be al that without which nothing may be made, they haue set downe too few causes; they should nominate time, for nothing can be done without time; they should set downe place, for if there be not a place where a thing should be done, it cannot be made. They should put downe motion, without which nothing is made, nothing perisheth: moreover, there is not any art or change without motion. But here seeke we the first and generall cause. This should be wholly simple, because the matter is simple. We aske what this cause is? It is the reason that maketh, that is to say, God. And by this reason that I tolde you, there are not diuers and particular causes; but they depend wholly vpon one, that is on that which maketh. Thou sayest that forme likewise is one of the causes, and that it is which the workman putteth vpon his worke: it is a part but not a cause. The patterne also or example is not a cause; it is a necessarie instrument of the cause, so is the patterne necessarie to the workman, as the polishing iron, or the fylle, for without them art can profit nothing: yet are they not

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not parties, or causers of the art. The intention of the work-man (saith he) for which he vnder taketh to make any thing is a cause; yet though it were a cause it should not be efficient but accessorie. Now these causes are innumerable, but we dispute of a general cause; vndoubtedly they haue not spoken with their accustomed subtilty, when they haue said that this whole world and this worke so well finished, was the cause; for there is a great difference betwixt the worke and the cause of the worke. Prorogues then thy sentence, or say (as it is more easie in matters that are doubtfull) that this question is not yet in state to be iudged, and so dismisst vs. Thou wilt say vnto me, what pleasure doest thou conceiue in losing thy time after these things, which cannot disburthen thee of any passion, nor alter any couetousnesse? For mine owne part, first of all I discoure of that which may settle my minde in repose, and I rather enquire after my selfe then the world or this Vniuerse: Doing this I loose not my time at thou thinkest. For all these discourses, if they be not cut off, if they be not drawn to vnprofitable subtilties, do animate and raise the minde, which feeling it selfe pressed with a heauie burthen, desireth nought else but to deliuer her selfe, and to returne to those places where she hath bene. For this bodie is but a burthen and prison of the soule. She is wearied with the burthen; she is in bondage, if Philosophie come not to succour her. But she hath commanded her to breathe in the contemplation of nature, and hath permitted her to forsake the earth, and annex her selfe to diuine things. This is the libertie she hath, this is her refection; meane while she issueth out of prison where she is detained, and goes to recreate her selfe in heauen. Euen as worke-men, who haue long time held their eyes fixed vpon some subtill worke, and wearied them thereupon; especially if they labour in some obscure place, and with little light; goe out into the open aire, and seeke out some publique place, where the people are accustomed to disport themselves, & recreate their sight in the cleere light of the day; so the mind, imprisoned in this darke and obscure receptacle, as often as it may, seekes libertie, & reposeth it selfe in the contemplation of the works of nature. A wife-man, & he that followeth wisdom, is in some sort tyed to his bodie, but is absent from the same in his best part, and addresseth his best thoughts to high and sublime matters, and as if he had taken the oath of a souldier, he maketh account, that the time that his life lasteth is his pay or wages: and in such sort is he reformed and resolu'd, that he beareth neyther loue nor hatred to his life, and patiently suffereth all transitorie things, although hee know that a greater good remaineth hereafter. Wouldest thou interdict me the contemplation of all things in nature, and retiring me wholly, restraime me to one onely thing? Shall I not search what the beginnings of all things are? Who it is that formed them? Who it was that distinguished all that which was confus'd, and mix'd in a masse in a matter idle and immoueable? Shall I not seeke who it was that made this world? By what wisdom this incredible greatnesse of the Vniuerse hath receiued his lawes and his order? Who it is that hath gathered together so many things that were scattered? Who hath seperated those that were confus'd? Who hath diuided the beautie amongst those things which were hidden vnder an abiect deformity? Whence cometh this so great light? Is it fire, or any thing more resplendent then fire? Should I not enquire after these things? Shall I not know whence I descended? or whether I shall see them but once or diuers times? Shall I not know whether I must returne, and what place attendeth my soule, after it shal be deliuered from this humane seruitude? Wilt thou hinder me from mounting to heauen, that is to say, Wilt thou com-

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mand me to liue abiectly? I am more great, and borne for greater things, then to be a slave to my bodie; ouer which I neuer fixe mine eyes, but as on the chains that hold me prisoner, and restraime me from my liberty. It is my bodie which I expose to Fortune, to withstand her assaults: I permit not any wound to passe thereon, that may afflict my soule. All that which may subiect it selfe, or suffer iniurie in me, is but this prison of mine, abiect and slauish; the soule that remaineth therein is free. Neuer can this flesh of mine make me perke any feare, nor vse any cowardize, vnderualuing a good man, nor to lie to doe honor to this miserable bodie. When it please me, I will breake the company I haue with him. And now although we are vnited together, we will not become companions vpon equal tearmes. The soule will say that all appertaineth to her. The contempt of her bodie is her true libertie. But to returne to my purpose. Truly the contemplation of that we spake of late, may serue very much to this libertie. That is to say, that all things are composed of matter and of God. God gouerneth all these things, which being spread round about him, follow their Gouvernour and their Chiefe. And God, who is he that maketh, is more powerfull then the matter which suffereth the forme that God will giue vnto it. The same place that God obtaineth in the world, the same hath the soule in the bodie. That which the matter is to God, the same is the bodie to vs. The Inferiour therefore ought to enioy the Superiour. Let vs be firme and constant against Fortune, and let vs not feare or tremble at iniuries, wounds, imprisonment or pouertie. What is death? Either it is the end, or a passage: neither feare I to cease to be, for it is the same, as if I had neuer bene, nor to passe, because in no place shall I be lodged more straitly.

EPIST. LXVI.

That CLAUDIUS is old, but liuely, and that in bodie he was deformed, but in minde honest. He careth not for the house wherein he dwelleth. The difference of goods among the Stoicks, and that all things are equal. What then? Are ioy and patience the same? They are so in regard of vertue, not of matter. And that external things also giue not any augmentation of good. These things handleth he copiously, distinctly and excellently. O let vs read it, and apply the same.

HAue scene Claudius my companion in studie, whom of long time before I had not seene. Thou expectest not, in my opinion, that I should tell thee he is old, but at least as yet hath he his spirits liuely and vigorous, and such as striue with his little body. To speake the truth, Nature hath done amiss, to lodge so faire a minde in so foule an hostrie. Or else, it may be, she had an intent to teach vs, that the strongest and blessedest minde might hide it selfe vnder any skin, whatsoever. Yet hath he ouercome all impediments, and through the contempt of him selfe hath he attained to firme, as to contemne all other things. In my opinion, he deceiued him selfe, that said,

*Vertue is farre more gracious, getting place
Vnder the count of a comely face.*

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For she hath no need of any forren ornament, she deriueth her dignitie from her selfe, and maketh the bodie which she possesseth, holy and sacred. Truly I began to behold my friend *Claranus* very neerely, and in my iudgement hee seemeth very faire, and as well learned in bodie, as confirmed in minde. A great man may issue from a sheepe-coate, and a vertuous and faire soule may be closed in a deformed and base bodie. And Nature, in my opinion, exprecially causeth some to be borne after this manner, to make vs see, that vertue may be lodged in all places, if possibly shee could haue brought forth naked soules, these would haue done it. But now doth shee farre more disproportioned in nature, notwithstanding overcome these impediments. *Claranus*, as I suppose, was made to serue for a patterne, and to let vs see, that the soule cannot be defiled by the deformitie of the bodie, and that the bodie may receiue ornament by the beautie of the soule. But although we haue remained very few dayes together, yet notwithstanding diuers discourses passed betweene vs, which I will orderly digest, and afterwards send vnto thee. The first day the question was, how goods should be equal, since there was a three-fold condition of them. Some of these goods, as our Philosophers say, are placed in the first ranke, namely, ioy, peace, and felicitie of the Country. The other are in the second, which neuer make themselves knowne, but in a miserable subiect, as patience in the midst of torments, and temperance in a great sicknesse. We desire that the first should befall vs euery day, and the second when need requireth. There is also a third sort, as to walke modestly and grauely, to carrie a modest countenance, and vse the gestures and behaviours of a wise man. How is it then, that these goods may be equal among themselves, since we are to desire the one, and depart from the other? If we will distinguish, let vs returne to the first, and consider what it is. A soule that fixeth his eyes vpon the truth, that knoweth that which she ought to eschew or desire, that priset all things, not by opinion, but by the lawes of Nature, that intermixeth it selfe amidst this great vniuers, and fixeth her contemplation vpon the effects thereof, that is, incessantly occupied in thinking and doing, that is, as great as she is vehement, that suffereth not her selfe to be overcome, neither by aduersē, or pleasing things, that submitte her not, neither to the one nor to the other fortune, that is, eminent aboue all things that may happen or befall her, that is, faire with a good grace, that hath her strength accompanied with health and sobriety, that is, neuer affrighted nor astonished, whom no violence can shake, whom Fortune cannot raise or depresse. Such is the vertue of the soule, such is her face, if she might expresse her selfe at once, and might wholly and at once discover her selfe to our sight: yet many differences hath she in her selfe, which discouer themselves in the diuersitie of life, and his actions; and yet becommeth the neither more great nor more small then he is. For the soueraigne good may not decrease, neither hath vertue power to goe back-ward, yet changeth she in diuers qualities, and conformeth her selfe according to the habit of those things she will do. She changeth and transfigureth into her likeness all that which she toucheth; she maketh the actions, amities, and sometime whole houses where she entereth, and which she hath vnder her government, honorable: all that which she manageth, she maketh amiable, admirable, and resplendent; & therefore her force and greatness cannot be raised higher, because that which is greatest cannot receiue encrease. Thou shalt finde nothing more iust, then that which is iust, nothing more true, then that which is true; nothing more temperate, then that which is temperate. Constancie findeth nothing that may aduance it, no more then Confidence,

dence, veritie, or Faith. What thing is that, which may be added to a perfect thing? Nothing: not if any thing might be annexed, it is not perfect: therefore not to Vertue also, for if any thing might be annexed, it were deficient. Honesty also cannot receiue any augmentation. For honesty is in the same ranke with other things, which I haue spoken of. But what shall we say of that which is decent, of that which is iust, and of that which is lawfull? I thinke thou not that they are of the same forme; and comprehended vnder certaine limits. To haue power to encrease, is a signe of an imperfect thing. All sorts of good are subiect to the same lawes, the priuate and publike profit are ioyned together, and truly inseparable in such sort, that one may not separate that which is praise-worthy, from that which is to be desired. Vertues therefore are equal and alike betweene themselves, as also their effects are, and all men to whom they befall. But the vertues of vegetables and liuing creatures, because they are mortall, fragile, flexible, and vncertaine, arise and fall, and therefore are they not esteemed in the same reckoning. But humane vertues haue but one onely measure. For there is but one right and simple reason. Nothing is more diuine then that which is diuined, nor more celestiall then that which is celestiall. As touching mortall things, we see that they are sometimes high, sometimes low, that sometimes they are abased and encreased, exhausted and replenished. And therefore in so vncertaine a condition they are vnequall; but things that are diuine, are of the same nature. But reason is no other thing but a part of the diuine spirit, infused and plunged in our humane bodies: if therefore reason be diuine, and that there is not any good without reason, all goods of what kinde soeuer are diuine; but there is no difference betwixt diuine things, therefore not betweene goods. Ioy therefore, and a stout and obstinate sufferance in torments are equal, for in both there is the same greatnes of minde, but in the one more remisse and relenting, in the other more withstanding and intent. What? thinkest thou not his vertue is great, that stoutly entereth his enemies citie, as his that patiently sustaineth the siege? *Scipioes* courage is great, which holdeth *Numantia*, so closely besieged and beleagured, that constrained that inuincible nation, to make away themselves by their owne hands: and great is the minde of those besieged, that know that nothing is shut vp from him to whom death is open, and that expireth in the embracing of his libertie. The like equal are the rest also among themselves, tranquillity, simplicitie, liberality, constancie, equanimity, sufferance: for in all these, there is but one vertue that maketh the minde vpright and immutable. What then? is there no difference betwixt ioy and the inflexible patience of paines: none at all in regard of the vertues themselves, much in respect of those things, in which both the vertues are exemplified. For in the one there appeareth a recreation and repose of spirit, in the other a griefe contrarie to nature. These subiects then are the meanes, which receiue betweene them a great difference. But the vertue is equal both in the one, and in the other. The matter changeth not the vertue. That which is distastefull and difficult cannot make it worse, neither that which is ioyfull and agreeable better. It followeth then, that both the one and the other of these goods are equal. For this man cannot beare himselfe more vertuously in his ioy, nor the other in his torments, and truly two things in which nothing may be bettered, are equal. For if those things which are placed out of vertue, either can diminish or encrease the same, that ceaseth to be one good which is honest. If thou grant this, all honesty perisheth. Why? I will tell thee: Because there is nothing honest, that is, done either by an vnwilling man, or by him that

that is enforced: all honestie is voluntarie; if thou mixe with it slothfulness, complaints, refusals, and feare, he hath lost all that is good in it selfe, to please himselfe. It cannot be honest, which is not free, for that which feareth is in bondage. But that which is honest is equally assured, and full of peace and repose. If he refuseth any thing, if he weepeth, if he iudgeth that it is euill, hee entereth into some perturbation, and feelth a great discord in his soule. For on the one side, the appearance of good calleth him, & on the other the feare of euill retireth him. Thus he that will do any thing with honor, ought to iudge, that nothing of that which opposeth it selfe against his wil, is euill, although it be incommodious. All that which is honest, ought to be effected, without another mans command or constraint. It is pure and sincere, and no waies intermeddled with any other euill. I know well what a man may answere me heere. Thou endeourest to perswade vs this, that there is no difference whether any man bein ioy, or lie in torture, and weare his executioner. I might answere that which *Epicurus* saith, That a wife man would crie out with a loude voice, although he were roasted in *Phalaris* bull: O how sweet is this torment, and how little appertainteth it to me? Why wonderest thou, if I say, that the good of him that is seated in the middle of a banquet, and of that other, which remaineth and standeth firme and constant amiddest the torments, are equal, whereas (which is farre more incredible) *Epicurus* saith that it is a sweet thing to be tortured. But I answere thereunto, that there is a great difference betwixt ioy and dolour. For if I should be put to my choice, I would demand the one, and flie the other: the one is amicable to Nature, the other is contrarie. As long as they are esteemed after this rate, they are very different betwixt themselves: but when we come vnto vertue, both the one and the other are equal, as well that which maketh his way by ioy, as the other that maketh it by sorrow. Vexation, griefe, and whatsoever other incommoditie are of no moment, for they are surmounted by Vertue. Euen so paines, afflictions and iniuries, are dissipated and abated by vertue; which, in what place soeuer thee shineth, extinguisheth all that which appeareth not to be enlightened by her. And those paines and incommodities that fall vpon vertue, haue no more power ouer her, then a little raine ouer the sea. But to the end thou mayest beleue that this is true, a good man will runne without any cunctation to euery faire thing, although the hang-man be there, the torture be prepared, the fire be enkindled, hee persecuteth, he will not bethinke him of that he must suffer, but on that which he ought to doe. He will cast himselfe vpon an honest thing, as betwixt the armes of a good man, he will make account that it is profitable, assured, and full of good happe. An honest thing therefore shall haue the same place and credit with him, although it be heauie and troublesome, as a good man should haue, although he were poore, banished and sicke. Well then, set me on one side a good man full of riches, and on the other side, one that hath nothing at all, and yet notwithstanding, hath all things in himselfe; the one shall be as good a man as the other, although their fortunes be different. The first reckoning ought a man to make in all things, as he doth of men: Vertue is as laudable in a healthfull and free bodie, as in a sicke and imprisoned. Thy vertue then shall be no lesse praiseworthy, if Fortune hath conferred thy bodie in health, & without harme, then if it were maintained in some member. Otherwise it were to praise the Master by his mens liueries. For all the things on which Fortune exerciseth her power are base and seruile, as are riches, the bodie & honors, they are weak, fraile, mortall,

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and possessed with vncertaintie. Contrariwise, the workes of vertue are free and inuincible, the which are not to be withheld for more, when they are favoured by any flattering fortune, nor lesse also when they are followed with some disaster. That which we call friendship towards men, is a desire and courteousnesse towards good things. I suppose thou wouldest not rather prize a good rich man for his wealth; then thou wouldest deale poore man, nor a strong and mighty man, then a feeble and weak man. By the same reason, thou wouldest not rather with a faire and peaceable thing, then that thing which is painfull and laborious. And if it be so of the two that should be equally good, thou haddest rather like of him that should be neate and perfumed; then him that should be sloenly and vncombed: In fine, thou wouldest come thus farre, that thou wouldest more loue a man that were complete in all his members, that had neuer bene hurt, then a weak and spur-blinde fellow. Briefly, by little and little thy disdain would increase so farre, that of the two that should be equally sage and iust, thou haddest rather haue him that were faire locked and trilled; then him that is disguised and balde. When the vertue both of the one and the other is equal, the inqualitie of other things appeareth not. Because all these other things are not partes, they are but accessories. For who is hee that would make so iniust an esteem amongst his children, that he would make better reckning of him that were whole, then of him that were sick: of him that were great and high of stature, more then of him that were low and little? Wilde beasts distinguish not their yong ones, they couch themselves on the ground to nourish them altogether: birds doe equally distribute their meat to their yong. *Vlysses* maketh as great hast to see his rockes of *Ithaca*, as *Agamemnon* his noble wallles of *Mycene*. For no man loueth his countrey because it is great, but because it is his owne. But whereto tend these things? To the end that thou mayest know, that vertue carrieth an equall eye and regard on all her workes, as on her proper children, that she loueth all of them alike, and those farre more that feele a nie paine, because the loue of fathers extendeth more towards those, on whom they haue most compassion. In like manner vertue beareth not lesse affection to those her workes, which the seeth suffer more affliction and torment, but following the custome of good parents, she embraceth and cherisheth them the more. But why is it that one good cannot be greater then another? Because there is nothing more apt then that which is apt; nor nothing more full then that which is full. Thou canst not say that this is more like vnto a thing then that, consequently there is nothing more honest then that which is honest. So then, if the nature of vertue be all alike, all the three sorts of goods are equal. And therefore I say that it is all one to be moderate in ioy, and moderate in pain. Ioy surmounteth not the constancie of the soule, that deuoureth his complaints vnder the crueltie of a hang-man. The one of these goods are to be desired, the other to be admired; yet both of them are equal: for all that which is ill is covered vnder the cloake of a more greater good. He that should be of an opinion that these two things were not equal, he should shew that he would neuer call his eyes vpon vertue, and that hee only regarded exterior things. True goods haue the same waight and greatnesse, both the one and the other. But the false are vaine and deceiueable. Therefore it is that those goods that seeme so faire and so great to the exterior eye, deceiue vs when they are brought to their touch and waight. This is true, my *Lucilius*, all that which reason and vertue praiseth and priset, it is firme, it is eternall, it maketh the soule assured, and lifteth it vp to heauen, to remaine there everlastingly. But the goods which

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we commend without reason, and that haue their onely being in vulgar iudgement, doe but fill them with winde, that reuue in them. Contrariwise, that which a man searcheth as euill, doth but affright our minds, and terrifie the same no otherwise then apprehension of some danger troubleth beasts. All these things then doe recomfort the soule, or torment it without reason: for neyther is the one worthie of any ioy, nor the other of any feare. There is nought but onely reason, which is immutable and constant in her iudgement; for thee obeyeth not, but commandeth the senses. Reason is equall with reason, as right to that which is right. Vertue then is the like; for she is nought else but right reason. All vertues are rightfull reasons, if they be rightfull they are equall. Such as the reason is, such are the actions. Therefore all are equall: for since they are like vnto reason, they are also like betweene themselves. And those actions terme I equall betweene themselves, which are vpriight and honest. But yet they shall be much different, by reason of the varying of the matter, which is now more ample, now more sparing, now more worthie, now more ignoble, now perdayning to many, now vnto few. And notwithstanding in all those things, that which is the best is equall. Euen as amongst good men, all are equall as they are good men, yet haue they some differences in age, the one is elder, the other younger; they haue difference in bodie, the one is faire, the other deformed; they differ in fortune, this is rich, that is poore: he is gracious, powerfull, knowne to Cities and Nations, this vnknowne to many and obscure. But in that they are good, they are equall. The sense iudgeth not of good and euill: it knoweth what is profitable, and is ignorant of that which is vnprofitable: he cannot giue his aduice, but of that which is represented before his eyes: he cannot foresee those things that are to come to passe, neither haue remembrance of that which is forepassed; lesse knoweth he that which may ensue: notwithstanding, thereupon dependeth the order and successe of things, and all the constancie of life, which should be right and perfect. Reason then is it that iudgeth of good and euill, that maketh no account of forraine matters, which come externally, and that thinketh that those things which are neither good nor euill, to be some small and light increasings, all good to him is in the mind. Moreover, there are certaine things which the placeth in the first ranke, to which the purposely commeth, as to a victorie, to wife children and well borne, and the health of his country. There are other goods of the second degree, which are not knowne but in aduerities, as to suffer a sicknesse or banishment patiently. And certaine other indifferent, which neuertheless are more friendly then contrary to nature: as to walke modestly, and to keepe a graue countenance when a man sitteth. For it is a thing as naturall to sit as to stand, or to walke. But the two first are much different the one from the other; for the first are according to nature, that is to say, to reioyce at the piecie of his children, and the felicitie of his country. The second are against nature, to sustaine torments with a great constancie and endure thirst, when as the infirmities burneth the entrailles. What shall it then be? Is there any thing contrary to nature that may be called good? No truly. But this good is often found in a thing, which is enemy to nature: for to be hurt, to be dried and consumed in the fire, to be afflicted with a sicknesse is against nature, but to conferre a mans soule in such harmonie, that she is not wearied to suffer torments, this is friendly to nature. What is reason then? It is an imitation of nature. What is mans chiefeest good? It is to doe all things according to natures will. It is vndoubted (saith he) that a peace which hath neuer bene interrupted, is better then that which hath bene gotten with effu-

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sion of blood. There is no doubt (saith he) but that health which neuer hath bene shaken, is better and more happy, then that we haue recovered perforce, and by a long patience of a sicknesse that threatned vs with death: In like manner it is not to be doubted, but that ioy is a greater good, then a soule subiect to suffer torments, wounds, and fire, yet are these things nothing. For those things that happen casually receiue a great difference, because they are esteemed by the prolike of those that receiue them. The intention and end of good men is to consent vnto nature. She is equall in all. When as the whole Senate followeth the opinion of one man: a man cannot say, This man is better aduised then the other; for all of them haue followed that opinion. I say the same by vertues; all of them consent vnto nature: I say the same by good men; all of them consent vnto nature. One is dead young, another olde: some one morcouer is dead in infancie, that hath enioyed no other good then to haue the onely light of life: all these were equally subiect to die, although death hath suffered some of them to liue more long, and that to others she hath cut off the threed of life, euen in the flower of their age, and hath interrupted the beginnings and birth of some other. One dieth in the midst of his supper, to another his sleepe and death hath bene but one, and some also haue been strangled amidst the embraces of their minions. Adde also to these, those that are dead by the sword, or haue bene slaughtered by the sting of Serpents, or that haue bene crushed to death vnder some ruine, or that are dead through a long conuulsion of their liues, that by little and little hath tortured them. A man may say that the end of some is better, and of others is worse. But the death of them all is equall. The meanes whereby they come thereunto are diuers; but the point where they ended is but one. There is not any death more great, the one then the other: for she hath one and the same measure in all persons, that is to put an end to life. I say the like of goods; one of these goods nourisheth it selfe, betwixt pleasure and delights, and the other fealeth nothing, but aduerities and disasters. Some one hath gouerned at his pleasure the sweetnes of a good fortune, and another hath euer borne the force of a tyrannie: yet both the one and the other goods are wholly equall, although the one hath not marched but by plaine and easie pathes, and the other by places both tedious and dangerous. In briefe, the end of all is wholly alike. They are goods, they are praise-worthy, they follow vertue and reason: vertue maketh all things equall amongst themselves, which she acknowledgeth. It behooueth thee not, amongst those opinions which I hold, to wonder hereat. In *Epiurus* opinion there are two sorts of goods, whereof this happy and foueraigne good is composed, which are, that the bodie be without paine, and the soule without passion and perturbation. These goods increase not when they are compleate: for which way may that increase which is full? The bodie is without griefe; what may be added to this indolencie? The soule is peaceable, and in assured repose; what may be added to this tranquillitie? Euen as the cleere skie and the heauen appearing in his brightnesse cannot receiue any more accomplished beautie: so the estate of a man that hath care of his bodie and of his soule, and will compound his good by the meanes, both of the one and the other, is wholly perfect; it hath attained the fulnesse of his desire, if he feeleth no tempest in his soule, nor trouble in his bodie. If any other forraine contentments befall vs, they augment not any wayes this foueraigne good, but in a sort season the same, and make it pleasing. For this intirely perfect good of humane nature, contenteth it selfe with the placabilitie of bodie & soule: I will allledge you from *Epiurus* himselfe, a diu-

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sion of goods wholly like vnto ours. For there are some with him that he had rather should happen vnto him, that is to say the repose of the bodie, free from all paine, and the contentment of the soule that may reioyce in the contemplation of her goods. There are others which he praileth and approueth, although he could not with, they should befall him, as that patience which I spake of late in a great sickness, and extreme dolours, which *Epicurus* supposed his last and fortunatest day of his life. For he said that he suffered torments in his bladder and in his vlcerrated bellie, which could not receiue a more greater increase of dolour. And yet he esteemed that day the most happie. But nothing can make a man happie, but him that enioyeth the foueraigne good. There is then amidst *Epicurus* goods, such as thou wouldest not feele: but since fortune willeth that it must be so, we must embrace, prize, and praise the same as the greatest goods. A man cannot say but that the good which hath giuen a period to a happie life; and for which *Epicurus* in his last wordes, hath giuen thanks, is not euen and equall with the greatest goods. Permit me yet further, my *Lucilius*, to speake more boldly to thee: if any goods may be greater then others, I had rather follow those that were displeasing, then those that are gracious and delicate. For it is more honour to ouercome such things as are difficult, then to moderate those that are ioyfull. I know well by the same reason that it may be effected, that some one may entertaine his felicitie modestly, and his calamitie constantly. As valiant ought he to be esteemed that hath all night stood Sentinell in the Trenches, although the enimie hath not sallied to force the Campe, as hee that after his legges haue beene cut off, hath entertained the combate on his knees, and hath neuer forsaken his weapons. We say to those that ordinarily returne from the field, conquered with bloud, God increase your vertue. Therefore is that I would alwayes praise those goods farre more continually, which are become constant by a continuall exercise, and that haue combated against fortune. Should I make doubt rather to praise that roasted and maimed hand of *Mutius*, then the most healthfomest hand of the most valiant man that is: he stood vpright, contemning his enemies and the flames, he beheld his hand that consumed and dropped thorow his enemies Torch, vntill at last *Porsena* enuied the glorie of him, at whose griefe in the beginning he took pleasure, and caused to his great disgust, the fire to be taken from him. Why should I not account this good amidst the first and principall? Why should I not esteeme it farre more then those, which some enioy in so much securitie, without feare of fortune, since it is a thing more rare to haue overcome an enimie with a dried and wasted hand, then with a whole and well armed? But why, wilt thou say, wouldest thou desire this good? Wherefore not? for there is not any one can do the like, but he that can with the same. Should I with rather to yeeld my feete to be softly rubbed by one of mine olde varlets, or to some woman, or to some one that from a man should become a woman, to stretch the ioynts of my little toes? Why should I not thinke *Mutius* more happie for managing the fire, in such sort as if he had stretched out his hand to any man, to rubbe him softly? He salued all the offence he had done, hee made an end of the warre disarmed and lame, and with that maimed hand he ouercame two Kings.

EPIST.

EPIST. LXVII.

After his small Preface, a question whether euery good is to be wished for. He saith that it is, yea euen that whose matter is in euill. As to be constantly burned, sicked, and whipped. Neither is the burning it selfe, a sickness, nor the whipping, but that, saith he, is to be wished for, to suffer the same stoutly and constantly. Again, that vertues are vnted together; and as one, so all. These also are worthy and befitting a stout and reall Stoick.

TO the end that I make the beginning of my letter, with those things that are common: the spring began to open it selfe, but as if it approached already towards Summer, and at such time as it should be hot, it waxed warme. Neither as yet is it to be trusted, for oftentimes it returneth to Winter. Wilt thou know how vnsured it is? As yet I dare not adventure to bath my selfe in cold water, as yet doe I temper the cold thereof. This is, sayest thou, not to suffer either heat or cold. So it is, my *Lucilius*, mine age is contented enough with his coldnes, that scarcely may be thawed in the midst of summer. And therefore for the most part of the time, I lie couched on my matresse. I thanke mine age that hath tied me to my couch. And why should I not giue it thanks for this? All that which I should not will, I cannot act. My greatest discourses with my books: if at any time thy Epistles come betweene, me thinkes I am with thee, and so am I affected in minde, as if I did not write backe vnto thee, but answered thee face to face. And therefore will I entreate of that which thou demandest of me, as if I spake with thee. We will both of vs examine what this question is. Thou wilt haue me tell thee whether euery good be to be desired. If it bee good, sayest thou to endure torments courageously, and to suffer the fire with a great constancie, and to endure a sickness peaceably: it followeth that all that is to be desired, and yet see I nothing in it, that is worthy to be wished. Truly, as yet know I not any man, that hath payed any vow he hath made for being beaten with whips, or made lame by the gout, or made longer by the racke. Thou must, my *Lucilius*, make a distinction of these things, and then shalt thou finde that there is some point which may be wished for. I could well wish that torments should be alwayes estranged from me: but when of force I must needs feele the same, then would I wish that I might endure them verbiouly, courageously, and honorably. Why should I not rather wish, that the warre should neuer happen? But if it be proclaimed and begun, then would I wish, that with a generous courage I might suffer wounds, famine, and all that which the necessity of warre bringeth with it. I am not so foolish, as that I would desire to bee sicked, but if it must so fall out, I would desire also that I might not do any thing intemperately, or effeminately. So the euils and incommodities are not to be desired, but the vertue whereby incommodities are suffered. Some of our Stoicks thinke, that the constancie and patience in torments and euils, neither ought to be desired nor detested. For when a man wisheth, he ought to desire a thing wholly peaceable, pure, and exempt from sorrowes. But I am not of their opinion. Wherefore? Because it cannot be that a thing should be good, and should not be desired. Furthermore, if vertue is to be desired, and if there be not any good without vertue, it followeth that all good is to be desired. Again, if a constant patience in torments should not be desired. I aske thee againe.

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gaine, is not Fortitude to be wished for? But she contemneth and prouoketh all perils. The fairest and most admirable part that is in it, is not to flee from any flames, and to present himselfe to wounds, and sometimes not to auoide them, but to open his brest to receiue them. If then fortitude is to be desired, and patience in suffering torments is to be wished for, (for this is a part of fortitude) but separate these things, as I said, there shall be nothing that shall deceiue thee. For to suffer torments, is not to bee wished for, but to suffer them courageously. That courage with I for, which is a vertue. Yet who euer wished this to himselfe? Some vowes are open and professed, when they are particularly made: some are obscured, when as many things are comprehended in one vow. As when I desire an honest life, but an honest life consisteth of diuers actions. In this is *Regulus* tombe, *Catoes* wound rent open by his owne hands. *Rutilius* banishment, the inuened cup that translated *Socrates* out of prison into heauen. So when I wished my selfe an honest life, I wished these things also, without which sometimes it cannot be honest.

*O thrice and foure-times happy men were they,
That vnder Troy-towne walles dismembred lay,
Before their parents eyes.*

What difference makest thou, either that thou wishest it vnto any one, or that thou confessest that it is to be desired? *Deius* made a vow to die for the Common-weale, and seeking nought but death, galloped his horse into the swarms of his enemies. Another after him, that emulated his fathers vertue, after hee had pronounced the solemne words, which were alreadie familiar vnto him, thrust himselfe mainly into the throng of his enemies, hauing no other care, but to beseech the gods to effect the intention of his vow, supposing that a good death was a thing to be desired. Doubtest thou then, that it is not a great good to die, to the end, to leaue a happie memorie of a man, and of some his vertuous enterprise? When any one endureth torments, constantly he employeth all vertues, although it may be he had but patience onely, which might appeare and shew it selfe. But there is Fortitude, whose patience, sufferance and tolerance are the branches. There is Prudence, without which no counsell is conceived, which perswadeth to endure that valiantly, which thou canst not flee. There is Constancie, which cannot be delected from her place, and giueth not ouer her resolution by no feare of torture. There is that inseparable societie of all the vertues. All that which is done honorably, one only vertue doth it, but it is by aduice of counsell. But that which is allowed by all vertues, although it seeme to be done by one, is to be desired. Why? Supposeth thou that those things are only to be wished for, which come by pleasure and idleness? And that which we receiue from painted, tapised, and adorned gates? There are some sad pleasures, and some vowes that are celebrated, not with reioyce, but with adoration and veneration of the the whole assembly. Thinkest thou not that in this kinde *Regulus* wished not to returne into the hands of the Carthaginians? Put vpon thee the minde of a generous and vertuous man, and separate thy selfe a little from the opinions of the common sort. Assume as faire and magnificent a forme of vertue as thou oughtest: which is to be honored by vs, not with gauds and garlands, but with sweate and blood. Behold *Marcus Cato*, thrusting his moist pure hands into that his sacred brest, to enlarge his wound, which as yet was not sufficiently deepe, whether at length wouldest thou say vnto him,

him,

him, I would that which thou wouldest, and I am much grieued at that which thou doest. Happy be it vnto thee which thou doest. In this place our friend *Demetrius* commeth to my minde, who termed a secure life, and such a one as was not subiect to Fortunes incursions, the dead sea. For to haue nothing to awaken thee, nothing to moue thee, nothing by whose aduertisement and assault, thou mayest make triall of the firme of thy minde, but to liue alwaies in a repose which hath neuer been troubled, this is not a tranquillitie, but a calme, and relent of the sea. *Attalus* the Stoick was wont to say, I had rather that Fortune should nourish me in the calme, then in her delights. I suffer torments, but it is with constancie: this is well. I am massacred, but endure it constantly: this doth well. Heare moreouer what *Epicurus* saith: And sweete it is: I will neuer giue a delicate name to a thing so honest and seuer; I am burned, yet remaine I inuincible: why should it not be desired, not that the fire burne me, but that it ouercome me not? There is nothing more worthe then Vertue. All that whatsoeuer, which is done by her direction and command, is good and desirable.

EPIST. LXVIII.

He perswadeth repose, but so as it be ioynd with Philosophie. That we are not to boast thereof. And in it we are to entreate of our selues, with our selues, that is, to enquire of our vices, and to amend them. To conclude, that this repose is above all other affairs, because it serueth the great Common-weale.



Will be of thy minde; go to them, and retire and hide thy selfe in repose, or rather hidge thou thy repose. If thou canst not learne this by the Stoicks precepts, at least thou shalt learne it by their example. But by their precepts also thou shalt learne it, which I will approue vnto thee when thou wilt. We send not ouer to euerie Common-weale, neither alwayes, neither without any end. Moreouer, when we haue giuen a wise-man a Common-weale worthy of himselfe, that is to say, the world; he is not out of his Common-weale, although he be retired. But it may bee rather that forsaking a little corner, hee goeth into places more great and spacious, and lodging himselfe in heauen, he then vnderstandeth, that when he was mounted in his chaire, and in his throne, he was rather descended into a more base place. I will shut this secret in thy bosome. That a wise-man neuer profiteth so much, then when both humane and diuine things become the obiects of his eyes. I returne now vnto that which I began to perswade thee vnto, that is, that no man may know that thou wilt liue in repose. It becometh thee not to couer this resolution vnder the cloake of retirement, whereby thou mayest intend Philosophie. It were better thou shouldst obscure thine intent vnder some other title. Thou must call it sicknesse, feeblenes, idleness. It is a foolish ambition to glorie in doing nothing. There are certaine beasts, which because they will not be tracted, confound their steps such about that place where they lurke in. The like must thou doe; otherwise thou shalt not want them that will follow the quest of thee. There are many that passe before the gates of those that are opened, without entering into them, and peepeth on the cranes of those that are closed. The coffer that is closed, wherewith on the theefe to breake it open, no man maketh reckoning of that which is vnlocked,

vnlocked, and these lock-pickers assault not the doore that is open. These are the manners of the common people, and thus doth the most ignorant. They desire to enter forcibly into others mens secrets. It is therefore most expedient for a man not to boast of his retirement, and it is a kinde of boasting to be hidden too much, and to sequester a mans selfe from the sight of the people. This man is locked vp in *Tarentum*, that man is retired in *Naples*, and that other man for many yeares hath not ouerslid his threshold. Vndoubtedly hee summoneth the world to come and see him, that will suffer a report to passe of him through the citie, that he is retired. After thou hast retired thy selfe, thou must doe nothing that men may talke of thee, speake thou only with thy selfe. But what shalt thou talke with thy selfe? That which some men do willingly entertaine of others. Haue alwayes an ill opinion of thy selfe. Accustom thy selfe to speake the truth, and to heare it also. Abooue all things, speake thou often of those imperfections which thou feelest in thy selfe. There is no man but knoweth his owne infirmities. Therefore it is that some man disburdeneth his stomacke by vomit, another stuffs it with continuall eating, another emptieth and weakeneth his bodie by the meanes of fast. Those that are often tortured with the paines of the gout, abstaine either from bathing themselves, or drinking of wine. And without obseruance of any other manner of diet, they ordinarily ouercome the sicknesse wherewith they are tormented. So likewise there are certaine parts in our soule, which are the causes of our infirmities, which how we ought to recover, we diligently must bethinke our selues. What doe I in that repose I take? I cure mine vicer. If I should shew thee my foote swolne, my hand wholly mortified, or the dried sinewes of my contracted leg, thou wouldest giue me leaue to lie in one place, and to take pittie and regard my grieffe. But that cuill which I cannot see is farre greater. It is an inflammation and aposteme which I haue in my brest. I will not that thou praise me, neither will I that thou say, O great man! Hee hath despised all things, and after hee hath condemned all the furies of humane life, hee is fled. Alas I haue condemned nothing but mine owne proper actions. Thou must not desire to come vnto me, to the end to profit thy selfe. Thou art deceived; if hence thou expectest any succours. Heere dwels not the Physitian, but the patient. I had rather when thou art gone, thou shouldest say. I thought this man to be a happy and learned man, I gaue care vnto him, I am deceived, I heard nothing, I saw nothing that I might desire, or that might allure me to returne againe vnto him. If this be thy opinion, if this be thy speech, I know thou hast profited somewhat; I had rather thou shouldest pardon my repose, then enuie it. What then Seneca, commendest thou repose of spirit vnto me? Thou growest an Epicure in thy opinion at length. I recommend vnto thee repose, to the end, that by the meanes thereof, thou mightest doe things more great and more excellent, then those which thou hast left behinde thee. To knocke at great mens gates, to keepe reckoning of old men that haue no children: to haue great reputation in Court, is but a momentary power, and full of enuie; and if thou wilt speake truth, an abiect. This man farre surpasseth me in reputation amongst the Lawyers. He in his allowances and payes for seruice, and his dignities gotten thereby, he in the multitude of his clients, I cannot be so well followed as the one, nor recover so great reputation as the other. But I ought not to make so great account to be ouercome by men, prouide alwaies that I may ouercome Fortune. Would to God that had bene thy minde heretofore, to haue followed this purpose. Would to God we heeld not this discourse of happy life, vpon that instant, Wherein

wherein death presenteth her selfe to our sight, yet let vs not delay for all this. For now beleue we many things by experience, which we should haue beleued by the discourse of reason, to be both superfluous and harmefull. Let vs do like those that set forward on their journey late, and that by diligence would recover the time which they haue lost, let vs prick forward on the spur. This age is as yet very proper to this studie: it is already clenfed from his skum: it hath already left those vices which he could not conquer in the heate of her youth. There wanteth little, but that she hath wholly extinguished them. And when, saiest thou, shall this profit thee which thou learnest euen in the period of thy yeares, or to what intent? To this, that I may die the better: yet oughtest thou not to thinke that there is any age more proper vnto wisdom, then that which by long experience, and by a continuall and frequent sufferance of casualties hath mortified and ouercom her selfe; and which after it hath triumphed ouer her affections, hath attained to the knowledge of that which profiteth and concerneth her selfe. This is the true time of that good which remaineth but a little while, what man fouer, and how olde fouer nee be that hath attained wisdom, it is by his yeares that he hath compassed it.

EPIST. LXXIX.

That places are not to be changed, but that we ought to be more reposed in bodie, to the end the minde may be more pacified. That we are to fixe the same on a wholesome studie, and to auoyde those things which distract vs.

Will not that thou change countries, or transport thy selfe from one place to another, first, because so often change is a token of an instable and vnsted minde. Thou canst neuer make profite of thy retirement, vnlesse thou giue ouer trauell, and wandring from country to country. If thou wilt settle thy minde, limit thy bodie in some place; then will thy continued remedies profite thee much. Thou must not breake the repose or forgetfulness of thy former life: suffer thine eyes to forget; suffer thine cares to accustom themselves to wholesome counsailes. As oft-times as thou shalt walke in the streets, thou shalt finde in passing by, something that may renew thy affections. Euen as he that would depose himselfe of loue, ought to stie the remembrance of that beaurie, which he hath loued: so he also that will discharge himselfe of the affection of all things, of that desire wherewith he burned in times past, he must retire both his eyes and eares from that he hath forsaken. Affection reuolteeth suddenly: on which side fouer the turne her selfe, she shall finde a readie recompence of her employment. There is no cuill without reward. Auarice promisseth vs money, lust manie and diuers pleasures, ambition the purple and applause, and thereby power and authoritie, and what fouer authoritie may doe. Vices sollicit thee with rewards, but here must thou liue without taking any thing. Scarce can it be effected in a whole age, that those vices which haue had their increase by so long libertie, should be subdued & brought in subiection, much lesse may it be done, if we diuide the time which is so short, into little parcels. Hardly can continuall watch and labour bring one onely thing to perfection. Truly, if thou wilt listen to me, meditate hereupon, exercise thy selfe to receiue death, and to seeke her out when any occasion shall counsaile thee thereunto. It skils not whether she

the come to vs, or we to her, perswade thy selfe that the foolish mens prouerbe and vsuall speech is false; *It is a faire thing to die a good death.* Thou mayst beside this thinke thus with thy selfe: No man dieth but on his prefixed time: thou loofest none of thy time; for that which thou leauest behinde thee is another mans.

EPIST. LXX.

That by the sight of the POMPEIES, and the admonishment of time past, he thought upon the swiftnesse and flight thereof. That death is at hand, which is the haue of troubles. That she is neither to be feared nor desired, or interained but sometimes, and when? When reason not violent passion perswadeth. Many and most excellent things to this purpose.



After a long space of time I haue seene thy Pompeies, and in seeing them me thought that I had recouered againe my former youth: all whatsoeuer I had done there whilst I was a young man, me thought I could as yet doe it, and that but a litle while since I did it. Wee saile by our life, my Lucilius, and as in the Sea, as our Virgil saith;

The shores and Citties flie.

So likewise in this so swift course of time, we lose the sight, first of our childhood, and after of our youth, and then whatsoeuer intercurrent betwixt youth and old age, which is confined both to the one and to the other, anon after all the better yeares of our old age. In the last place the common end of all humane race beginneth to discover it selfe. Are we to foolish to thinke that it is a rocke? It is the Port which we ought one day to desire, and neuer to refuse; into which, if any man hath beene cast and carried in his young yeares, he ought not to complain, no more then he would, that with a short cut hath ended his Navigation. For as thou knowest there are some whom slacker winds mocke and detain, and wearie with gentle tediousnesse of a peaceable calme, some are swiftly borne away by a sudden gust. I thinke that the same befallth vs. Life hath brought and rauished some very swiftly thither, whether although they would haue delayed, they must needs come. Othersome hath she pined and burned, which as thou knowest are not alwaies to be retained for it is not good to liue, but to liue well. And therefore a wise-man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can. He will alwaies see in what place he ought to liue, with what persons, in what manner, and what he ought to doe. If diuers troubles and sorrowes suddenly surpriseth him, to the intent to intercept his peace, he openeth the prison him selfe; neither doth he this onely in a desperate extremitie, but as soone as he hath the least suspicion of fortune, he taketh a diligent heede whether that day should be his last or no. He makes no great reckoning, whether by his own hand, or another mans hatred he receiue his death, or whether it be sooner or later. He feareth not as it he were endangered to lose much; no man can haue great losse of water by a dropping Ewer. It skils not whether a man die sooner or later: to die cyther well or ill, that importeth much; and to die well is to shie the perill of an euill life. Therefore thinke I that Rhodians speech most effeminate, who by a Tyrant being cast into a caue, and nourished there

thereof after the manner of a wilde beast, being perswaded by some to abstaine from his meate, answered, *A man ought to hope for all things whilst he liueth.* But suppose this were true, yet ought we not buy life at euery rate. There are certain things, which although they are good, although they are certaine, yet would I not attaine them by a confession of feeblenesse and faintnesse of heart. Shal I beleue that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, rather then suppose, that fortune can do nothing ouer him that knoweth how to die? Yet sometimes, although assured death be dependent, and that a man know that a punishment is deuoted for him, yet must he not let hand and further his punishment. It is a follie to die through the feare of death: Comes he that should kill thee? Expect him. Why putteth thou thy selfe forward? Why vndertakest thou the charge of another mans crueltie? Dost thou enuie thy hangman, the officer to execute thee, or wilt thou spare his labour? *Socrates* could haue ended his daies by his absence, & might haue rather died for hunger then of venome; yet remained he full thirtie dayes in prison, attending his death, not with this minde, that all things might be pacified, or that so long a time might intertaine so many hopes, but that hee might yeelde himselfe vnto the lawes, and suffer his friends to enioy *Socrates*, euen vntill his last. But what more great follie could haue beene scene, then to despise death and to feare prison? *Scribonia* a woman of great authoritie, was aunt on the fathers side to *Drausus Liba*, a young man, who had as weake braine as his descent was noble, and that hoped for farre more greate fortunes, then any other might hope for in that time, or himselfe in any other time after; when as he was borne away from the Senate in his Litter, not with frequent obseruances (for all his nearest friends had forsaken him shamefully, not as a guiltie, but a conuicted person and executed) he began to aske counsaile whether he should hasten his death by his own hands, or expect the fame. To whom *Scribonia*: What pleasure hast thou, said she, to finish that which another ought to execute? But she could no wayes perswade him. He murdered himselfe with his owne handes, and not without cause: for being assured that within three or foure dayes after, if he had beene found aliue, he should die that death whatsoeuer was best liking to his enemies; he finished that which another man should haue executed. Thou canst not then make a generall iudgement, when as the violence of a forraigne tyrant denounceth thee death; whether thou oughtest to further or expect the fame. For there are diuers reasons, which draw vs both to the one and the other opinion. If the one death should be accompanied with torments, and the other should be simple and facile: why should I not allow of that? Euen as I would chuse a ship to saile in, and a house to dwell in; in like manner would I chuse the better death to depart out of this life. Furthermore, euen as the longest life is not the best, so the longest death is the worst. There is nothing wherein wee should giue more contentment to our soules, then in the manner of death which they best like of. Let the foule depart by that issue, her selfe inforceth, whether it be the desire the dagger or the halter, or a poisoned cup that may suddenly seize all the veines, let her proceed and breake the bonds of her seruitude. Euerie one ought to endeavour to approue his life vnto others, and his death vnto himselfe. That which pleaseth vs most is the best. This is but a follie to thinke thus. Some will say that I did it not courageously enough, some that too much rashly, some that there was a kinde of death more generous. I thinkest thou that it lieth in thy power to make choice of a counsaile, which shall not be subiect to common report and censure? I thinke onely to dispatch thy selfe speedily out of the power

wer and handes of fortune; otherwife there will not want some who will conceiue an euill opinion of thine action: thou shalt finde some, yea euen those who haue made profession of Philosophie, that will denie that any man ought to violate or shorten his life, and that maintaine it for a foule offence, for a man to murder himselfe, and that it were better to expect the end which Nature hath determined. But he that speaketh thus, seeth not that he cutteth off the way of libertie. The eternall law hath done nothing better, then to giue vs one onely entrance into life, and diuers issues. Shall I expulse the crueltie of a sickness, or the tyrannye of a man, when as I may escape euen through the middelt of tormentes, and driue all aduersities farre from me? This is one thing, wherein we cannot complaine of life, she retaineth no man. It is a great good for humane affaires, that there is not one that is miserable, but by his owne default. Takest thou pleasure in life? Liue. Art thou displeased therewith? Thou mayest returne to the place from whence thou camest. To heale thy head-ach thou hast oft-times let blood, to extenuate thy bodie thou hast opened thy veine: Thou needest not to open thy breast with a deepe and vast wound; a lancet will giue way to that great libertie, and in a pricke consisteth securitie. What is it then that maketh vs fearful and slacke to dislodge? There is not one of vs that thinketh that he must depart one day out of this house: so doth the custome and indulgence of the place detain the auncient inhabitants, although to their owne vndoing. Wilt thou alwayes keepe this libertie against this bodie? Inhabite it as if thou shouldst leaue it, and make account that one day thou must lose his company. Thou shalt afterwards be more constant and resolute, when anie necessitie shall constrain thee to depart. But how can they think vpon their ends, who couer all things without end? There is nothing in this world, the remembrance and meditation whereof is more necessarie. For happily it is in vaine, where a man thinketh on other things. Haue wee prepared our mindes against pouertie? The riches remaine with vs. Are we already armed against contempt of paine? The felicitie of a whole and healthfull bodie hath had no need, that we should make prooffe of our vertues. Haue we gotten this authoritie ouer our selues, that we can suffer death and the losse of our friends constantly? Yet fortune hath conferred and made all them suruiue vnto vs, whom we most loue. But the day that shall haue neede of the vs and practise of this onely thing, ought vndoubtedly to come. Thou must not thinke that great personages onely, haue had that courage and force to breake the bonds of their humane seruitude. Thou must not thinke that *Cato* onely could rent out his soule with his hand, which he could not pricke out with his poyard. Since some men of as bad condition as may be, and being vnable suddenly to finde courage haue attained that place of assurance, and being vnable suddenly to finde wherewith to make themselves away to their liking, or chuse any instrument which was proper for them thereunto, haue laide hand on the first thing they could encounter, and haue made vse of that for weapons, which of their nature were no wayes hurtfull. Not long since an Alman, one of those that should combat with the beasts, in the sports & shows in the morning, retired himself, saying that he would withdraw himselfe to discharge his natural necessities; for they were not sufficed to go into any other secret place without guard, there stopped he the stick or staffe (to which a sponge was fastned, to cleanse and cleere the priuie parts) wholly into his throat, & forcibly closing vp the passage of his breath, stifled himselfe: this was to braue death and contemne it. It was vndoubtedly, although scarce cleanly and honourably. What follie is there greater

ter, then to die effeminately, when we must die assuredly. O strong, O worthy man, deferring the election of that death that best liked him! How courageously had he vsed his sword, had he found it? with what resolution of minde had he cast himselfe into the depth of the Sea, or the cauitie of a clouen Rocke? Being dispoyled of all commodities, he found the meanes how he might be beholding vnto himselfe onely, both for the meanes and weapons for his death. To the end that thou mayest know that there is nothing that hindereth vs from dying but want of will. Let each man iudge as he list of this violent mans actions, provided that it be resolved vpon as a thing assured, that we ought to preferre a base and villeyous death, before the most cleanliest seruitude in the world. But because I haue begun to vse abiect examples, I will continue them: for euerie one will inforce himselfe to doe his best, if he shall perceiue that death is contemptible to persons that are most abiect and base. We think that these *Catoes* and *Scipios*, and those other whose memories we entertaine with admiration, are inimitable. But I will proue you presently that this vertue is accompanied with as many examples, amidst the men most miserable, destinated to the sports and spectacles of beasts, as amidst the Chiefe-tains of ciuill warres. When as not long since, with sure guard, the souldiers carried forth a wretch, sent out for the morning spectacles, stooping downe his head as if he were pressed with sleepe, he suffered it to hang so lowe, that he put it betweene the Cart-wheels, and held it so long in that place, that the wheele in turning it selfe brake his necke. He auoyded the punishment in the same Chariot, on which he was carried forth to be punished. There is nothing that may hinder a man that hath a will to die, and to be deliuered. Nature keepeth vs in an open place. He to whom his last necessitie is so fauourable, as to aduise on the issue and end which he shall esteeme most conuenient: he that hath diuers meanes in his power to set himselfe at libertie may chuse, he shall do well to thinke how he may most easily be deliuered. But he that hath so hard hap, as not to finde any occasion, let him take hold on the first that shall present it selfe, as if it were the best, although it be strange and vnheard of: he that wanteth no courage, wanteth no inuention how to die. Thou seest how those flanes which are most miserable, when as their miserie toucheth them to the quicke, awaken themselves, and how they decleue their keepers, though neuer so diligent: he is a man of the greatest courage that hath not onely commanded, but also found out the meanes of his death. I haue promised thee diuers examples of men of this condition I haue spoken of. In the second combate which was made vpon the water, one of the Barbarians thrust all that lauelin into his throat, which was giuen him to combate his enemies. Why haue I not long since, said he, fled all these tormentes and all these shames? Why should I attend death, hauing the armes in my hands? This spectacle was so much the more magnificent, as much as it is more honest for men to learne to die well, as to kill. What then? That which the most abiect and contemptible spirits may haue; why should not they per-take, whom long studie and reason (the Ladie Mistresse of all things) hath instructed? It is the same reason that warneth vs, that there are diuers manners of death, but that there is but one and the same end, and that it auaieth nothing to know whence that beginneth, that must one day come. The same reason warneth thee, if it lie in thy power to die without griefe: but if it cannot be, doe the best that thou canst, and lay hold on all that which presenteth it selfe to lay violence on thy life. It is an iniurious thing to liue by rapine, but it is a most worthy thing to die violently.

EPIST. LXXI.

That the chiefest good should be continually in our eyes, and that to it all our counsels and actions should be referred. What therefore is that? Only honesty. They adulterate the same that mixe internall things, because it is only freed in the minde. Again, that goods are equal, and that contempt differeth not from honour, if both proceed from honestie. He giueth CATO for example, and dilate the same very worthily. Likewise that an honest death differeth not from such a life. Against the Academics, which make degrees of happinesse. That neither it, nor honestie are intended. And therefore the most blessed may bein torment. Is it so? Will he not wax pale, tremble, or grieve? Yes, (for these are naturall) but all these shall be overcome by the strength of his minde, yet not presently all. There are differences betweene wisemen and studious. Reade diligently, marke and admire.



Hou askest my counsell in all thy affaires, from time to time, not remembering thy selfe that we are separated by a large sea. But since the greater part of counsaile dependeth on the opportunity of time, it must fall out of necessitie, that sometimes in certaine things my counsaile is then brought vnto thee, when as at that time the contrarie were more allowable. For counsailes are fitted to affaires, and our affaires passe away swiftly, or to speake truth, roule away impetuously. Counsell therefore ought to be giuen daily, yet is it sometime ouer old by a day; it must be bred swiftly, as they say, and vnder hand. But how it is found I will shew thee. As oft as thou wilt know what either is to be fled, or what ought to be affected, haue regard vnto the chiefest good and scope of thy whole life. For thereto must all that consent whatsoeuer we doe. He shall not dispose euery thing, except he purpose to himselfe alreadye a certaine straine of his whole life. No man, although his colours be ground to his hand, can represent the similitude of any thing, except alreadye he be resolved, what he intendeth to paint. Therefore erre wee, because wee all of vs deliberate on the parts of our life, and no man debateth of the whole. Hee must know whereth he aimeth, that will shoote his arrow; and then must he aime and guide his arrow by his hand. Our Counsailes therefore erre, because they haue not whereunto they should be directed. He that knoweth not what harbor he shall make for, hath no winde fitting for him. It must need fall out that casualtie must effect much in our life, because all of vs liue casually. And to some it happeneth, that they wot not that they know certaine things, euen as oftentimes we seeke for those, with whom we are conuersant and present. So for the most part we know not the end of the soueraigne good, though it be before our eyes, neither by many words nor long circumstance, shalt thou gather what the chiefest good is. You must show it, as the proverbe saith, by the finger, without extending it to so many things. For to what purpose is it to diuide the same into parts, when as thou mayest say, *That is the chiefest good which is honestie*; and that which thou shouldst most wonder at, *There is but only one good, which is honestie*; the rest are false & adulterated goods. If thou perswade thy selfe this, & perfectly louest vertue (for to loue it, is but a small matter) whatsoeuer he shall touch, that to thee (howsoeuer it seeme to others) shall be both happie and successfull, both to be tormented, if thou lie more secure then he that tortureth thee; and to be sicke, if so be thou curse not Fortune, and giue not way to thy sickness.

ness. To conclude all those things, which to other men seeme euill, both shall be sweete vnto thee, and returne thee profit, if so be thou canst overcome them. Resolue on this, that nothing is good, but that which is honest, and that all in commodities may iustly be called goods, which are once made honest by vertue. To many we seeme to promise greater things then humane nature is capable of, and not without reason. For they respect the bodie, let them returne to the minde, and then shall they measure man with God. Take courage, my Lucilius, the best of men, and dismisie this studie of letters, which the Philosophers affect, who reduce the most magnificent thing of the world to syllables, that teach but base and trifling matters, and diminish and waste the vnderstanding. Thou shalt become like vnto those that haue inuented these things; not they that teach them, and endeour thus much, that Philosophie might rather seeme difficult then great. Follow them; if I haue any authoritie ouer thee. *Seneca*, who reduced all Philosophie vnto manners, and said that the chiefest wisdom was to distinguish good from euill: *To the end that thou mayest be happy* (saith he) *permit thy selfe sometimes to be esteemed a foole*. Let who soeuer will outrage thee in words, and offend thee in deeds, yet shalt thou suffer nothing, if so be vertue be with thee. If thou wilt, saith he, be blessed: if thou wilt be an entire honest man, suffer thy selfe to be contemned. This will no man performe, but he that hath equalled and proportioned all goods, because that neither is good without honestie, and honestie is equal in all. What then? Is there no difference betwixt *Cato's* Pretorship, and his repulse? It killeth not whether *Cato* be overcome in the Pharalain field, or whether he overcome. This good of his, wherein he cannot be overcome, though his confederates were conquered: was it equal with that good, wherewith he returned a conquerour vnto his countie, and composed the peace? Why should it not be equal? For by the selfe-same vertue euill fortune is overcome, and the good is confirmed; yet vertue cannot be made greater or lesser. She is alwaies in the same measure. Yea but *Cneius Pompey* shall lose his armie: but this faire lustre and pretext of the Common-weale, the principall citizens, and the chiefest bands of *Pompey's* confederates, which being composed of the Senate that bare armes, shall be defaced in one only battell, and the wrecks and ruines of so great an Empire, shall be noised and scattered through the whole world: one part thereof shall fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and some in Spaine. And that which is worse, this miserable Common-weale cannot haue this good to be ruinated all at once. Let all happen whatsoeuer may. Although *suba* can be no further succoured in his owne Kingdome by the knowledge of the passages, and the constant vertues of his people. Although the fidelitie of the inhabitants of *Vtica* being broken with so many mishaps, be deficient; and the fortune of *Scipio's* name abandoneth him in Africa it selfe. It hath long since bene prouided, that *Cato* shall neither feeble losse nor detriment; yet was hee conquered. Account thou this amongst *Cato's* repulses, he will suffer with as equal constancie, as well that which hath bene contrarie to his vertue, as to his estate of Pretor. The day that he refused the same, he sported; and that night he would kill himselfe, he read. He cared as little to lose his life; as his Pretorship; he had periwaded himselfe, and resolved to endure all that might happen. But why should not he with a stout and confident minde, endure the changes of the Common-weale? For what may a man see that is exempt from change? The earth, the heavens, and the structure of all this great world, although it bee gouerned by God; is subiect thereunto. It shall not alwayes retaine that faire order it now obserueth. Some

day shall come, that shall cast it out of this accustomed course. All things alter by certain fations, they must be borne, encrease, and be extinguished, whatsoever thou seest wheele and winde about vs, and al that wheron we are sustained and stayed, as a thing most firme and solide, shall come to nothing, and bee defective. There is nothing but hath his age and declination. Nature causeth all those things to descend into one place, by spaces of vnequall time. All that which is, shall be no more, yet shall it not perill but be dissolued. To vs dissolution is to die: for we respect nothing but that which is before our eyes. The dull minde, and such as hath addicted it selfe to the body, foreseeeth no further, for otherwise they would more constantly and courageously suffer, both her owne and her friends dissolutions and deathes, if she hoped that all those things should goe by turnes from death to life, and that those things which are compounded, shall be dissolued, and such as are dissolued shall be reassembled, and that God, which governeth the whole world, employeth his eternall Arte on this worke. Therefore, when as *Cato* hath represented before his minde, all the eternitie of time, he will say: All mankind whatsoever is or shall be, is condemned to die. All the Cities, in what place soeuer they be, that haue had dominion ouer their neighbours, and haue bene greatned and honoured by foren Empires, the time shall come when it shall be enquired where they were builded, and by sundrie sorts of dissolution shall they be extinguished. Warre shall destroy some: Idleness, and a long peace conuerted into slothfulness, and foolish expences, a fatal adiunct of great riches shall consume the others. A sudden inundation of the sea, shall hide all these fertile fields, or an earthquake shall swallow them vp in his bottomlesse bosome. What cause haue I therefore to grudge at, or grieve for, if in a small moment I outtrippublike fate. A constant soule must obey God, and whatsoever the law of the great Vniuers commandeth, let him suffer without cunctation or delay. For either she shall be translated into a better life, to remaine with more brightness and tranquillitie amongst diuine things, or certainly she shall remix her selfe with her nature, and returne into her whole, neuer more to suffer any incommoitie or paine. The soueraigne good then of *Marcus Cato*, shall not consist any more in an honest life, but in an honest death; for vertue is not intended. *Socrates* said, that veritie and vertue were the same. For as the encrease of not, no more doth vertue also, shee hath her perfection, she is full. Thou must not wonder then to heare that goods are equal, as well they which we are to take by a certaine resolution, as those which a sudden current of Fortune bringeth to vs. For if thou admittest any inequality, that thou wilt reckon it amongst the lesser goods, to be constant in torments, thou shalt reckon it also amongst the euils. Thou shalt terme *Socrates* vnhappie in his prison, and *Cato* infortunate, renting open his wounds more courageously then he infected them. Thou shalt iudge *Regulus* the vnhappiest man in the world, for paying the penaltie of his obserued faith vnto his mortall enemies. and yet there is not one, how delicate soeuer, and effeminate he be, that hath dared to say thus, for they deny him to be blessed, and yet they deny him to be miserable. The ancient Academicks confesse, that amidst these torments and paines he was happie, but not perfectly and fully; which can in no manner be allowed of. For if he be happie, he hath attained the soueraigne good, and the soueraigne good cannot haue any degree about the same, if so be it be accompanied with any vertue, provided that aduersities ouercome it not, provided that it remaine entire and safe, although the bodie be crushed in sunder; but certaine it is that he remaineth entire. For I speake of a vertue most

excellent

excellent and courageous, which is animated and incited against all that which offendeth it. That minde which oftentimes yong men of generous hope and dispositions put vpon them, whom the beautie of some honest thing hath provoked, so that they contemne all casualties, vndoubtedly wisdom will instruct and teach, and perswade vs that the onely good is that which is honest. And that this can neither be remitted or intended, no more then a rule by which a man measureth that which he would make straight, which if thou beare whatsoever thou changeest from it, it is the iniurie of the right. The same therefore will we say by Vertue, that the also is straight, and admitteth no crookednesse, it can be no more intended. Shee it is that iudgeth of all things, and nothing iudgeth of her, if shee cannot bee made straighter, no more are those things which are done by her straighter, the one then the other, for they must needs be answerable to the same; so are they equall. What then sayest thou? Are these things alike to sit at a table banquetting, and to be tortured? Doth this seeme strange vnto thee? Thou hast more occasion to wonder at this. It is an euill thing to sit at a banquet; it is a good thing to be tortured: if that be done lewdly, this honestly. The matter is not the cause that this is either good or euill, it is the vertue. This wheresoeuer it appeareth, all things are of the same measure and price. He that iudgeth another mans vnderstanding by his owne, presently listeth vp his nailes to scratch out mine eyes, when I say that his good that suffereth aduersities constantly, and his that maketh an honest iudgement of prosperitie are equall: when I say that the goods of him that triumpheth, and of him that with an intancible courage is led before the triumphant Chariot are alike. For they thinke that nothing is done which they cannot do, and by their owne infirmities, they censure vertue. Why wonderest thou, why some reioyce when they see themselves burned, wounded, harmed, slaine and fettered? Sometimes they suffer it for their pleasure. Sobrietie sufficeth for a penaltie, to a prodigall and dissolute man. Trauell is no lesse then torture to an idle man. The effeminate taketh pittie of him that is industrious, and studie is a hell to him that is slothfull. In like sort, those things (for which our forces seeme ouer feeble) are in our opinion hard and intollerable, whereas in our forgetfulness, we finde many that thinke it a torment to want wine, and trouble to rise early. These by nature are not difficult, but we are recreants, we are effeminate. We ought to iudge of great things with a great courage; otherwise it will seeme to be their error, which is ours. So certaine things that are most straight, when as they are let downe into the water, seeme crooked and bowed to them, that behold them. It killeth not what thou seest, but how. Our minde is dimmed in beholding those things, and examining them which are true. Giue me a yong man well borne and of good spirit: he will say that he supposeth him more fortunate, that hath borne all the burthens of aduerser fortune, with a constant minde, on his shoulders, then him that hath wholly trodden Fortune vnder foote. It is no wonder to be temperate in tranquillitie, admire him that is high minded, where all men are dejected, that standeth there where all men are suppressed. What euill is there in torments, or what in those things which we call aduerser? The euill is, as I thinke, when the soule is astonished, when it is weakened, when it is smothered vnder the burthen. But none of these may befall a wise man. He remaineth alwayes vpriight, how ouer-charged soeuer he bee, There is nothing that lessneth his courage, nothing that is tedious vnto him, which he must suffer. For he neuer complaineth that such a fortune hath befallen him, which in any sort may befall any man whatsoever, hee knoweth her

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owne forces, and her abilitie in suffering so great a burthen. I will not put a wife man out of the rancke of men, I will not exempt him from dolours, no more then I would doe a rocke which hath no sence. I remember my selfe that he is compounded of two parts: The one is irrationall, and that it is which may feele bitings, burnings, and paines. The other is reasonable, that is it which is neuer shaken in opinion, that is exempt from all feare, and that is inuincible. In this part it is that a mans chiefest good lodgeth; before the accomplishment whereof, the minde wanderech as vncertaine and doubtfull, but after the hath attained to her perfection, it is in assurance and in immutable firmitee. So that hath but begun, and that neuertheless will ascend vnto the highest, and follow vertue, although he approacheth the good which is wholly perfect, yet vnable as yet to accomplish the same: he will sometimes stay himselfe in the way, and temperate, in some sort, the vehemencie and strength of his mind, for as yet hath he not ouerpassed those things which are incertaine, and remaineth as yet in danger of disaster. But he that is blessed, and in whom vertues are accomplished, then loveth himselfe most, when he hath made proofe of his constancie, and if there be any thing which other men feare, provided that hee may receiue some honest reward of his deuoyre and seruice, hee endureth not onely, but he embraceth the same, and had rather heare it spoken, hee is more honest; then to heare it said, he is more happie. I haue now retired my selfe thither, whither thy expectation draweth me: lest thou shouldst suppose, that the vertue whereof I speake, should seeme to extend it selfe about all naturall things. A wife-man shall tremble, he shall feele paines, he shall be gale, for all these senses appertaine vnto the bodie. Where is then the originall of his calamities? Where then appeareth his euill most approued? Then it is when his passions astonish his soule. Then it is, when they make her confesse that shee is a slaue, and that they engender some repentance in her. The wife-man vndoubtedly surmounteth Fortune by his vertue. But there are diuers men who haue made profession of wisdom, and notwithstanding haue bene terrified by very light threatnings. In this place it is our error, who exact that from a proficient, which is spoken of a wife-man. I strue as much as in me lieth, to beleue all this which I praise, yet perswade I not them as yet, and although I had perswaded my selfe I should not haue them so ready at hand, or so exercised, that they should be addrest against all casualtie. Euen as wooll taketh some staine of colours at the first, and drinketh not vp other some, without often maceration and boyling: so some wits, when as they haue conceited certaine disciplines, forthwith make vse of them. But this Science, except it be deeply imprinted in the soule, and hath taken deepe roote and long residence therein, hath not deepe died, but superficially coloured the soule, and performeth nothing of that she hath promised. This may be quickly learned, and in few words; namely, that there is but one onely good, which is vertue, and that vndoubtedly there is not any without vertue. And that vertue is lodged in our better part, which is that, which is reasonable. What shall this vertue be? A true and immovable iudgement from whence shall proceed the heat of the soule, whereby the appearance of things which may moue this heate, shall become cleare and certaine. It behoueth that this iudgement esteeme all those things good and equall in themselves, which shall be atchieued by the counsaile of vertue. In regard of corporall goods, they are goods for the bodie, yet are they not entirely perfect goods. Well may they be esteemed at some rate, but it shall be without any supereminencie. There is a great difference betwixt them: the one shall be

greater.

greater, the other lesser. In like sort ought men to confesse that there is a great difference between those that follow Philosophie. Some one hath so farre profited herein, that he dare lift vp his eyes against fortune: yet not perferuently; for they are oftentimes obscured by the beames of her too cleere light. Some other hath profited so much, that he dare encounter her face to face, if he haue attained to perfection, and be full of assurance. But it must needs so fall out that things which are imperfect grow to ruine; and now frustrate themselves, and anon after come to decay or dissolution, and they shall come vnto decay if they perseuer not to grow forward, and inforce themselves, and if they remit a nyle thing of their studie, and faithfull intention, they shall grow backward. No man findeth aduancement and profit there where he leift it: let vs therefore be diligent and perseuer; there remaineth yet more then we haue ouercome: but the greatest part of profit, is to desire to profite. Herein my conscience shall beare me witnesse: I will, and with my whole minde I will: I fee well also that thou hast this inspiration, and that thou prosecutest with great seruencie those things that are more faire. Let vs then make hast, and do doing, our life shall be the cause of our great good, other wise it is but a delay, and truely a very loathsome one, if we conuerse in base matters: let vs endcourage, so that all the time may be ours, but it will not be, except we begin to be our owne. When shall it come to passe that we will contemne both fortunes? When shall it come to passe, that suppressing all our affections, and bringing them vnder our obedience we may say thus: I haue ouercome. Askest thou me whom I haue ouercome? Not the *Perfians*, nor the farre distant *Medes*, or that warlike nation of the *Dares*; but auarice, but ambition, but feare of death, which haue vanquished the Conquerours and Vanquishers of the whole world.

EPIST. LXXII.

He delayeth to answer LVCILIUS petition, and that vpon iust occasion. He sheweth that the studie of goodnesse is deferred by vs, but badly. That we ought to intend to this onely, pretermittting all other things. That nothing happeneth that may hinder him, especially that is wise, and proficient in some sort. The difference betwixt them both. That external things neither addenor detract from a wise-man, that is alwayes contented with himselfe.



Know well what thou demaundest at my hands, if I had recollected and meditated thereupon, but it is long time since I made tryall of my memory. And therefore it is that it followeth me not so easily. I know well, and teele it in my selfe, that the like hath befallen me which happeneth in bookes that are mouldie, and whose leaues cleaue together. I must dilate my mind, & whatsoeuer things haue bene heard therein, they ought to be refreshed and brought in vs; that they may alwayes be in a readinesse as often as we haue neede to vse them. But let vs deferre this for the present; for it requireth much labour and much diligence. As soone as I may make more longer residence in a place, I will take this task in hand; for there are some things which thou mayest compose in thy Coach, and some other that deserue the bed, the repose, and solitarie places. Yet those very dayes wherein a man is occupied, we must doe somewhat, yea, all the whole dayes: for now occasions and occupations will be neuer scantie; we see

this

this our felues, and from one springs manie; and that which is worst, wee giue our felues delays. But as soone as I haue made an end of this (say wee) I will wholly dedicate my selfe, and if I can end this troublefom matter, I will addit my selfe vnto studie. Thou must not expect till thou haue leasure to follow Philosophie. Thou must contemne all other things, to be alwayes with her. A man cannot finde time that may be sufficiently long for her, although it continue with vs from the yeares of our infancie, vntill the most longest life of man. It skilleth not much whether thou omittest Philosophie, or intermittest it. For it remaineth not there where it is interrupted; but even as those things that are bent, as soone as they are let slip doe forcibly retire themselves, so that which departeth from his continuation, retireth it selfe, and returneth wholly vnto his beginnings. We must reiect all affaires and occupations, we must not studie how to dispose them, we must wholly dispossesse and driue them from vs. There is no time vsitting for a wholsome studie. But there are many that studie not those things which they ought to studie. Shall there be any occasion that may let them? Truly not him whose minde in all affaires is watchfull and ioyfull. To these persons onely true ioy is interrupted, which haue not as yet attained perfection. But in regard of the wife, their ioy is continuall, it keepeth the same tract, there is not any fortune or occasion that can countermand the same. It is alwayes peaceable and repofed; for it hath no dependance of another: she expecteth no fauour at fortunes hands, nor mens applaue: it is a felicitie that is bred in her owne house: she would leaue the foule if she entered: she is engendred therein. There might some occasion fall out to make him remember that he is mortall, but it very slight, and surpassed not the vpper skin. Hee feeleth I say, some incommoditie, but that good which is the greatest he hath, neuer shaken: well wot I that outwardly there are some incommodities, even as vpon a strong and able bodie there appeareth som itch, and pimples, & vicers, but inwardly there is no euill. The difference, I say, that is betweene a man that hath alreadye acquired a perfect wisedome, and him that is as yet to attaine the fame, is such as there is betwixt a man that is healthfull, and him that beginneth to recouer himselfe from a long and tedious sicknesse, who thinketh himselfe to be then in good health, when the fit of his feuer is the shortest. This man, except he be very carefull of his health, he feeleth by times certaine shakings, and easily falleth relapse into his former infirmities. But a wise man cannot fall againe, nay more, he neuer more can be attained therewith: for as touching the body, it hath health but for a time, and that Physician that hath recured him, cannot promise him perpetuities: hee is oftentimes recalled by him, whom almost before time he had refuted: But the soule is healed for euer at one time. I will teach thee how to know when a man is in health, if he be content with himselfe, if he may trust himselfe, if he knoweth that all mortal mens vowes, that all the benefites which are giuen and demaunded haue no moment in a blessed life. For that thing whereunto a man may annex somewhat, is not perfect. But that from whence nothing may be taken continueth eternally. He whose ioy is perpetuall may reioyce of that which is his owne. But all these goods whereunto the common sort aspire incessantly flowe hither and thither: fortune giueth nothing with warrantize; and yet the benefites of fortune are pleasing vnto vs when they are tempered by reason, and she directeth them. She it is that maketh vs allow of exterior things. The vse whereof displeaseth if they be desired ouer ardently. *Attalus* was wont to vse this comparison: Hast thou seene a dogge snatching at a peece of bread with open throat, or a morrell

morrell of flesh which his master casteth him? He deuoureth incontinently all that which is giuen him, and still openeth his mouth, in hope that some one will cast him more. So falleth it out with vs, whatsoever fortune casteth vpon vs during our expectation, that swallow we without any pleasure; still expecting and affecting some second pray. So fareth not a wise man; he is full, and if any thing befall him, he securely receiveth and layeth it vp; his ioy is great, continuall, and his owne. Is there any one that hath a good will, and that profiteth somewhat, but hath not as yet attained to perfection? Such a one shall be sometimes dejected, sometimes encouraged, sometime is he raised as high as heaven; otherwise rauished as lowe as earth. The ignorant, and such as haue little experience, neuer make an end of their precipitation, but fall into confusion, and into *Epicurus* his *Chaos*, voyde and infinite. There is another third kind of those that wanton it about wisedome, which as yet they cannot attain, yet are they in sight thereof; and if I might say so, they may clap her on the hand. These are neyther shaken, neyther doe they fall, they are not as yet on the continent, but they are already in the harbor. Since then there is so great a distance betwixt those that are on high, & those that are most low, since that they which are in the middle, feelee as yet some storme, and that they are followed with more danger to returne vnto a more wicked life, we must not addit our felues to any occupations, we must reiect them. If they were once entered, they would set some other in their places. Let vs hinder their beginnings, and the lesse labour will there be to keepe them from beginning, then to see them take end.

EPIST. LXXXIII.

That Philosophers are not disobedient but more obedient, and faithfull to Princes, then these ambitious and Palatines: for these affect enuie, and are alwayes vnquiet, often displeased, but they loue them, because they liue quietly vnder them, and are such that is full of good merchandize. They impute this benefite also, although it happen vnto manie. At length he counselleth him to aspire vnto vertue, that is to God; for thus (such is the Stoicks pride) they make a wise man equal with him.

They deceiue themselves, in my iudgment, that suppose that they who haue wholly addicted themselves to Philosophie, are disobedient and rebellious to their Magistrates and Kings, or that they contemne those by whose authoritie publique affaires are administered: for contrariwise there is not any one that reuerenceth and respecteth them more then they. And not without causes, for that Kings cannot doe greater good vnto any man in this world, then to those that may enioy a peaceable repofe. It must then necessarily fall out, that they to whom publique assurance openeth the way to the intention they haue to liue well, should reuerence the author of the same good as their Lord and Father. And truly farre more then those light witted and irreligious men; who being infinitely bound vnto their Princes, will notwithstanding haue ment to thinke that they owe them more, on whom a man cannot employ any liberality, how great soeuer it be, that may satisfie their ambitious desires, which increase alwayes the more, the more they are gluttoned. But he that thinketh to receiue new benefites, hath alreadye forgotten the olde; and euert of himselfe hath not any vice more great then ingratitude. Adde hereunto now, that there are none of those that

that are employed, and conuerſant in publique affaires, that reſpecteth thoſe at any time, whom he hath ouer-ſtripped, but looks into thoſe that out-ſtrip him, and it is not ſo pleaſant a matter vnto them, to ſee many men come after them: as it is grieuous vnto them, that any one ſhould ouer-paſſe them in dignitie. All ſort of ambition hath this vice, that it neuer reſpecteth that which is paſt. And ambition is not only inconfiant and wandring, but all couetouſneſſe likewiſe; becauſe it beginneth alwayes from the end. But that ſincere and poore man, who hath forſaken the Court and the Palace, and all preheminencie in common-weale to retire himſelfe for more noble intents and ends, loueth thoſe by whoſe authoritie it is lawfull for him to doe theſe things with ſecuritie; he alone payeth them with gratuitall teſtimonie of acknowledgement, and confeſſeth himſelfe to be indebted vnto them for a great good, although they knowe not his good will. Euen as he honoureth and reuerenceth his Maſters, by whoſe inſtructions he is deſpoyled of thoſe vices, in like ſort reſpecteth he thoſe, vnder whoſe protection and gouernement he may exerciſe honeſt diſciplines. But the King protecteth others alſo by his power. Who denieth it? But euen as amongſt others that haue trauelled by Sea, and haue bene partakers of one and the ſame calme, hee thinketh himſelfe more bound vnto *Neptune*, that hath brought home more great quantitie of precious merchandize; and as the Merchant payeth his vow with greater courage then a Paſſenger doth: And as he alſo amongſt the Merchants that bringeth perfumes, purples, and other pretious things which are ſolde for their waight in gold, reknowledgeth this fauor more liberally, then doth he that hath but laide downe poore Merchandize, and other things which ſhould ſerue but to balliſt and loade the ſhip: So the benefite of this peace, appertayning to all, doth more deeply content them that vſe the ſame well: For there are many of theſe Magiſtrates and mightie men, to whom peace is more troubleſome then warre. Art thou of that opinion, that they which make no other vſe of peace, but to imploy it in drunkenneſſe, in ryot and other ſorts of vices; for the extermination of which, it were neceſſarie to enterpriſe a warre, ſhall be ſo much obliged for the ſame? Except happily thou wert of that opinion, that a wiſe-man were ſo iniuſt, that hee thought that hee were no wayes obliged to his gouernour, for publique and common benefits. I owe much vnto the Sunne and Moone, and yet they ſhine not for me alone. I am particularly bound vnto the year, and to God that tempereth and gouerneth the ſame, although they haue not been ordained for my particular honor. It is the fooliſh auarice of mortall men, that maketh a diuiſion of theſe goods, and aſſigneth the propertie vnto them, and that beleeueth nothing to be his that is for publique profit. But this wiſe-man iudgeth nothing to be more aply his, then that which is common betweene him and all other men. For goods cannot be common, if the portions of them appertaine not to particulars. A man is made partaker how little part ſoener he enioy in a common thing. Adde herevnto alſo this other reaſon, that the greateſt and trueſt goods are not ſo diuided, that a little ſhould light vpon euerie priuate man. They come wholly into euerie mans poſſeſſion. Of thoſe preſents which Princes make vnto the people, the particulars take as much by powle, as hath bene promiſed to euery one. At a common banquet, and at the common dole of ſiege, and in all that which is receiued by hand, the almes is diſtributed in priſes. But theſe indiuiſible goods, ſuch as peace and libertie are, theſe alſo are intire to all, as they are particular vnto euery one: and therefore a wiſe-man conſidereth what he is, by whoſe means the publique neceſſitie conſtraineth him no more to beare armes,

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nor to intend the Watch, nor to ſtand Sentinell on the walls, and not to pay an infinitie of taxes any more which warre bringeth with it, and giueth thanks vnto his Prince. This doth Philoſophie teach vs, eſpecially to be dutifully thankful for benefites, and faithfully to requite them; and the onely acknowledgement ſometimes ſerueth for payment. He will therefore confeſſe that he is very much bound vnto him, by whoſe wiſe gouernement and providence this great and happie repoſe is beſalne him, to be able to paſſe the terme of his life in ſuch tranquillitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publique occupations.

*'Tis God O M E L I B E that gaue this peace,
Him as my God Ile honour without ceaſe.*

If then theſe calmes and contentments are ſo principally to be aſcribed to him that hath procured them for vs, the greateſt good whereof is

*Ile (as thou ſeeſt) my yoked teame permits
To plow the earth, by him in pleaſant ſits,
Mine Oaten pipe I tune as beſt beſits.*

How much ought we to eſteeme that repoſe which we partake with the gods, that maketh vs become gods. Thus ſay I *Lucilius*, thus call I thee to heauen by a ſhort way. *Sextius* was wont to ſay, That *I V P I T E R* could not doe more then a good man. *I V P I T E R* hath more meanes to be liberall towards men. But among two good men, he is not the better that is the richer, no more then betweene two that haue equall knowledge in gouerning a ſhip, thou wilt not call him better that gouerneth a Carriacke or great veſſell, and full of rich lading. What advantage hath *Iupiter* ouer a good man? It is but onely this, that he is more long time good. A wiſe-man reckoneth himſelfe nothing the leſſe, becauſe his vertues are determined in a ſhorter time. Euen as oft two wiſe-men, he which is dead in fullneſſe of his age, is not more happie then he, whoſe vertue hath taken end in leſſer years. So God likewiſe ſurmouteth not a wiſeman in felicity, although he exceed him in age. That vertue is not greater which is longer. *Iupiter* hath all theſe things, but he hath giuen the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof vnto others: This onely vſe appertaineth vnto him, that he is the cauſe that others may vſe the ſame. The wiſe-man likewiſe is glad to ſee the poſſeſſion of all goods in an other mans hands, and maketh as ſmall account alſo of that as *Iupiter* doth, and further ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue this advantage about him, that *Iupiter* cannot haue vſe of them, and a wiſe-man will not. Let vs therefore beleeue *Sextius*, who ſheweth vs a faire way, and crieth out, This is the way to heauen, by ſobriety, by temperance, and by patience in aduerſitie. The Gods diſdaine no man, enuie no man, they entertaine and ſtretch forth their hand to thoſe that aſcend. Wonderſt thou to heare that men goe vnto the Gods? God commeth vnto men, nay (which is more neere) he commeth into men. There is not any ſoule that is good without God. There are certaine diuine ſeeds diſperſed in the bodies of men, which growe anſwerable to their originall, and growe alike vnto that graine from whence they tooke their beginning, if they be entertained in the boſome of a good husbandman. But if he be euill, he choaketh them as a barren and faggie ground; and finally, in ſtead of corne beareth chaſſe & ſtraw.

EPIST.

EPIST. LXXIIII.

O faire, O honest Epistle, and of honestie it selfe, and that indeed it is the onely good, the rest but in opinion. He that will safely and securely live, let him so thinke. What likenesse? Let him have a readie buckler against all casualties, which is to follow God. At length he answereth certaine objections. Lastly he sheweth that a blessed life is as a circle, perfect both in small and great. That nothing is added, nothing taken therefrom by externall things. It must be reiterated. O faire, O honest, enjoy thou this, who hast such a minde.

Thy letter hath delighted me, and awakened me when I was wearied, and quickened my memorie also, which is now slow and heauie. Why shouldst thou not, my *Lucilius*, thinke this perswasion to be the greatest instrument of blessed life, that there is onely one good, that is to say, that which is honest? Hee that hath circumscribed all sorts of good vnder honestie, is happie in himselfe. For he that iudgeth that other things are goods, subiecteth himself to the power of Fortune, and dependeth on another mans will. This man is sorrowfull for the losse of his children, another carefull of them that are sicke, and that other, if they be dishonest and noted of infamie. Thou shalt see one man tormented with the loue of another mans wife, and another transported with the loue hee beareth his owne. There wanteth not some one likewise, that is distracted with the repulse he receiueth in his affected dignitie, and another that is disgusted with the honor which he possesseth. But the greatest number of all those men which are thus miserable, is of them whom the assault and touch of impendent death, which they feare on euery side, presseth and tormenteth incessantly, for there is nothing from whence they thinke not, that she should not assaile them. Therefore as if they liued in an enemies country, they ought to looke about them on euery side, and on euery voice they heare, to turne their neckes thitherward: for except this feare be driuen out of their breasts, they liue in continuall heart-broke and suspicion. Some will be found out that haue bene sent into exile, and deprived of their goods; and some also will occur (which kinde of pouertie is the most irksome) poore in their riches. Thou shalt meete with some that are shipwracked, or such as haue suffered some such like thing vnto shipwracke, whom either the wrath or enuy of the common sort (which is a dangerous weapon to wound the better sort) hath ouerthrowne vnawares, and when they were most secure, after the manner of a gulf, which is wont to breake forth in the most seeming securite of a calme, or a sudden lightning, at whose cracke the neighbouring countries haue trembled. For euen as he that is neere to this fire, remaineth as much amazed, as if he had bene stricken: in like sort, in these accidents that come by violence, the calamitie oppresseth one, but feareth the rest, & maketh the abilitie to suffer equal with the heauines of those that doe suffer. Other mens misfortunes, which surprise them at vnwares, astonish the mindes of all those that see them. And euen as the onely noise of a sling, although it be not charged, frighteth the birds. In like manner, wee not onely tremble at the stroke, but at the least cracke we heare. No man therefore can be blessed, that hath credited himselfe to this opinion. For nothing is blessed, but that which is without feare: the life is miserable that is incombered with suspicion. Who soeuer hath added himselfe very much vnto casualties, hath

hath made himselfe a great and inexplicable matter of perturbation. There is but one way for him to tract, that will search out a life full of assurance, which is to contemne the goods of Fortune; and to content himselfe with that which is honest. For if any man thinketh that there is any other thing better then vertue, or that there is any other good besides the same: he openeth his bosome to that which Fortune spreadeth, and with extreame care expecteth those goods whereof she maketh larges. Suppose, and imagine in thy minde, that Fortune maketh publike plaies, and that she casteth amiddest this great assembly of men, honors, riches, and fauours, whereof the one part is broken and torne in peeces, betweene the hands of those that rauish them; another part is vnequally diuided by a disloyall societie; and another hath wrought their inestimable damage, that haue engrossed them; and finally also some others, haue fallen into the hands of some they thought not any wife of, and others haue bene lost by running after the same ouer-greedily, and they haue bin torne out of our hands by reason of the ouer-greedy desire which we had to attain them. To conclude, there is not any, how happie soeuer his rauishment be, whose ioy, in respect of that he hath rauished, can endure long time. For which cause, the wiser sort, as soone as they see the presents brought in, flie out of the theater, as knowing well, that a little thing would cost them deare. No man fighteth with him that retireth, no man striketh him that flieth; it is vpon the prey the contention groweth. The same successe is there in those things that Fortune casteth down from on high. We burne in miserable desire after these goods, we are in great trauell, we desire to haue many hands; now regard we this man, presently that man, we thinke that they are too slowly sent vnto vs which sir vp our desires, and that it can fall but into few mens hands, although it be expected and desired by all men. We desire to encounter those that fall, we laugh if we may surpris any thing, and some other enuie, whom vaine hope hath deceiued. Wee redeeme a lamentable damage with a little prey, or thereby were deceaued. Let vs therefore depart from these playes, and let vs giue place to these rauishers. Let these men fixe their intention as much as they will on those goods which hang in the aire, and let themselves likewise be more in suspence. Who soeuer is resolu'd to be blessed, let him resolute there is but one good, which is honestie. For if he supposeth that there is any other good; first of all he iudgeth euill of Gods providence, because many mishaps befall good men: and because all that which he hath giuen vs, is but of a very small continuance, if thou compare it with the age of the whole world. From this complaint it groweth, that we are vngratefull interpreters of diuine things. We complain, because goods befall vs not euery day; that they are little, that they are incertaine, and that they must suddenly depart from vs. Hence cometh it to passe, that wee will not liue, neither haue desire to die; we hate life, and we feare death. All our counsailes are vncertaine, and there is no felicitie that can satisie vs. The cause hereof is nothing else, but that we hate not as yet attained that soveraigne good, which cannot be surmounted by any other thing; and on which we ought to stay our desires, for about the place that is most highest, there is no other place. Aske thou me why vertue hath need of nothing? Because she is pleased with things present, and desireth not the absent. There is nothing but seemeth great vnto her, because that euery thing sufficeth her. And if thou shouldst separate thy selfe from this opinion, neither pietie nor faith should haue any place. He that would follow both the one and the other, shall bee constrained to suffer verie much of that which we call euill, and to spend much of that which we esteeme

and reckon of for good. Furthermore, constancie that must make triall of her selfe is lost, magnanimitie is lost also, because she cannot approue her selfe, except the contemneall things as ouer base, which the common sort desireth as the most greatest. In briefe, the grace and requitall of all good turnes is lost, it is but paine and trauell, if we thinke that there is any other thing more precious then faith, and if we fixe not our eyes on that which is the best. But to let these things passe, either those that are called goods, or none at all; or a man is happier then God. For God maketh no vse of those goods which are prepared for vs, disordinate pleasures, foolish expences in banquets, riches, nor any of that which may allure a man, or draw him to loathsome pleasures, appertaine not to him. We must then say (that which is incredible) either that God hath want of these goods: or wee must conclude vpon this argument, that whatsoeuer God wanteth is not good. Furthermore, there are many things that would be thought to bee goods, which are more ample employed on beasts then on men. They eate with more greater appetite, they are not so soone wearied in the act of generation, their forces are more great and lasting, whereby it followeth that they are more happy then man: for they liue without wickednesse or deceit, they enioy their pleasures, which they enioy more fully, and more easily, without any feare of shame or repentance. Consider thou therefore, whether that is to be called good, wherein God is ouercome by man. Let vs lodge the foueraigne good in our mindes. He loseth all his grace and dignitie, if from the better part, which is in vs, it should be translated to the worlde, and should be transferred to the senses, which are more active in brute beasts. Our chiefest felicitie is not to be planted in the flesh. Those are true goods which reason giueth, they are solide and eueralasting; which cannot fall, neither be decreased nor diminished. The rest are goods in opinion, they haue only a common name with the true, but they haue no proprietie or effects of vertue in them. Let them then be called commodities, or according to our phrase, profits and reuenues. But let vs know that they are but as our slaues, and not any part of vs, let them be in such sort with vs; that we remember our selues that they are without vs, and if they be with vs, wee must put them in the number of those things which are most base and abiect, and for which no man ought to waxe proud. For what is more foolish, then for a man to please himselfe, in that which himselfe hath not done? Let all these things approach vs, but not cleaue vnto vs, and if they must bee drawne from vs, let them be so secured, that we be not distracted and torne thereby. Let vs vse them, and not glory in them, and let vs vse them sparingly, as such things as are lent vs, and are not to remaine with vs. Whosoever vseth them contrary to reason, he hath not long time enioyed them. For felicitie it selfe hurteth vs, except it be well tempered and gouerned: is ouer-pressed, if she trust her selfe to transitorie goods, she is quickly forsaken, and lest she should be forsaken, she tormenteth her selfe infinitely. There are few men who haue had the fortune to lay by their felicitie contentedly. Thereof men, with those goods that made them esteemed aboue others, are dejected, and that which for a time exalted them, finally humbleth them. Much wisdom therefore must be made vse of, which may dispose them with measure and parsimony. For a disordinate libertie ouerbeareth and destroyeth his proper riches in such sort, that immeasurable expence hath neuer continued long, if reason by her moderation had not restrained the same. The miserable end of diuers cities will make thee know this, whose luxurious empires in their first flower and pride haue decayed, and will

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reach thee, that all that which hath bin gotten by vertue, is runated by superfluitie and lawles expence. Against these casualties are we to arme our selues. There is not any wall that can resist the batteries of Fortune: and it is within vs, that we ought to arme our selues. If that noble fortresse be assured, a man may be assailed; but he cannot be surprized. Wilt thou know what fortification it is? That he trouble not himselfe with any thing that may happen, that he beleue that whatsoeuer, yea euen that which seemeth to offend him, dependeth on the conseruation of the whole world, and that it is a part of that which finisheth the course and office of the heauens. A man ought to take pleasure in all that which God taketh pleasure in; hee ought to admire himselfe, and all that which is in him, for this onely consideration; that he cannot be vanquished, that he holdeth his euill vnder his feete; and that with reason, then which nothing is more powerfull; he surmounteth Fortune, griefe and iniurie. Lone reason then, for the loue thereof will arme thee against all the greatest misfortunes that may be. The loue of their yong ones causeth wilde beasts, to fall into snares, who otherwise by their fiercenesse and violence were vntameable: Sometimes the desire of glorie hath drawne some yong and generous mindes into contempt, both of sword and fire; the opinion and shadow of vertue hath egged some on to seeke out a voluntarie death: But the stronger and constant reason is against all this, the more vehement and violent becometh thee against all feare and danger. You doe nothing, will some man say, because you deny that there is any other good but honestie. This defence of yours shall not make you strong and impregnable against Fortune. For you say that amongst these goods, a man ought to include obedient children, cities well gouerned, and parents that are honest. And yet if these be in any danger, you cannot see it without a astonishment. For a siege of thy cities, the death of thy children, and the bondage of thy parents will trouble thee. But I will set thee downe what it is, that is accustomedly answered for vs in this case, and then againe will I adde what besides that may be answered in my iudgement. There is another condition in those things which being taken from vs, substitute some other incommoditie in their place; as health being impaired, changeth it selfe into sickness, the light of the eye extinguished, affecteth vs with blindness; and when the hannes are cutte, not onely sinewes perish, but debilitie followeth in stead thereof. And yet the danger is not in those things, which wee haue spoken of a little before: Why? Because that, if I haue lost a good friend, I must not therefore be peridious for him, neither if I haue buried good children, there is no reason that impietie should supply their place, to endanger and hurt me. Moreover, by this death, friends and children are not lost, it is but the bodie: But good cannot be lost, but by one onely mean; that is, if it should change it selfe into euill, which Nature permiteth not, for all vertues and all their actions remaine incorruptible. Against although that friends, although that well approved children, and haue in nothing contradicted their fathers commands, bee dead, yea not with standing, there is something that may supply their place. Askest thou me what it may be? It is that vertue that hath made them good men. She suffereth not at any time, that there should be any place void: She entirely taketh seisure of our soules, she extirpate the sorrow of all things, and contenteth her selfe to be alone. For the power and originall of all goods is in her. What skilleth it if the winter that snoweth doe steele, or scete away, if the fountaine from whence it issueth be lying and replenished? Thou wilt not say, that a man is more fault, because his children are yett alive, or for that they are dead,

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no more moderate, more honest, more wife, more better, consequently a great number of friends make not a man more wife, neither the diminution, or want of them, maketh him not more foolish, and consequently also, neither more happy, nor more miserable. As long as thy vertue shall remaine entire, thou shalt neuer feele any losse that thou hast made. What then? Is not he who is enuironed with a goodly troupe of friends and children more happy? Why should he not be? Because the soueraigne good cannot bee diminished or augmented. He alwayes remaineth after the same fashion. Howsoever Fortune carrie her selfe, although the yeares be old, or that he die before he be aged, it is one and the same measure of the soueraigne good, although it be different in age. Whether thou make a circle greater or lesser, it is but in respect of the space, but not of the figure: and although the one hath remained a long time painted, and that thou hast incontinently defaced the other, and couered it with dust in the place where thou hast cast it; yet both the one and the other were the same figure. That which is right and iust is not esteemed by the greatnes, nor by the number, nor by the time; it can neither be lengthened nor strengthened. Take as much as thou wilt, an honest life that endured an hundred yeares, and reduce and determine it in one only day, the one is as honest as the other. Vertue extendeth it selfe more at large: three gouerneth Kingdomes, Cities, and whole Prouinces, the maketh lawes, the priuileth and honoureth friendships, the distributeth offices and duties betweene the nearest parents and their children; and presently the circumscribeth her selfe in a straiter scope of pouertie, banishment, and losse of children. Yet is she not lessened, although that from a great and high estate she is fallen, into a priuate and particular, and from a royall throne, to an abiect and base place. And if from a publike and ample power, she restrain her selfe in a homely cottage, or in some cottage she is alwayes as great, if after she hath bene driuen from all places, she safely retire her selfe into her selfe. For this notwithstanding, she hath a courage great and inuincible, a prudence that is perfect, a iustice immutable, and consequently she is alwayes happy. For this blessednes and this good is lodged in one only place, that is to say, in the minde. It is euermlasting, & full of tranquillitie, which cannot be without the knowledge of diuine and humane things. It followeth now, that which I said I would answer. A wise man tormenteth not himselfe for the losse of his children, nor his friends, for he endureth their death with as equal constancie and courage, as he expecteth his owne. He feareth the one as little as he grieveeth for the other, because vertue consisteth in conueniencie, all her workes are agreeable with her selfe, and answer one another. This concord would be lost, if the minde which should be assured and constant, should suffer it selfe to be ouercome with sorrow and sadness. All sorts of astonishment, all feare, all idleness and slackenesse in any act whatsoever, is dishonest. For all that which is honest is full of assurance; and diligence; it is neuer astonished, but alwayes prepared. What then, shall he not feele some passion like unto trouble? Shall he not change his colour? Shall not his countenance discover some perturbation; shall not his members wax chill? and all other things which a man doth not by the command of the minde, but by a sudden and inconsiderate heate of nature? I confesse he shall. But he shall alwayes be thus perswaded, that none of all this is euill, nor worthy that a good vnderstanding should be astonished at. All that which he ought to doe, he will doe boldly and readily: for who is he that will not say that it is the proper nature of follic, to performe that cowardly and against his heart which he doth, and to driue the bodie into one place, and the minde into another;

ther; and to suffer himselfe to be drawne by so many contrarie motions. Thut every thing for which the esteemeth her selfe so much, and for which she entereth into admiration of her selfe, maketh her contemptible; and besides, that which is worse, she performeth not that with a good will, from whence she taketh her glorie. But if she feareth that any euill should befall her, the perplexeth her selfe in expectation thereof: she tormenteth her selfe as if the euill had already attained her; and all that which she feareth she may suffer hereafter, she presently suffereth by the means of her feare. Even as there are certain signes that appeare in the bodie before the feuer cometh (for a man feeleth a dulnesse in the sinewes, a lassitude, a gaping or yawning, and a horour which passeth thorow all the members) In like sort a sicke minde feeleth some shakings and assaults, which enfeeble him before the euill touch him: he enters into lorrowes, and loseth his heart before the time. But what more greater follic may a man see, then for a man to dismay his mind for such things as are yet to come? and not to be able to refuse himselfe to suffer the torment when it shall come, but to summon miseries from a farre off, and to approach them, before they presse him; which he were better to delay if he might not auoyde. Wilt thou know that no man ought to be tormented for that which is to come? Whosoever shall heare it said, that some fiftie yeares hence he must be led to execution, he will not torment himselfe, because he hath past the halfe of this time, and that he is not plunged in this disquiet of mind, which should not come but in an age after. The like befalleth those spirits that are voluntarily sicke, and do nothing but seeke occasion of sorrow, who are sad for things long since forepassed and forgotten. All that which is past and which is to come, is absent. Wene they perceiue the one not the other. But there is no griefe but of that which thou feelest.

EPIST. LXXV.

That Philosophie affecteth not wordes, and yet neyther renounceth wit nor good discourse. The chiefest matter is, that the life be correspondent to the wordes. Furthermore let vs endeavour to proceede, because we are to ascend by degrees, and they are three. The degrees of those that are proficient.



How complainest that the Letters which I send thee, are not written ouer-curiously; but who is he that writeth in so an affected stile, but he that would write to insinuate? Such as my speech should be if we were sitting together; or if men walked out together, ealie and without Art: such will I that my Epistles be, that they neyther be extravagant nor affected. If it were possible that a man might vnderstand that which I thinke, I had rather expressed it by signes, then by words. And if I should dispute likewise, I would not stampe vpon the ground, nor cast my hands abroad, nor lift yp my voyce: I would leaue that to Orators, and content my selfe to haue made thee vnderstand my conceit, without wringing my speech, or neglecting it also. I would plainly perswade thee this one point, that I firmly beleuee that which I say, and that I not onely beleuee the same, but loue it also. Men kisse their Mistresse in one sort, and their children in another; & notwithstanding in this embracement, so holy and so chaste affection sufficiently discouereth it selfe. Truly I would not that my discourses which

men holde off so great matters, should be dull and drie: for Philosophie renounceth not a happie and gentle spirit, yet will she not likewise that we employ ouer-much affectation in our discourse. In brieft, see here what is the summe of our intention. Let vs speake what we thinke, and think what we speake; let our speeche be answerable to our life: he hath fulfilled his promise who is the same when thou seest him, and when thou hearest him: we shall see what he is, and how great he is; but he must alwayes be one. It is not necessarie that our words be pleasing, but that they profit. But if eloquence may befall any man, without much labour and affectation, if it be already acquired, or hath cost him little, let him boldly make use thereof, and employ it in worthe subjects. Let it be such that it rather expresse the matter, then it selfe. All other Arts appertain only to the wit, but nothing is intreated of here but the affairs of the mind. The sick-man seeketh not out an eloquent Philitian, but such a one as knoweth how to cure well: yet if so be it so fall out, that he who knoweth how to heale well, discourseth eloquently of that which he ought to performe, he ought not to be displeased thereat. Neyther also ought he to reioyce, because he is false into the hands of a Physitian that can speake well: for it is as much as if a skillfull Master of a Ship were a goodly man also. Why scratest thou mine eares? Why delightest thou me? Thou must; there is another thing now in hand, thou must minister me an actual cauterie, I must be lanced, I must haue a Dyct prescribed me: for this cause art thou called. Thy duety is to heale an old sickness that is dangerous and publique. Thou hast as much to doe as the Physitian in the plague time. Wilt thou spend the time about words? If thou finish the cure then mayest thou reioyce. When shall it be that thou wilt lodge that which thou hast learned so inwardly in thy selfe, that it may neuer more depart from thee? When wilt thou make triall thereof? for it sufficeth not to commit them to memorie, as thou doest other sciences: Thou must assay to put them in execution. He that knoweth all this is not happie, but he that doth it. What then, are there no degrees vnder him? May a man vpon the sudden attaine vnto wisdom? I cannot beleeue it: for he that profiteth is counted amongst the number of fools, yet is he estranged from them by a great distance, and amongst those that are proficient also there are great differences: they are diuided, as some say, into three ranks; The first are they that haue not as yet attained wisdom, but are already settled neere vnto it, although that which is neere is as yet without. Thou wilt aske me who these are? They are those who haue already laide aside all their affections and vices, & that haue learned that which they ought to embrace, but their assurance is not as yet experimented. They haue not as yet the use of their good; yet can they not fall againe any more on that which they haue already fled. They are so farre forward that they cannot retire backe, but they know it not as yet. And as I remember I haue written in a certaine Epistle, they know not that they doe know it. They can already make use of their good, but their confidence is yet vnassured. Some there are that speake thus of this sort of men, who profite and whom I speake heretofore, and say that they haue already escaped the sicknesses of the minde, but not the passions; and that they are as yet affraide to fall, because no man is out of the danger of vice, but he that hath wholly driuen it from him; but no one driueth it away but he that hath assumed wisdom in his place. I haue oftentimes tolde what differences there are betwixt the sicknesses of the soule, and the passions of the minde. Yet will I refresh the memorie thereof vnto thee. The sicknesses are inueterate and obdurate vices, such as are auarice, and ouer great ambition,

bition, at such time as they haue intangled the minde, and haue begun to be a perpetuall sickness. And to be short, the sickness is an obdurate iudgement in wicked things, as if a man should greatly desire that which he ought not to desire but slightly; or if thou like it better, we may define it thus. To desire that ouer-vehemently which we ought to wish for slightly, or which a man should not any wayes wish or desire; or else to prize that ouer-much which a man should prize verie little or nothing at all. Affections are improbable, sudden and violent motions of the minde, which being frequent thus neglected; haue caused a sickness, as a descent and distillation of rume doth; which being as yet vnformed, engendrest a cough: but if it continue and waxeth olde, it becometh *Phthisis*. Even so they who haue already profited much, are out of sickness, yet feele they as yet some passions, yet are they neere vnto perfection. The second sort is of those who haue escaped the greatest passions and sicknesses of the soule, but it is in such a sort that they are not certaine in the possession of their securitie; for they may fall againe into their infirmities. This other third sort is exempt from a number of the greater vices, but not out of all: he hath fled from auarice, but is as yet sensible of wrath: he is no more subiect to pleasures and voluptuousness, but he is full of ambition: he is not couetous, but he is as yet fearefull and timorous; but in this feare he is sufficiently assured in some things, and sheweth himselfe remisse in some other things: he contemneth death, but he feareth dolour. Let vs thinke a little vpon this third place: it will be well with vs, if we be admitted vnto this third number. It is with a great felicitie of nature, and with a studie accompanied with a great and industrious diligence, that a man entrencheth into the second rank: yet must we not despise those of the third order. Thinke with thy selfe how many evils thou seest about thee; beholde how there is not any offence how detestable soeuer it be, of which we cannot shew some examples. See how wickedness encreaseth daily, and what faults are committed both in publique and priuate; and thou shalt vnderstand that we haue profited enough, if we be not ranked amongst the worst. But I hope, sayest thou, that I may be made one of the honourable order. I should rather wish vs this good fortune, then promise it. We are already sealed and arrested: we runne after vertue, but we are intangled and snared in vices. I am ashamed to speake it; we follow not honest things, but then when we can doe nothing else. But how great a reward attendeth vs, if wee would wholly breake off our occupations, and shake off those evils which holde vs captiue. Neither desire, neither feare should compell vs, but being freed from all terrors, intire and incorrupted against all pleasures, we should no more be affraide of death, or of the Gods: We should vnderstand that neither death is euill, and that the Gods are good: as infirme and feeble is that which may hurt, as that to whom it hurteth. The best things, and such as neuer hurt, doe expect vs when we shall depart one day out of this order, to mount those high and sublime places with a placabilite of minde, and after the errors shall be driuen away, with an intire and perfect libertie. Asketh thou what it is? Not to feare men or Gods, neither to will that which is dishonest nor desire ouer-much, and to haue the greatest power ouer himselfe. It is an inestimable good for a man to be able to become his owne.

EPIST. LXXVI.

That he heareth Philosophie, and goeth to the Schooles. Hee complaineth of the negligence and sloth of men, which learne other things, and neglect Philosophie. Doe not thou so my LVCILIVS, smake hast and learne goodnesse. What good? That which is onely honest. And againe he appeareth by arguments that it is so, and that other things are not. A laudable and wise Epistle.

THou threatnest me that thou wilt be mine enemy, if so be I conceal ought from thee of those things which I daily doe. Beholde how freely and simply I liue with thee: for this also will I impart vnto thee, I hear a Philosopher, and for these five daies past already haue I haunted the schoole, and haue heard him dispute from eight of the clocke. I am olde enough, wilt thou say, to goe thither: and why should not this age begood? What greater follie may there be, then because of long time thou hast not learned, not to learne at all? What then, shall I doe nothing else but that which those yongfull and refreshed wantons do, I should thinke my selfe happy, if there were nothing ill becoming mine age but that. This Schoole admitteth men of all ages. Let vs waxe olde in this Schoole, we must follow it, as if as yet we were young. Shall I goe vnto the Theater as olde as I am? shall I cause my selfe to be carried to the sports and publike spectacles? shall not one couple of combatants be singled out to fight, except I be a looker on? and shall I be ashamed to goe and see a Philosopher? So long art thou to learne as long as thou art ignorant; and if wee giue credite to the Prouerbe, so long as thou liuest: neither can this more fitly be applied to anything then to this, so long art thou to learne in what manner thou shouldst liue, as long as thou liuest. Yet teach I also something in this Schoole. Askest thou me what I teach? Forsooth this, that how olde fouer a man be, he ought alwayes to learne. Vndoubtedly I am ashamed to see how men liue. As often as I enter into the Schoole, I must of necessitie, as thou well knowest, passe by the Neapolitane Theatre: it is their way that goe to *Actronactes* house. This Theatre before I come is replenished with people, although the greatest studie that they vse, is but to iudge who it is that playeth best vpon the Flute. A great number of men flocke thither to heare the Pites and the Grecians Trumpets sound; but in that place where a man learneth to be a good man, few men stay there. And these also in diuers mens iudgement seeme to haue no good business in hand, they call them men of little spirit and loyterers. I should be glad to see my selfe mocked in this kinde. A man ought to endure patiently the injuries of the ignorant. It becommeth him that followeth honest things to contemne this contempt. Courage, my *Lucilius*, goe forward, and make hast, lest that befall thee which is false vpon me, that is to learne in thine olde age: but haue thy selfe, since for the present thou hast vndertaken that which thou canst hardly completely learne, although thou shouldst attaine the fulnesse of thine age: how much, sayest thou, shall I profite? As much as thou wouldest assay. What expectest thou then? No man hath euer bene wise by casualtie. Riches will come of it selfe, honor shall be offered, grace and dignitie happily shall be thrust vpon thee: but vertue will not befall thee, when thou little thinkest of it, neither also with slight trauell, and little paine. He must not be wearie of the trauell which he taketh, who should at one time gaine all the

goods

goods of this world. For there is but one only good; that is to say, that which is honest. In those things that are plausible to taste, thou shalt finde nothing true, nothing certaine. I will tell thee why that is onely good which is honest, because thou supposest, that in my former Epistle I haue not sufficiently expressed vnto thee the reason; and for that thou thinkest then, I haue better praised, then proued this proposition, and I will lucidly, and in few words, signifie and abridge all that which I haue spoken. All things haue their proper good. The Vine is commended for his fruitfulness, the wine for his taste, and the Hart for his swift footing. Why askest thou, wherefore horses haue strong backs? because he onely serueth to beare burthens. The first thing that is required in a dog, that is, to be employed in searching out and hunting wilde beastes, is his quicke sent; if to ouertake them, is his swiftnesse; if to bite and inuade them, his hercenesse. In all things that whereunto a man is borne, and for which hee is prized and esteemed, is alwayes the best. What is the best thing in a man? It is his reason. By it he surpasseth beastes, and followeth the gods very nere. So then perfect reason is a mans proper good, all other things are such, as brute beastes pertake them in common as well as he. If he be mightie, so are Lions; if he be faire, so is the Peacocke; if he be swift, so is the horse: I will not say that hee is overcome and surpassed in all these things. I dispute not what that is, which is most excellent in him, but what it is that is most proper vnto him. He hath a bodie, so haue the trees; hee hath vehemencie and voluntary motion, both beastes and wormes haue no lesse. He hath a voice; but how faire more clearer haue dogges? More shriller haue Eagles, more strong haue Bulls, more sweeter and delicate haue Nightingales? What then is it which is proper and best in a man? Reason. This it is that being compleat and perfect, accomplisheth a mans felicitie. If therefore euery thing that hath perfected his owne good is praiseworthy; and hath attained the end of his nature; and mans particular good is reason; if he hath perfected the same, he is worthy of praise, and hath attained the end whereunto his nature directed him. This perfect reason is called Vertue, and is no other thing then that which is honest. That therefore is the onely good in a man, which is the onely marke of a man. For now we enquire not what God is, but what mans good is; but man hath no other good but reason: this therefore is his onely good, which is the most precious and priceworthy of all others. If any man be a wicked man, he in my opinion will be misliked of. If a good man, he will as I suppose, be allowed of. That therefore is proper and particularly a mans, whereby he is praised or improued. Thou doubtst not whether this be good; but whether it be his onely good. If any man should enioy all other things; health, riches, many images of his predecessors, adorning his fore-court, a multitude of attendants at his Pallace-dore, and yet in all the worlds iudgement hee were wicked, thou wouldest disallow him: If likewise there were a man that hath none of all these things; which I haue related, neither money, nor attendants of courtiers, neither nobilitie, nor any images of his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers are arranged by order; but that were an honest man, in all mens opinion, thou wouldest praise him. There is then one only good in a man; whereof if any man findeth himselfe possessed, although he be destitute of all others, yet is he to be praised; and if he hath it not, although he haue all other things in abundance, yet is he despised and reiected. Such as the condition of all things is, such is the condition of men. That thin is called good, not that which is painted with precious colours, or that hath a siluer or golden beake, nor whose tutelar signe is enriched with Iuorie, or that is laden with

goods

goods and royall riches, but that which is strong and firme, that is so well timbered and calked on every side, that it admitteth no leake, that can sustaine the breaking of the sea, that is light of steerage, and is good of saile, howsoever the winde drive it. Thou wilt say, a sword is good, not for that it hath a golden belt, or a sheath covered with precious stones, but that which hath an excellent edge, and a strong point, able to pierce an armour of Steele. Wee enquire not how faire therule be, but how straight. Every thing ought to be praised, when it is sorted and purveyed of that which is proper vnto it. Therefore in a man also it is nothing to the purpose, how many acres of land hee plow vp, how much money he lend to vs, by how many he be saluted; how rich and precious the bed bee whereon hee resteth, how goodly a cup hee drinke in; but how good a man he is, and a good man is he, if his reason be perfect and vpright, and accommodated to the will of Nature. This is called Vertue, this is honestie, and the onely good of a man. For since that only reason maketh a man perfect, onely perfect reason maketh him likewise happy. But that onely good of a man, is that which may only make him happy. Wee say likewise, that those things which proceed and are engendered by vertue, that is to say, all her actions, are goods; but vertue is the sole and onely good, because there is not any good without her. If all good remaine in the soule, all that which maketh the same firme and constant, all that which raiseth and enobleth it is good. But it is vertue that maketh the soule more strong, more excellent, and more courageous; for all other passions that animate and incite our pleasures, doe delect and rinate the soule likewise, and when they seeme to raise the same, they doe but puffe her vp with pride, and deceiue her with their vanities. There is then but one onely good, whereby the minde is bettered. All the actions of the whole life are measured, either in that they are honest, or in that they are villanous. Thereby it is that reason is gouerned, either to doe, or not to doe any thing: I will tell thee what this meaneth. A good man will doe that which in his thought may be honestly done, although it be accompanied with much trouble, and attended with losse and danger. Contrariwise he will do nothing that is dishonest, although thereby he reaped riches, pleasures, and authorities. Nothing shall withdraw him from doing a good thing, nothing shall inuite him to doe that which is villanous. Vndoubtedly then, if he must follow that which is vertuous, he will likewise feele that which is villanous; and in all the actions of his life he will regard these two things, that there is no other good, but that which is honest, nor any other euill, but that which is villanous. Now if there be but one onely vertue that remaineth vncorrupted, if the onely remaine alwayes in her entire vertue, it is the onely good, to which nothing may happen that may hinder her from being good. For wisdom is out of the danger of all change, wisdom cannot be rauished, shee cannot fall into folly. I haue told thee, if happily thou remember the same, that diuers haue contemned and troden vnder feete that which is vulgar, by an inconsiderate heate, either desired or feared. Some haue there bene, that haue thrust their hands into the flame, whose smiles the tormentour could not interrupt, that in the buriall of their children haue not shed one teare, and that haue presented themselves to death without any feare. Loue, wrath, courtesie, hath oftentimes made them seeke out perills. If therefore a short resolution of the soule pricked forward by some pregnant occasion, may doe this, with what more greater resolution shall vertue doe it, that gathereth her forces, not from rashnesse or any sudden motion, but a constancie and perpetual power? It followeth then, that those things

things which are often contemned by the inconsiderate, and by wise men alwayes, that they are neither good nor euill. Vertue then is the onely good, that marcheth proudly betwene both the one and the other Fortune, and despiseth them both. And if thou enter into this opinion, that there is any other good, but that which is honest, all vertues shall be in trouble. For no man might attaine any of them, if he desired any thing that were out of her selfe; and if this were, it should be contrarie to reason, from whence vertues proceed; and to truth, which is alwayes accompanied with reason. But all opinion which is contrary to truth, is false. Thou must needs confesse, that a good man carrieth great pietie and reuerence towards the gods, and for this cause he will patiently endure all that which may befall him. For he well knoweth that all this is befall him by the will of the gods, by which all things are conducted. And if it be thus, he will thinke that to be the onely good, which is honest. For in honestie consisteth the obedience to the gods, the patient sufferance of those accidents, which may follow the constant entertainment of fortunes, and the willing acceptance of that the gods will, and the performance of their commandments. If there were any other good, but that which is honest, we should be attended with an insatiable desire of life, and an affection to all that which entertaineth life: a thing intollerable, infinite, and that which extendeth it selfe ouer farre. The onely good then is that which is honest, that hath a certaine measure. We haue said that the life of man should be more happy then that of the gods, if that whereof the gods make no vse were goods, of which kinde are riches & estates. Furthermore, if the soules suruiue the bodies after they are departed from them, a more happie estate attendeth them, then that which they then possessed, when they were imprisoned in the body. And yet if those things which we vse by the means of the bodie were goods, they should be more vnforgotten after they were departed from the same, but no man can any wayes beleue, that being inclosed and imprisoned, they should be more happy, then when they are released and set at libertie through the whole world. I haue moreover said this, that if it be a good that equally befall both man and brute beasts, that beasts likewise should enjoy a happy life, which cannot be true in any manner. Wee must suffer all things for honestie sake, which we should not doe, if there were any other good but that which is honest. All this, although I haue more amply debated vpon in my former Epistle, I haue thought good to abbreuiate in these few words. Yet neuer will this opinion seeme true vnto thee, except thou rowle thy minde, and question with thy selfe, whether, if need required, thou wouldest die for thy country, and to save the life of all other thy fellow citizens, thou wouldest lose thine owne, and yeeld thy necke, not only with patience, but with a free will? If thou canst doe this, there is no other good. Thou leauest all things, that thou mayest haue this. See how great the force of honestie is. And although thou shouldst not doe it presently, yet should it be at least, as soone as thou oughtest to doe it. Sometimes in a very short space of time a man recueth a great ioy of a very faire thing. And although some fruite of a worke already performed, can doe little profit to the dead, when he shall be out of this world, yet the only thought of that which he would doe, reioyceth and comforteth him; and a iust and constant man, when he setteth before his eyes the price of his death, which is the liberty of his country, and the life of all those, for whom he employeth his life, he feeleth a great pleasure, and already pertaketh the fruit of his perill. But he also who is deprived of this pleasure, which the execution of this work would yeeld him,

him, as the greatest and last pleasure of his life, without any more delay will encounter his death, and content himselfe that he hath done iustly and piously. Contrariwise, let thou now before his eyes diuers reasons that may dissuade him. Tell him, that this worthy act which thou hast done, shall be suddenly forgotten, the Citizens will not be so thankfull as thou deservest; he will answer thee. All this is out of the action I haue done, I contemplate and consider it in it selfe, I know it is honest. Therefore it is that, into what place soeuer I am led, into what place soeuer I am called, I am there. It is then the only good which a perfect soule, not only feeleth, but a generous man, and such a one as is of a good nature. All other things are of little esteeme, and subiect to change. And therefore it is that a man cannot possesse them without much care and trouble of minde, although the fauour of Fortune had assembled them all together into one mans possession, yet are they for no other vse, but a burthen to their master; they presse him alwayes, and sometimes ouerwhelme him. There is not any one of those, whom thou hast clothed in purple, that is happie, no more then are they that beare a royall Scepter in their hands, and a Mantle on their backs vpon a stage in acting a play. For after they haue marched in their proud array and buskins before the people, as soone as they depart from them they are disapparelled, and returne to their former estate. There is not one of those, whom riches and honors haue raised to the highest places, that is great. Why then seemeth he to be great? Thou measurest him by his show. A dwarf will be alwayes little, although hee be set vpon a mountaine; and huge statue will retain his greatnesse, though it stand in a ditch. We are blinded with this error, and thus are we decieued, because we esteeme no man by that which is in him, but we adde vnto him his ornaments. But when thou wilt haue a true estimate of a man, and know what a one he is, behold him naked: let him lay aside his patrimony, his honours, and those other flattering and false goods of Fortune. Let him dispossesse himselfe of his bodie, behold his minde, what and how great it is, whether of his owne good, or by anothers: if he dare looke on a drawne sword with a manly eye, if he know that there is no great matter whether his soule depart, by his mouth, or by his throat; call him happy. That at such time when he shall heare that he must endure bodily tormets, or such euils as happen by casualtie, or by the plot of great men, that if he must suffer bonds and exile, and the vaine feares of humane mindes, securely heareth them, and saith.

*Not any new suspicion of mishap,
O Virgin, shall my settled minde intrap:
All these haue I forethought long time agoe,
My dangers are forecast in weale and woe.*

Thou tellest mee all this to day, I haue alwayes denounced it to my selfe. I haue disposed man vnto all humane things. The stroke of mischief which a man foreseeeth, is lesse troublesome and more light. But to fooles, and such as credit Fortune, the face and appearance of things seemeth new and vnexpected, and noueltie for the most part is the greatest cause of euil to the ignorant. That thou mayest know this, they suffer patiently those things that they thought difficult, when they are accustomed thereunto. Therefore it is, that a wise-man inureth himselfe to euils that may befall him, and that which others by a long patience make light and easie, the wise-man doth it after hee hath long time thought.

thought: we heare oft-times the discourses of these ignorants, which say, I had not thought that this would as yet befall me; but the wise-man knoweth that all things are incident to him, and confesseth, that hee knoweth very well all that which may happen.

EPIST. LXXXVII.

And this by the way, is to be numbered amongst those that are good and profitable. He intreateth by the way of the Alexandrian Fleet, where whilst other ranne out to see them, he neglected them. For what auaile these? or how long? I am olde, I am going hence, and at length I must willingly depart as MARCELLINVS did. Then against the feare of death, and that the reasons thereof are to be contemned.

This day vpon the sudden that *Alexandrian* Ships appeared vnto vs, which are vsually sent before the Fleet, to giue tidings of the fortunate approach of the Naue, which men call Frigatts or Ships of melleage. The view of these was gratefull and welcome to all *Campania*. All the people of *Pozzolo* climbed vp vpon the Pilesto behold them, and by the manner of their sayles knew them from the rest, notwithstanding that they were intermingled with a great bulke of other shipping: for they onely haue libertie to spread their top-saile, which in their top all ships haue. For there is nothing that helpeth their course so much as that vpper part of the saile: for by it the Ships course is moft of all furthered; and therefore as often as the winde encrease, and is more violent then it ought to be, the top-yard is striken for the winde, hath lesse force ouer the bodie of the ship. But when they haue entered *Cape* and the Promontorie, from whence,

PALLAS from high of stormie Mountaine spies.

All other ships are commanded to content themselves with their maine sayle; the top-saile is the marke to know the *Alexandrian* ships. Amidst the course of all these people that ran thus hastily to the Sea shoare, I felt a very great pleasure in my loath, because that thinking to receiue Letters from mine agents, I made no halt to know in what estate my affaires stood, or what they had brought me. For long agoe nothing hath bene gotten or lost by me. This opinion should I maintaine, although I were not olde: but now the rather, because how little soeuer I had, I haue more to make vse of them, I haue time to liue, especially since we are entred into that way, which we neede not to accomplish. The journey will be imperfect, if thou stay either in the mid-way, or stand on this side the prefixed place: the life is not imperfect, if it be honest. Where soeuer thou endest, if the end be good it is intire: we ought likewise often and courageously to end, and not for great causes, for these are not the mightiest that holde vs. *Tullius Marcellinus* (whom thou knowest very familiarly) who was temperate in his youth, and quickly an olde man, being surprised by a sicknesse which was not incurable yet long and tedious, and such as commanded him to suffer much, began to deliberate and conclude vpon his death. To this intent he called together diuers of his friends. Euery one of these being naturally timorous, gaue him that counsaile they would haue entertained themselves, or if there were a flatterer, or any one that studied to please him, he gaue him that

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advice,

advice, that he thought would be best pleasing to him that demanded the question. Our friend *Astheo*, a worthy man, & that I may dignifie him with those titles, wherein he worthily deserveth praise, a man courageous and valiant, counsailed him in my opinion very nobly: for he began thus; *Torment not thy selfe, friend MARCELLINE, as if thou deliberatedst on any important affaire. It is no great matter to liue all thy flauers liue, and all other beasts also. It is a great matter to die honestly, prudently and valiantly. Betinke thy selfe for how long time together thou hast done the same thing. Meete, sleepe, lust by this circle all the world commeth. Not onely a valiant man, a strong man, a miserable man can haue a will to die, but he also that disdaineth life.* He needed no man to counsaile him hereunto, but some assistant; for his flauers would not obey him. First of all he tooke from them all feare, and taught them that flauers were in great danger, when as it was incertaine whether the death of the Lord were voluntarie or no. For otherwise it should be as dangerous an example to hinder a Maltor to die, as to kill him. Afterwards he admonished *Murcellinus* himselfe, that euen as when supper is ended, the remainder is deuoid on those that attend; so when life is ended, somewhat is bequeathed to those who had beene attendants during the whole life time. *Murcellinus* was a man of a gentle and facile disposition, and liberall euen in those things which were his proper goods: he therefore distributed some small summes amongst his weeping seruants, and comforted them himselfe: he needed not eyther sword or shedding of blood, for three daies he abstained, and in his very chamber he caused his Paullion to be raised; afterwards his bath was brought thither, in which he lay long time, and caused water to be oftentimes cast vpon him, so by little and little fainted and failed he, not without a certaine pleasure, as he said (which a slight fainting is wont to bring) not vnapproued vnto vs, who are sometimes subiect to soundings. I haue made relation of this storie vnto thee, which I know will not be distastefull to thee, because thereby thou shalt vnderstand the manner of thy friends death, which was neyther difficult nor miserable: for although he procured his owne death, yet departed he and escaped most sweetly out of life. Neyther will this storie be vnprofitable to thee; for necessitie oftentimes exacteth such examples. Wee oft-times must die, yet we will not: we die, and yet we will not. There is no man so ignorant, but that he knoweth that one day he must die, but when the time approacheth neere he plays the coward, trembleth & weepeth. Wouldst thou not esteeme him the foolishnest of all men, that should weepe because hee liued not a thousand years agoe? As foolish is he that weepeth because he shall not liue a thousand years after. Those are equall thou shalt not be, neither wast thou: both these two times are not our owne. Thou art cast vpon this point, which although thou mightest prolong, how long wouldst thou prolong it? Why weepst thou? What wilt thou? Thou lovest thy labour;

*Cease thou to hope that prayers so powerfull be,
That they can change the destinies decree.*

They are firme and fixed, they are led by an eternall and powerfull necessitie. Thou shalt goe thither whether all things goe. Why thinkest thou this a new matter? Thou art borne vnder this condition, thy father hath had the like hap, this hath thy mother met withall, this haue thy predecessors knowne, this shall befall all men after thee. It is an inuincible successe and order that no force can change, and that eyther and traineth all things with it. O how great number of

people

people shall follow thee when thou art dead? How many are that shall accompanie thee? Thou wouldst in thy opinion be more constant, if diuers thousandes of men should die with thee. And yet many thousandes of men and beasts shall lose their liues by diuers sorts of death, at that venient hant when thou makest it a difficultie to die. But diddest thou not thinke that one day thou shouldst attainethither whether thy iourney was alwaies intended? There is no iourney without end. Thinkest thou that I will recount vnto thee, at this present examples of diuers great peronages? No, I will but tell thee some of young lads: The memorie of that young *Lacedemonian* will neuer be lost, who hauing scarcely a haire vpon his chin, and being taken prisoner, cried out in that his Dorique tongue, I will not serue, and confirmed his wordes by effect; for as soone as he was commanded to doe some seruile and base office (for some commanded him to emptie the clofse stoole) he did beate out his brains against the wall. Our libertie being so neere, is there any man will serue? Haddest thou not rather thy sonne should die thus, then waxe olde in idleness? What is there therefore why thou shouldst be perplexed, if to die courageously be but a childes play? Thinkest thou that thou wilt not follow, thou shalt be enforced. Make tharto be in thy power which is in another mans. Wilt thou not take vpon thee this young mans courage, and say, I will not serue? O miserable wretch! thou art flaued vnto men, thou art flaued vnto things, thou art flaued to thy life: for life if it want the courage to die, is a true seruitude. Hast thou any thing for which thou shouldst expect? Thou hast spent those pleasures that attende and retained thee. There is not any that is new vnto thee, not any but is now odious vnto thee, because thou hast surfeited therewith. Thou knowest what the taste of wine is, and what is the taste of Methegling: it skils not whether a hundredth or a thousand vessels of wine passe by thy bladder: thou art a sickle: thou hast often learned what the Oyler is, what the Mullet fauoreth thou knowest well, thy foolish expence hath reserved nothing for time to come, which thou hast not already deuoured. Now these are they from which thou art drawne so vnwillingly. What other thing besides this is there which should yeeld thee discontent, if it were taken from thee? Are they thy friends and thy country? Hast thou so much euer honored the sunne, that for her thou wouldst haue deferred thy supper? Thou wouldst sooner choake vp the brightnesse of the sunne if thou couldest. For what hath bene euer done by thee that is worthe the light? Confesse, I pray thee, that there is not any amitie that thou beareth to the Senate or Palace, or to the nature of things which withdraweth thee from dying. It is in spite of thy teeth that thou leauest the shambles, in which thou hast left nothing. Thou fearest death: but how wouldst thou contemne it in the middelt of thy pleasures? Thou desirest but to liue; for thou knowest well what it is, and hast feare of death: but what is this life, is it not death? *Caligula* passing thorow the Latine way, when as one of those that were ledde prisoners, that had a long beard and hoarie haire, besought him to giue him leaue to die. What said he, liuest thou yet? The same answer must be made vnto those to whom death might bring any comfort. Hast thou feare to die, and why liuest thou yet? But I, saith he, will liue; for I employ my selfe in manie honest affaires. I leaue those offices and functions of life vnwillingly, which I discharge both faithfully and industriously. What, knowest thou not that it is one of the offices of life to die? Thou leauest no office, for the number of the duties which thou art to accomplish being vncertaine, it is determined. There is no life is not short: for if thou halt respect to the nature of things. Both

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stors and Statilius life is short, who ordained that this should be ingrauen on her tombe, that she had liued ninetie nine yeares. Seest thou how this poore woman vauntheth her selfe of her long life? but who could haue supported her glorie, if it had bene her fortune to haue liued out full one hundred yeares? It agreeth with our life as with a Stage-play, it skilleth not how long, but how well it hath bene acted. It importeth nothing in what place thou makest an end of life: die where thou wilt, thinke onely to make a good conclusion.

EPIST. LXXVIII.

Of his sickenes, yea, euen in his young yeares, and what reliefe he found for them. Honest studies (saith he) and friends also, but the remedy of remedies contempts of death. Thither calleth he LVCILIUS, and disputed many things deepe, manly, and true against griefe.

HHe more impatiently suffered I to see thee vexed often with rhumes and feuers, which follow long defluxions, and such as are already brought into custome, because I my selfe haue had experience of this sicknesse, wherof at the beginning I made little reckoning. My youth could as yet support this violence, and defend it selfe contently against infirmities, but at length I sunke vnder the burthen, and was brought to that estate, that I my selfe fell into a mortall distillation. Afterwards I became by little and little so extenuate and leane, that a sudden desire surpris'd me to procure mine owne death; yet my fathers olde years which I decreely rendered, restrained me therein. For I imagined not how constantly I might die, but how patiently he might endure my losse; for which cause I commanded my selfe to liue as yet: for sometimes to liue is a manly designe. I will tel thee what recomforted me most at that time, but so as thou be before hand aduertised, that those things wherein I tooke most repose, serued me for a medicine. Honest pleasures are to vs in stead of remedie, and all that which may reioyce the spirit, profiteth the bodie in like sort. My studies gaue me my health. I must confesse that I am indebted to Philosophie for my recouerie and health, to her I owe my life, and lesse then that I cannot owe her. I haue bene furthered in recouerie of my health by the meanes of my friends, by their exhortations and watchings, and by those discourses they entertained me with, I was verie much comforted. There is nothing (my *Lucius* the best of men) that more recreateth and comforteth a sicke man, then the affection of his friends. There is nothing that so much stealth away the thought & feare of death: I thought not on death when I saw them suruiue me: me thought, I say, that I should liue yet, not with them but by their meanes: me seemed that I lost not my spirit, but that I rendred it into their hands. All these encouraged me to assist my selfe, and to suffer all sorts of torments: other wise it is a miserable matter, when as thou hast lost thy desire to die, not to haue an affection to liue. Retire thy selfe therefore vnto these remedies. The Physitian will shew thee how long thou shouldest walk, and how much thou shouldest exercise: he will teach thee not to follow a repose whereunto an idle health is addicted, to reade aloude, to exercise and strengthen thy breath, when the passages of the fame, and the passages of the lungs are stopped, to faile, and make thy stomacke to desist by gentle motion and exercise, what meats thou shouldest vse when thou shalt call for

wine

wine to strengthen and comfort thee, and when thou shouldest intermit the same, lest it should prouoke and exasperate thy cough. But I teach thee that which is not only a remedy for this infirmity, but of the whole life: Contemne death. There is nothing distastefull when we shie the feare hereof. These three things in euery sicknes are very tedious; the feare of death, the paine of the bodie, and the intermission of pleasures. Of death there is enough spoken, I will only say this, that this feare proceedeth not from infirmities, but from nature. Sicknesse haue delayed the death of many men, and to them it hath proued securitie to seeme to perish. Thou shalt die, not because thou art sicke, but because thou liuest. This death will attend thee when thou art recovered: when thou art freed from sicknes thou shalt escape, not thy death, but thy infirmities. Let vs now returne to that incommodity that is proper to sicknes: it is accompanied with great and intollerable torments, but the intermissions make them tollerable; for when the griefe is most intended, it suddenly groweth to an end. No man can suffer an excessive paine a long time, for Nature that loueth vs as much as is possible, hath so prouidently provided, that shee maketh our paines either tollerable or very short. The greatest paines are felt most in those parts that are most leane; the nerues, the ioynts, and all other parts that are thinnest are cruelly tormented, when as corrupted humors are enclosed in these narrow passages, but these parts are quickly nummed, & lose the sense of paine, by reason of the paine it selfe, either because the spirits being hindered, to performe their naturall course, and changed to the worst, lose the force which maketh them vigorous, and ineth vs; or because the corrupt humor, when it wanteth force to flow thither, whither it should passe, choaketh them, and depriveth those parts of sense which are ouer much choaked. So the gout in feete and hands, and the paines that are felt in our ioynts and nerues, are appeased when they haue stopped and stupified the parts they haue tormented. It is the first assault, sharpnes and pricking that tormenteth, but this violence is extinguished in time, and the end of the paine is to bee wholly stupified. The paine of the teeth, eyes, and eares, is the most violent, because it is bred in the narrowest and straightest parts of the bodie, and no lesse, vndoubtedly, is that of the head. But the more violent that is, the sooner is it changed into madnesse or stupiditie. This therefore is the comfort in intended griefe, that thou must of necessitie cease to feele the same, if thou feele it ouer much. But that which most of all afflicteth ignorant men, during the torment which they feele in their bodies, proceedeth hence, because they are not accustomed to content themselves with the goods of the minde, and for that they entertaine too much friendship with their bodies. And therefore a great and prudent man retireth his minde from his bodie, and is for the most part conuersant with the better and diuiner part, and but onely for necessitie sake with the other, which is fraile and still plaining. But thou wilt say it is a tedious thing for a man to want his accustomed pleasures, to abstaine from meates, to suffer thirst and hunger. I confesse that vpon the first abstinance it is a tedious thing, but by little and little this desire is diminished, when as the things which wee desire are gouerned, and restrain themselves of themselves. Hence commeth it to passe, that the stomacke is more tempered, and they that fed with most rauenous appetite growne in hatred thereof. Desires and appetites die of themselves. It is no grievous thing to want that, that thou hast desired to long after. Moreover, there is not any griefe, but hath some intermission and remission. Furthermore, a man can warrantize himselfe from euills that are to come, and preuent those by remedies,

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dies, which threaten and menace him. For there is not any sickness, but hath some precedent signe, yea euen that which returneth by custome. Thou mayest beare an infirmite patiently, if thou contemnest the extremitie wherewith it threatneth thee. Make not thine euils greater then they be, and charge not thy selfe with complaints, the paine is light, if opinion aggravateth it not; contrawise, if thou begin to exhort thy selfe, and to say, *It is nothing, or in effect very little, let vs endure the same, and it will suddenly haue an end.* Thou shalt make it light whilst thou thinkest it so. All things depend vpon opinion; not only ambition, but expence and avarice are misled by it; our paine is but opinion. A man is no more miserable, the he suppoeth himself to be. I think that the complaints of forepassed pains ought to be forgotten, and such words as these: *There was neuer any man more miserable. What torments, what euils haue I suffered? No man thought that I should euer rise again. How often haue my friends bewailed me? How often haue I bene giuen over by my Physitians? Such as haue bene tortured on the racke, are not so much stretched.* Although all this be true, yet is it already passed. What pleasure takest thou in the remembrance of forepassed paines, and to refresh thy miserie that is already past: considering likewise, that there is not any one that will adde to his euill, and that lieth not to himselfe? Again, it is a thing very agreeable to recount the euill that is past. It is also a thing naturall to reioyce vpon the end of his miserie. We must therefore driue out of vs two things, the one is the feare of future euill, and the other the remembrance of that which is past: this for the present appertaineth not vnto mee, that not as yet, when he shall finde himselfe in these difficulties, he may say,

*And these perhaps hereafter call'd to minde
Will moue vs to reioyce.*

Let him fight against the same with all his forces, if he yeeld, he shall be overcome, if he enforce himselfe against his griefe, hee shall overcome. There are many in these dayes that doe this, they draw vpon themselves the ruine which they should resist. If thou retirest thy selfe from vnder that which presseth and oppresseth thee, that hangeth ouer thy head and menaceth thee, it followeth thee, and falleth vpon thee with agreeat waight; but if thou makest head against it, if thou wilt resist it, thou shalt repulse it. How many stroaks and wounds do the wrestlers receiue vpon their faces, and their whole bodies? yet suffer they all these torments for the ambition of glory; and endure the same, not only because they fight, but to the end they may know how to fight well; the exercise it selfe is a very torment. Let vs then likewise endeavour to surmount all trauels, the price and reward whereof, is not a simple crowne, a palme, or a trumpet, which commandeth silence, to the end that the praise of our name might be published, but the vertue and confidence of the minde, and a tranquillity of the spirit which wee obtaine for euer, if in any combare wee could surmount Fortune. I feele a cruell paine, but how shouldst thou otherwise doe but feele it, if thou endure it in no other sort, then women doe. Euen as the enimie chargeth thole most strongly, who flee most speedily: in like fort, all the euils that Fortune sendeth vs, charge him most violently that loseth his courage and playeth the coward. But this griefe is euer violent. And why? Are wee not content but to suffer light things? Whether hadst thou rather, either that thy sickness should be long, or that it should be violent and shor? If it be long, it hath intermissions, and giueth place to refection, it giueth much time, it must in the end

forlake thee and depart. A shor and violent sickness will either doe the one or the other, it will either suddenly end, or suddenly mend thee. But what skillst thou, whether it be not, or I be not? Since both in the one and the other, the paine hath an end? It may also profit thee much, to diuert thy thoughts to some other thing, and not to dreame at all of thy paine. Set before thine eyes that which thou hast sometimes veruouly and honorably done: discourse with thy selfe on the noblest stratagems: call thy remembrance vpon that which thou hast greatly admired, and what at that time the most constant; and they that haue overcome griefe, present themselves vnto thy thought; how he that stretched out his legge to suffer his *Varices* to be cut, persevered in reading his booke. He likewise that neuer ceased to laugh, whilst his wrathfull torturers wondering thereat, wrought vpon him with all the tooles and instruments of cruelty. Shall not that paine be overcome by reason, which hath bene overcome by laughter? Tell me now whatsoever thou wilt, both of the descent of Rhumes, and of the vertue of a continuall cough, that maketh a man yeeld vpon a part of his bowels, and of a feuer that scorseth the intrayles, and of thirst, and of the ioynts of feete and hands, which griefe and paine hath contracted, and dislocated. The flame, the racke, the burning and glowing places, and that which is laid vpon the swollen wounds, to renew their paine, and to make it pierce more deepe, is yet more cruell. And yet there haue bene some, that haue suffered all this without complaining. It is a small matter. And hath not once be sought them to giue over. It is a toy. And that hath neuer answered. It is a trifle. That hath laughed out-right with all his heart. After all this, wilt thou laugh at paine? But sickness, thou wilt say, suffereth me to doe nothing. It hinders mee in all my functions. Sickness attaineth the bodie, but not the minde. Therefore it is that she stayeth the feete of him that runneth, and tieth the shoemakers hands, and hindereth the smiths hammer. But thou hast well learned to make vse of thy soule, thou shalt admonish, thou shalt teach, thou shalt heare, thou shalt learne, thou shalt demand, thou shalt remember thy selfe. What then? beleuest thou that thou doest nothing, if thou be temperate in thy sickness? Thou shalt shew that the sickness may be overcome, at leastwise that it may be endured. Trust me, vertue findeth place euen in the bed it selfe. Armes, and following the warre, doe not onely testifie a valiant heart, and such a one as may not be daunted with feare. A man may approue his valour and courage euen in his couerlets and sleeping clothes. Thou hast enough to employ thy selfe in. Fight valiantly against thy sickness, if it constraineth thee to doe nothing; if it get no mastery ouer thee, thou shalt serue for a worthe example. O how great were the matter of our glory, if a man should come and see vs when we were sicke? But cast thou thine eyes vpon thy selfe, and praise thy selfe. Beside, there are two sorts of pleasures, sickness hindereth the corporall, yet taketh them not away wholly; but rather if thou wilt iudge according to the truth, it inciteth them. There is more pleasure in drinking when a man hath thirst, and the meate is most tastefull to him that is most hungered. All that which a man findeth after a long abstinence, he eateth with a greater appetite. But as touching those other pleasures of the minde, which are both greater and more assured: there is not any Physitian forbiideth them his patients; those who soeuer followeth and vnderstandeth them well, contemneth all the blandishments of the senses. O vnfortunate sicke man. And why? Because hee mixeth not his wine with snow, because he reneweth not the cold that he drinketh mixed in a great cup, by these morsels of ice which hee breatheth

keth there into, because those Oysters which are fished in the lake Lucern, are not opened for him at his table, because he heareth not round about his hall the rumor of his Cookes, that bring and serue in his meate, together with the fire to keepe them warme. For prodigality and foolish expence hath already found out this inuention, to the intent that no meate should be cooled, and that lest the pallet of the mouth, already hardened, should finde nothing that were not very hot; the Cooke attendeth the supper. O vnhappy sicke man? he shall eat but what he can digest: hee shall not haue a whole boare messed into his seruice, to be sent away as course commons. He shall not be serued with the pulpes of fowles (for men now adayes disdain to see them intire) assembled in dishes apart. What wrong hast thou receiued hereby? Thou shalt sup like a sick man many yea hereafter like a whole man. But all those things shall we easily suffer, both brothes, warme water, and other things whatsoever seemeth intolerable to delicate and voluptuous men, and such as are more sicke in minde then in body. Let vs onely forget the horror and feare of death. But that shall we not forget, if we cannot distinguish the ends of euill and good. And by this means finally we shall not feelee any disgust of our life, nor any feare of death: for a man can neuer be wearie, or diliking of life, when it is occupied after things so diuers, so high, and so diuine. There is nothing but idle and lasie repose that causeth vs to hate the same. Truth will neuer be tedious vnto him that traueleth in the secrets of Nature; there is nothing but fallhood that glutteth vs. Again, if death come and call vs, although it be before our time, although it abridge vs of the moitie of our liues, yet long before that time the fruit hath beene gathered. All nature for the most part is knowne vnto him, hee knoweth that honest things encrease not by their durance or continuance. They of necessity must suppose their liues short, who measure the same by vaine, and therefore infinite pleasures. Recreate thy selfe with these thoughts, and in the interim casting thine eyes vpon our Epistles, a time will come that shall reunite vs, and reassemble vs, how little soeuer it be, the knowledge how to vse it wel, will make it long enough. For, as *Possidonius* saith, *One day amongst learned men dureth longer, then the longest age of an ignorant and vnlearned man.* In the meane time hold this opinion constantly, that thou must not suffer thy selfe to be overcome by aduerlities; nor truit too much in prosperitie, to haue the power of Fortune alwayes before our eyes, as if she should do all whatsoever she can doe. Whatfouer is long looked for, is lesse tedious when it happeneth.

EPIST. LXXIX.

Somewhat of Charibdis, Scilla, and Aetna. Then that wise-men are equal amongst themselves: and he exhorteth vnto wisdom, although glory accompany it not. But it will accompany the same, though after death. Good.



Expect thy letters, by which thou shouldest certifie me what nouelties hath encountered thee in all that voyage thou hast made about Sicily, and what thou hast learned of certaintie, as touching *Charibdis*. For I know that *Scilla* is a rocke which is not dreadful to those that saile by it. But I haue a great desire to vnderstand, if all those fables which haue beene reported by *Charibdis* be true, and if happily thou hast obserued any thing, for it is a thing worthy to be marked.

Resolue

Resolue me whether it be one winde that causeth so manie Whirle-pooles, or whether every tempest alike doth exasperate that Sea, and whether it betrueth likewise, that all that which is deuoured in this tempest and storme of Sea by the waues, is carried away secretly vnder the waues of the Sea for many miles, and afterwards cast on shore on the bankes of the gulfe of *Tauromenitan*. When thou hast wholly satisfied me herein, then dare I command thee also to doe me that honor, to ascend the mount *Aetna*, which some men suppose and conclude to be consumed and decayed by litle and litle, because in times past men were wont to shewe it more farther off to Passengers. This may happen, not for that the height of the mountaine is diminished, but because the fire is weakened, and blafeth out with lesse vehemencie and abundantly; and by the same reason that the smoake by day time is more litle. But neither the one or the other is incredible: neither that the mountaine which the fire deuoureth continually, is not diminished; neither that the fire continueth alwaies in one and the same greatnesse. For it is not of it selfe, but by a forraigne means, hauing but one only stirred, and is kindled and nourished by a forraigne means, hauing but one only passage & issue by this mountain, and not his nourishment thereby. There is in *Licia* a Territorie of land, very well known vnto all men, the inhabitants thereabouts call it *Ephesion*, or the land which is pierced in diuers places. This country is inuironed with a fire, that no waies hurtech whatsoever plant it is that groweth thereupon: the Region therefore is fruitfull and full of grasse, which the flames doe neuer burne, but make shine with a faint and forcelesse brightnesse. But let vs referre these to question vpon, then when thou hast written me how farre distance the snowes are from the mouth of the mountaine, which the summer thaweth not, so secure are they from the fire. Thou must not say that I am the cause to make thee vndertake this labour: for thou wouldest satisfie this Poeticall fancie of thine, though no man urged thee thereunto, vntill thou describest *Aetna* in thy verse, and described this place, so renowned by all the Poets: for although *Virgil* had fully described it, yet was not *Ouid* deterred from handling the same subiect, and that which these two had plentifully written did not deterre *Cornelius Senuus*. Besides, this place hath proued to all, and they which wrote before, seeme not in my iudgement to haue prevented those things which might be spoken, but to haue explained them. But there is a great difference, whether thou adreste thy selfe to a matter thoroughly wrought vpon, or such a one as is well prepared. This groweth daily, and those things that are already found and inuented, cannot hurt those that should inuent hereafter. Moreouer, the condition of the last commiser is the best: hee findeth wordes already prepared, which addressed after another manner, haue a new appearance; neither layeth he hold on them, although appertaining to others, for they are publike. The lawyers denie that any thing which is publike may be held by prescription: either I know thee not, or thy teeth water at *Aetna*. Thou hast a minde to write vpon som great subiect, like to those of the ancients; for more thy modellie permittech thee not to hope, which is so great in thee, that I suppose thou wouldest restrain the forces of thy spirit, if there were any likelihood thou shouldest conquer: so greatly reuerencest thou antiquitie. Amongst the rest wisdome hath this goodnesse in it, no man can be overcome by another, if it be not in mounting when they shall come to the height, all is equall, there is no place for increase, she is fetled. Douth the Sunne adde any thing to his greatnesse, doth the Moone become more great then shee was wont? The Seas increase not, the world obserueth the same habite and manner.

manner. Those things which haue attained to their iust greatnesse, cannot augment themselves more: whosoever shall be wise, they shall be euen and equal. But each of them shall be endowed with his proper vertue, the one shall be more milde and affable, the other more readie; the one more prompt in displaying, the other more eloquent; that whereof we speake, which maketh a man bleis'd shall be equal to all. I know not whether thine *Ætina* may sinke and be ruinated in it selfe, whether the continuall force of fire impair and consume this high and conspicuous topped hill, which is scene so farre at Sea. Neither fire nor raine can bring vertue vnder. This maiestie only, cannot be depressed, it cannot be extended further, with drawne backward, her greatnesse is fetled as that of the celestiall bodies. Let vs endeavour to present our selues vnto her, already haue we performed much, and yet not very much if I should speake the truth: for it is not goodnesse to be better then the baddest. Who would glorifie himselfe, or boast that he had eyes that could beholde the day, when as the Sunne shineth on them thorow mistie cloudes, although he be contented in the meane space to haue fled the darkenesse, yet as yet he enioyeth not the good of the light? Then shall our minde haue wherewithall to gratulate himselfe, when as discharged of this darkenesse in which he is plunged, he shall see those cleere things, not with a feeble light, but after he hath scene the light of the cleere day, and restored to his heauen, he recouer againe the place which he enioyed by the condition of his birth. His first originall summoneth him vpward. And in that place shall he be, yea, euen before he be deliuered out of this prison, where he hath shaken of his vices, and become pure and light he shall be raised into contemplation of diuine things. This must we doe, my deere *Lucilius*, hither must we bend all our forces, although few men know it, although no man fee it. Glorie is the shadow of vertue, and will accompanie vs against our wils: but euen as the shadow sometime goes before, and sometimes followeth; so glorie is sometimes before vs, and offereth her selfe to be scene, sometimes she is behinde vs, and becommeth more great, because she commeth somewhat later, when as enuie is wholly retired. How long time seemed *Democritus* to be mad? *Socrates* had scarcely any reputation? How long was it ere *Rome* knew what *Cato* was? How long contemned she him, and neuer thorowly knew him, till she had wholly lost him? *Rutilius* innocencie and vertue had lien hid, except he had receiued iniurie, whilst he is wronged his worthinesse appeared. Did he not thank his fortune, and embrace his exile? I speake of those whom fortune made glorious, when he grieved them; how manie mens desires and worth grew to light after them? How many hath fame neglected in life, and eternized in the graue? Thou seest how much *Epicurus* is not onely admired amongst the learned, but also among the ignorant; and this man was vnkowne to the *Athenians* themselves, where he liued alwayes obscured. Outliving therefore *Metrodorus* by manie yeares, when in a certaine Epistle of his with gratefull commemoration he had notified the friendship betwixt *Metrodorus* and him, in the conclusion he adde'd this; *That amidst so many good which METRODORUS and he had partaken in their life, it little harmed them, that so renowned Greece was not onely ignorant of them, but scarcely had heard of them.* Was he not therefore found when as he ceased to be? Did not his opinion grow famous? The like also doth *Metrodorus* confesse in a certaine Epistle, *That he and EPICURUS were not in sufficient reputation, but that afterwards both he and EPICURUS should haue a great and adressed fame at their handes who would follow the way that they had held.* No vertue is obscured, neither is it anie indiginitie or damage

maeto it, to haue bene hidden: the day will come which will bring it to light, though hidden and restrained through the worlds wickednesse. Hee is borne for the profite of few men, that thinketh onely on the people of his age. Manie thousands of yeares and nations shall succede vs; looke thou on them, although enuie hath enioyned silence to all those that liue with thee, there shall others succede, who shall iudge without hatred or fauour: and if vertue ought to receiue any recompence by glorie, she shall not lose it. We shall not vnderstand what wordes politeritie speaketh of vs; yet shall they honour vs, and frequent vs, though we perceiue it not. There is not any whom vertue hath not dignified both in life and after death: if so be he hath followed his wholly, and with a good faith, if he haue not decked and disguised himselfe, if he continued on, whether it seemed vpon warning, or vnprepared and suddenly. Dissembling profiteth nothings; a fained countenance, and slightly forged externally, deceiveth but very few; vertue which way soeuer you turne her is all one. Things deceivable are of no stabilitie. A lie is thin, thou thalt easily see thorow it, if thou diligently looke vpon it.

EPIST. LXXX.

That the common sort went to the showes and games, he to his studie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie, and how easie a thing it is if you desire good things. That we are to search out libertie, which is performed by despising and spurning at desires. That true felicitie is therein, and not in externall splendor. Good.



His day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the foote-ball play hath withdrawne all those that were troublesome vnto me, and came to importunate me. There is not one that thrusteth in vpon me, no man distracteth my thoughts, my doore creaked not so often as it was accustomed, my hanging was not lifted vp, I haue freedom to be solitarie, which is most necessarie for him that walketh alone, and followeth his owne way. Doe I not therefore follow the auncient? I do. Yet suffer I my selfe to inuent somewhat, and to leaue. I scrupulously tie me not to their opinions, but assent vnto them; yet haue I spoken a great word, who promised my selfe silence and secrecie if I were not interrupted. Beholde a huge crie is raised in the Theatre, where men exerceise their running, which cannot draw my selfe from my selfe, but rather transporteth me to contemplate on the combats that are in hand. I thinke with my selfe, how many exercise their bodies, how few their mindes; how many men thong to a vaine and trifling spectacle, and what desolation there is about good arts, how weakly minded they are, whose armes and shoulders we wonder at? But about all I meditate vpon this. If a man may by exercise bring his bodie to this patience, whereby he may sustaine not onely the strokes and purns of manie men, whereby soiled with his owne bloud, hee may endure the scorching Sunne, and hottest sand all the day long: how much more easily may the mind be strengthened, inuincibly to entertaine the shoocke of fortune, to the end that being cast to ground, and trode vnder foote, hee may yet raise himselfe? For the bodie hath neede of manie things to strengthen the same, but the minde increaseth by it selfe, is nourished by it selfe, exerciseth it selfe. The bodie hath neede of

of much meat, of much drinke, and much oyle, and much exercise; but vertue will come vnto thee without any furnishing, without any expence. Whatsoeuer may make thee good is with thee; what needest thou to make thee good? thy will. But what better mayest thou will, then to deliuer thy selfe out of this seruitude, which tyrannizeth ouer the world, and from which the slaues themselves, of how seruile condition whatsoeuer, & borne euen in the ordures thereof, strive by all meanes to cast off? That stocke of cattell they haue bought by pinching their owne bellies, they pay for their liberty; wilt not thou endeavour at what charge soeuer, to obtain this libertie, who thinkest thy selfe a free borne man? Why callest thou thine eye vpon thy coffers? I cannot be bought. It is a vaine thing therefore to cast the name of libertie into the Tables of Manumission, which neyther they that bought, nor those that sell the same may haue. It is thou that multieue thy selfe this good, thou must demand it of thy selfe: first of all discharge thy selfe of the feare of death; for that is it which first of all bringeth vs in subiection, and afterwards from the feare of pouertie. If thou wilt know how little euill there is therein, make a comparison betwixt the looks of such as are poore, & those that are rich: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily: no peniuries deeply groundeth it selfe in his breast, although some trifling affliction befall him, it passeth away like a light cloude. The ioy of those who are called rich is fained, or their sorrow is grievous and rotten; and so much the more grievous, because they dare not discouer their miseries, but amidst the sorrowes that gnaw their very hearts, they are enforced to set a face of felicitie vpon their discontent. I must oftentimes make vse of this example, for by no other may this minck of mans life (which assigneth vs these parts which we act very aukwardly) be expressed. He that in the Scene stalketh proudly vp and downe, and looking vpward, uttereth these words;

*Beholde I gouerne Greece, P E L O P s my fire
Hath left me Kingdome, and the lands which lie
From Itehsant onto the Seas that tire
Th' Ionian shores*

Is but a slaue, he gaineth fve bushels of corne and fve pence. That proude fellow, who full of ostentation and puffed vp with confidence of his owne strength sayeth,

*Except proude MENE L A Y s thou be still,
And sunn debate, this right hand shall thee kill.*

Hath but his daies allowances, and sleeps in a poore ordinarie chamber. Thou mayest say as much of all these wanton minions, who are hanged in the ayre, in a Litter, carried more high then the heads of men, and aboue the troop of common people. The felicitie of all these is but masked. Thou wilt contemne them if thou despoile them. When thou wouldest buy a horse, thou causeth his saddle to be taken off of his backe. Thou causeth the slaue thou wouldest buy, to be turned naked, for feare least any infirmities of his bodie should be hidden. Wilt thou estimate a man when he is wrapped vp? These Regrators shadow and cover by some slight that which might hinder the Merchandize of their slaues. And therefore it is that a faire garment and ornament maketh them oftentimes suspicious that intend to buy. If thou shouldest see an arme ora

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knee bound vp, thou wouldest command to haue it vnswathed and laid open, and all the bodie to be discouered. Seest thou that King of Scithia or Sarmatia adorned with a rich attire vpon his head: if thou wilt estimate him, and know him wholly what he is, take from him his royall ornament; much mischief lies hidden thereunder. Why speake I of others? If thou wilt estimate thy selfe, lay apart thy money, thy house, and thy dignitie, and consider well with thy selfe what thou art inwardly. For now thou trustest other men to shew thee what thou art.

EPIST. LXXXII

The beginning concerneth an vngratefull man: and then followeth a question, whether we ought to bee thankfull vnto him who formerly helped vs, and afterwards hurt vs. He disposeth this matter, both subtilly, and dissuely, and distinguishingly.

THou complainest that thou art fallen into an vngratefull mans hands: if this be the first time, either thanke thy fortune, or thy diligence. Although diligence in this place can make thee nothing, except it make thee wicked. For if thou wouldest auoid this perill, thou shalt neuer doe any man a courtesie: thus lest thy benefits should perill in another mans hands, they shall perill in thine owne. It were better they were neuer recompenced, then neuer giuen: yea euen after a bad haruest we returne to tillage. Oftentimes whatsoeuer hath bene lost by the vsuall sterilitie of a barren ground, hath bene redeemed by the plentie of one good yeare. It is so great a matter to finde one gratefull man, to make trial of many vngratefull: no man hath so certaine a hand in giuing benefits, but that he is oftentimes deceiued, let them faile sometimes once to be assured. The seas are failed on when the shipwracke is past. The Vsurer forbeareth not to lend because he hath met with a bankrupt. Our munde will quickly be benumbed with fruitlesse idleness, if it should incontinently forsake whatsoeuer is distastefull vnto it. But let this very thing make thee more bountifull. For if thou wilt that a thing (whose euent is vncertaine) should haue a happie issue, it behoueth thee to assay it oftentimes. But hercof haue we sufficiently spoken in our Books which we haue written of Benefits. Better it were to dispute of another point, (which, in my iudgement, is not sufficiently expressed and decided) whether he that befriendeth vs, and afterwards hurteth vs, hath equally his benefit, and that whether we are acquit from him. Adde if thou wilt hereunto this also, that afterwards he had hurt vs more, then before time he profited vs. If thou expect a seuer sentence of a Iudge, that would follow the rigor of law, he will release them respectfully, and will say. Although the iniury bee more great, yet let that which remaineth of the iniury bee giuen to the benefits. He hath hurt more. But first of all he hath profited, and therefore we must haue some regard of time. Now those things are more manifest, then that they need an admonition, that it is necessarie to know how willingly hee hath profited, how vnwillingly harmed. Because both benefits and iniuries are measured by the minde. I would not giue a benefit, but I was ouercome with shame, or by the pertinacie of his instant suite, or by hope. Whatsoeuer is owing, is examined by the same minde wherewith it is giuen, neither is it weighed by the greatnes thereof,

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but by the wil frō whence it proceedeth. Let all coniecture be now taken away. Both that was a benefit, & this that exceeded the measure of the former benefit, is an iniury. A good man will in such sort make his account, that he himselfe will deceiue himselfe. He will adde vnto the benefit, & take from the iniury. But another that would iudge more graciously, as I would doe, will forget the offence, and remember the fauour. Assuredly it is the act of iustice (saith he) to giue each man that which appertaineth thereunto, to the benefit acknowledge ment, to the iniury reuenge, or at least-wile an euill acceptance. This shall bee true, when as one doth an iniury, another giueth a benefit. For if it be the same, the force of the iniury is extinguished by the benefit. For to him whom wee ought to pardon, although no defects of his were precedent, to him is more then pardon due, if he hurt vs after he hath done vs kindestesse; yet take I not them both alike, more prize I the benefit then the iniury. Euery one knoweth not how to owe a benefit gratefully. An imprudent, rude, and base conditioned fellow may restore a benefit, and recompence the same anon after he hath receiued it, but he knoweth not how much he is obliged. The wife-man onely knoweth at what rate each thing is to be taxed. For that foole, of whom I spake of late, although he haue a good will, either restoreth lesse then he oweth, or doth it not in time and conuenient place, and lawleseth and casteth that away, which he should recompence and satisfie. There is a wonderfull proprietie of words in some things, and the custome of ancient language deligneth some things vnto vs in effectuall meates, and due teaching lessons. Thus truly are we wont to say. This man hath referred or required that mans fauour: to requite, is willingly to returne that which thou owest. We say not, hee hath returned thanks; for both they who are demanded, and are vnwilling, and that in euery place, and those that returne by another mans hand giue satisfaction. We say not, he hath remitted the benefit, or he hath paid it, for those words which are proper to acquit a man of money lent, are no wayes pleasing to me in this subiect. Referrē, is as much to say, as to goe and acknowledge, that is, beare backe, vnto him whom thou hast receiued. This word signifieth voluntarie relation or reknowledgement. Hee that hath referred, that is to say, reknowledge, hath appealed and sommoned himselfe. The wife-man will examine all things with himselfe, how much he hath receiued, from whom, when, where, and how. Therefore is it, that we deny that any man knoweth how to reknowledge a benefit, but a wife-man, no more then any other man, knoweth how to giue a benefit, except he be a wife-man, and such a one, who is more glad to giue, then another to receiue. This some man numbrell amongst those things which wee seeme to name extrauagant and strange vnto all men, the Greekes call them Paradoxes, and saith: Is there no man therefore that knoweth how to requite a good turne but a wife-man? Therefore no other man but he knoweth how to pay his creditor that which hee oweth him, nor when hee buyeth any thing, to pay the price thereof to him that selleth the same? But lest this blame should fall vpon me, know this, that *Epicurus* saith as much. *Metrodorus* assuredly saith, *That the wife-man onely knoweth how to reknowledge a fauour.* Againē, the same man admireth, when we say, *The wife-man onely knoweth how to loue, the wife-man onely is a friend:* but to requite a fauour, is both the part of loue and friendship; nay rather this is more vulgar and more casuall amongst many, then true friendship. Againē, the same man wondereth, because we say, that there is no faith, but in a wife-man, as if he himselfe had not said the same. Supposest thou this, that he hath any faith, that knoweth not how to acknow-

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ledge a benefit? Let them therefore cease to defame vs, as if we preferred or maintained vncredible things, & let them know that true honesty is lodged onely in a wife-mans breast, and the only images and appearance of honest things with the common sort. No man knoweth how to requite a courtie, but a wife-man. A foole in some sort also acknowledgeth as he conceiue the meanes, and how he may, and let his knowledge rather faile him then his will. The will is not learned. A wife-man will compare all things to their worth: his worke although it be the same, is made eyther greater or lesser, by time, place, and cause. Oft-times riches powred into a house, could not do that that a thousand pence could, being giuen in season. For there is a great difference whether thou gaeit, or succourest. Whether thy liberalitie hath saued him, or engreatned him. Oft-times that which is giuen is small, that which followeth thereby is great: but what difference is there, whether any man hath taken backe againe that which he had giuen, or receiued a benefit, to the end he might giue? But least we should returne into the examination of those things which he hath sufficiently debated of; in this comparision of benefite and iniurie, a good man will iudge that which is most rightfull, yet will he fauour the benefite, and be most addicted to that side. But the consideration of the person is of greatest moment in these affaires. Thou hast giuen me a benefite in the person of my slaue, but thou hast done me iniurie in my father. Thou hast saued me my sonne, but taken my father from me; consequently he will pursue and examine all the circumstances by which all comparision hath his proceeding; and if it be but a smal matter that causeth the difference, he will dissemble that. But if it be great, and that he hath the power to pardon it, without iniurying pittie or faith, he will remit it, that is, if the whole iniurie appertaine vnto himselfe. The summe of the matter is this, he shall be facile and gracious in this compensation, he shall suffer himselfe to be more charged in the account, and will neuer pay a benefite with an iniurie, except it be by great constraint, he will incline alwayes to this side, he will maintaine this part in desiring to acknowledge a benefite, and affecting to requite it. For he is deceiued whatsoever he be, that more willingly receiueh a benefite then hee restoreth it. By how much the more ioyfull hee is that payeth then hee that borroweth, by so much ought he to be more content that discharge himselfe of a great debt by restoring the benefite which he hath receiued, then the other which obligeth himselfe by receiuing. For in this also vngratefull men are deceiued, in that they satisfie their creditor with an o-uer-plus besides the principall, and suppose that the vse of benefits is gratuitall: yet the increase by delay, and so much more is to be satisfied, by how much it is slackly satisfied. Ingratefull is he that restoreth a benefite without vsurie; and therefore we ought to haue a respect to this length, when we compare the receipts and layings out. We must labour as much as in vs lieth, to be most gratefull; for this good is truly ours, euen as it is not iustice as it is commonly beleued that appertaineth to others, the greatest part thereof returneth in to it selfe. There is no man that hath profited another, that hath not profited to it selfe. I speake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath been succub-himselfe. I speake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath been defended would defend, because a red, would succour, and he that hath bene defended would defend, because a good example returneth to him that giueth it, as also euill examples doe finally fall vpon their author; neyther finde they any pittie who suffer iniuries, and by acting the same haue taught others that they may bedone, but because the reward of all vertue lieth in them: for they are not put in execution, vnder hope of reward. The reward of a good action is to haue acted the same. I am grate-

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full, not that another should more willingly lend me, being egged thereunto by the former example, but that I might performe a thing both most pleasing and agreeable. I am gratefull, not because that I shall yeelde me profit, but because it contenteth my minde. And to the end thou mayest know that which I speake is so truly: if I haue not the means to expresse my gratuitie, except in the wing my selfe to be vngratefull, if I cannot yeeld satisfaction, except it be vnder a pretext of doing iniurie, I ought most willingly to follow this counsaile, although I be in danger to be noted of infamie. There is no man in my iudgement that eliminates vertue more, no man more deuoted therunto then he that lost the reputation of a good man, because he would not make shipwrack of his conscience. Therefore, as I said, thou art gratefull more for thine owne good then another mans: for to him there happeneth but an ordinarie and common thing to recover that which he had giuen, but to thee a great contentment, and such as proceedeth from the estate of a happie soule, to haue acknowledged a benefite. For if wickednesse maketh men miserable, and vertue maketh them blessed, and to be gratefull is a vertue, thou hast restored but an vsuall thing, but attained an inestimable matter, that is to say, the conscience to haue been gratefull, which lieth not on a minde but such as is diuine and fortunate. But the contrarie of this affection is vrged with great infelicities. There is no man that is not miserable if he be ingratefull. I daily not with him, he is presently miserable. Let vs therefore flie ingratitude; if for no other cause, yet for our owne. The least part of wickednesse, and that which is least to be feared, redoundeth vnto others; but that which is the worst, and (if I may so speake it) that which is the thickest remaineth with him, and tormenteth his possessor. As our *Attalus* was accustomed to say, *Malice and mischiefe drinke the greatest part of his owne poison*. That venom which the Serpents cast out of them to destroy others, and keepe within themselves without their owne preiudice, is not like vnto this. For this poison is pernicious to those that nourish the same. The vngratefull man tormenteth himselfe, he becometh leane, he hateth that which hath bene giuen him, because he must restore the same, and extenuateth it: contrariwise, he dilateth the iniuries and augmenteth them. But what man is there that is more miserable, then he that forgetteth the benefites he hath receiued, and remembereth him of the iniuries? Contrariwise, wisdom speaketh honourably of all sorts of benefites, and commendeth them to her selfe, and delighteth her selfe with the continuall remembrance thereof. The euill sort haue but one pleasure, and that very short, and that is whilst they receiue benefites, whereof the wise-man feeleth a long & perdurable ioy: for he delighteth not in receiuing, but in this, that he hath receiued, whereof he feeleth a continuall and immortal pleasure. He contenteth those things whereby he is harmed, neyther forgetteth he negligently but willingly. He turneth not all things to the worst, neyther seeketh he to whom he may impart the fault, and rather layeth the blame of mens errors on fortune then on themselves. He taketh exceptions neyther to mens words nor looks; whatsoeuer falleth out, he excuseth it with a gracious interpretation, and remembereth not an iniurie rather then a benefite: He feeleth his remembrance on that which was both the first, and the best: he changeth not his minde towards those that haue well deserued, except their iniuries surpasse very much, & the difference be manifest, even though he should shut his eyes, and then also in this only, that he continueth the same man after the greatest iniurie, as he was before the benefite. For whereas the benefite is equal with the iniurie, there remaineth some sparke of beneuolence in the mind.

Euen

Euen as a guiltie man is acquit when the opinions of the Iudges are equally diuided, and alwayes in whatsoeuer thing is doubtful, humane inclineth to the better: so a wise-mans minde, whereas the merits equall the misdeeds, will forebore to owe, but will not delit to be willing to be beholding, and doth this which they are wont to doe, who after a generall acquaintance of all debts, will notwithstanding satisfit. But no man can be gratefull, except he contemne these things, that maddeth and beforeseth the common sort. If thou wilt be thankfull for a benefite, thou must make account to suffer banishment, to shedde thy blood, to fall into pouertie, and see thine owne innocence oft-times stained, and subiect to base and scandalous rumours. It costeth a man no small matter to approve himselfe gratefull. We esteeme nothing more deerer then a benefite as long as we aske it, nothing more basely when we haue receiued it. Askest thou me what is that maketh vs forget the courtesies receiued? It is the desire and couetousnesse of those things we would receiue hereafter. We thinke not of that which we haue already obtained, but on that onely which we would obtaine hereafter. Riches, honour, power, and all such other things which in our opinion we repute of great esteeme, but base and abiect in their owne value, retire vs from vertue. We know not how to estimate things; whereof we ought to make our elections not according to the common report, but by the counsaile of nature, the mother of all things. These haue no magnificence in them, whereby they should draw our mindes vnto them, except this, that we are accustomed to admire them. For therefore are they praised, not because they are to be coueted, but therefore are they to be coueted, for because they are praised; and when as euery particular mans error hath made them publike, the publike shall make it to be the error of euery one. But euen as we haue beleueed those things, let vs also beleue the common sort in this, that there is nothing more honest then a gratefull minde. All Cities, all Nations, yea, those of the barbarous and sauage Regions will subscribe herunto, the good and euill will agree in this point. There will be some that will praise pleasures, there will be some that had rather labour. There will be some that will say that paine is the greatest euill that may be, some that will scarcely call it euill: Some one shall repute riches for the chiefest good, another shall say that they were found out for the ruine and mihap of humane life, and that there is no one man more rich, then he to whom fortune hath not found out any thing to giue him. In this so great diueritie of opinions, all the world will maintaine (as it is said) with one voyce that we ought to be thankfull vnto those who haue deserued well at our hands. All Nations, though different in manie other things, consent and agree herein; and yet notwithstanding, in the interim we repay benefites with iniuries: and the chiefest cause that euery one hath to become vngratefull, is this, because he could not be sufficiently gratefull. The furie is growne to that head, that it is a very dangerous thing to giue great benefites to any one: for in that he thinketh it a dishonest part not to requite, he desireth he should not liue, to whom he should make restitution. Reserue that to thy selfe which thou hast receiued, I demand, I exact it not, it contenteth me that I haue pleased thee. There is no hatred more pernicious then his, who is ashamed because he hath violated a benefite.

EPIST. LXXXII.

Against delicacie and effeminate life, and suggesti idlenesse also, and that we ought to dedicate the same to Iudie, and in especiall to Philosophie, which should defence vs against feare and all externall euils, yea against death it selfe. That we are armed all in vaine, with subtilties and sophismes against the same, and by the way, against such as vse it, that death in it selfe is indifferent, but such or such honest or dishonest. Again, against Canillars. Good.

Now haue I giuen ouer the care I haue had of thee. What one saist thou of the gods, hast thou accepted for my surtice: truly euen him that deceueth no man, a minde that is a louer of right and honestie. The better part of thee is in safetie. Fortune may doe thee an iniurie, but that which is most pertinent to the matter, I feare not that thou shouldst iniurie thy selfe. Keepe on the course thou hast begun, and compose thy selfe in this habit of life temperately, not effeminately. I had rather thou shouldst liue ill, then effeminately. Now so interpret thou ill as it is vsually spoken amongst the common sort, hardly, sharply, and laboriously. So are we wont to heare the liues of diuers men praised, who are enuied. *He liueth effeminately.* This they say, he is euill. For by litle and litle the minde is made effeminate, and groweth remisse and negligent, and undertaketh the similitude of that idlenesse and sloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more besitting a man to bee more sterne and rigid. Again, such as are delicate feare death, whereunto they haue made their life alike. There is a great difference betwixt idlenesse and the graue. What therefore sayest thou, were it not better for a man to repose himselfe thus, then to tosse and tumble himselfe in these gulfs of affaires? Both these two things are mortall, the conuulsion of the nerues and debilitation of the minde. I thinke him as much dead that lieth buried in his perfumes, as him that is drawne with the hooke. Retirement without studie is a death, and the sepulchre of a liuing man. Finally, what profiteth it vs to be retired, as if the causes of cares and troubles followed vs not beyond the seas? What hidden place is there, whereinto the feare of death entereth not? What so defended and high raised repose of life, which sorrow terrifieth not? Wherefoeuer thou shalt hide thy selfe, humane miseries will make a noise about thee. There are diuers externall things, which wheele about vs, whereby they either may deceiue or vrge vs. Many things internall which incense and enflame vs also, euen in the middelt of solitude. We must arme our selues with Philosophie, which will serue vs as an impregnable wall, which Fortune with all her engines cannot pierce. The minde that hath disclaimed externall things, is resident in an impregnable place, and defendeth himselfe in his fortresse, each weapon aimed at him, falleth vnder him. Fortune hath not long hands, as we imagine, she is Mistresse ouer none, but such a one as cleaueth vnto her. Let vs therefore, as much as in vs lieth, retire our selues from her, which the onely knowledge of her selfe and of Nature will effect. Let him know whether he is to goe, whence he came, what is his good, what is his euill, what he should desire, and what he should eschew, what that reason is, which discerneth, what things are to be desired and esteemed, whereby the fury of desires is meckened, and the cruelties of feares abated. Some there are that thinke that they haue overcome all this without the assistance of Philosophie

phie, but when as any misfortune lighteth vpon any of these, that pretend security; too late are they enforced to confesse the truth. These great words are forgotten, when the hang-man commandeth them to giue him their hand, when death approacheth more nigh them. Thou mayest iustly say vnto him: Thou prouokest absent euils: now see heere griefe, which thou saidst was easie to support: see heere death, against which thou spakest so much, and so audaciously: the whips yrcke, the sword thineth;

Now hast thou need, AENEAS, of a minde Armd with constancie.

But that will continuall meditation make strong in thee, if thou exercise not thy words, but thy minde: if thou preparest thy selfe against death, against which he cannot exhort thee, nor encourage thee, who shall attempt by some euils to periwade thee that death is not euill. For I will, my *Lucilius*, (the best of men) laugh at the follies of the Greekes, which as yet I haue not well examined, though I wonder at them. Our *Zeno* vseth this collection. There is no euill which is glorious, but death is glorious, *Ergo*, death is no euill. Thou hast profited mee much, thou hast put me out of feare, hereafter I will not doubt to stretch out and offer my head. Wilt thou not speake more securely, nor make a man laugh that is readie to die? Vndoubtedly, I can hardly tell thee whether he were more foolish, who supposed by this question to extinguishe the feare of death, or he that endeauoured to answer the same, as if it were a thing pertinent to the matter. For he himselfe opposed a contrary argument, taken from that, because we place death amongst things Indifferent, which the Grecians call *Adiaphora*. Nothing, saith he, that is indifferent, is glorious; but death is glorious; death therefore is not indifferent. Thou seest plainly wherto this argument tendeth. Death is not glorious; but to die constantly is glorious. And when, he saith, nothing Indifferent is glorious, I grant it thee; yet say I this, that there is nothing glorious, but in things Indifferent. These things terme I indifferent, which are neither good nor euill, as sicknesse, paine, pouertie, exile, death; none of these in it selfe is glorious, yet nothing without these. For pouertie is not praised. But he that is neither humbled, nor dejected by her. Banishment is not praised, but he that sorrowed not for it: griefe is not praised, but hee whom griefe hath enforced nothing. No man praiseth death, but him whom death sooner separated from life, then alstonished. All these things are not honest nor glorious in themselves, but if Vertue intermixeth her selfe amongst them, if these manage them, these maketh them honorable and full of glorie. For of themselves they are placed betweene both, and are indifferent, it only concerneth vs to know whether malice or vertue hath past the same thorow their hands. For that death which is glorious in *Cato*, is presently base & shamefull in *Brutus*, and to be blushed at. For this is that *Brutus*, who when he should be slaine, fought to delay death, who went aside to doe his easement, and being called vpon to die, and commanded to lay downe his necke; I will lay it downe, saith hee, so that I may liue. What madnesse is it to flie away, sith that thou art vnable to goe backe? I will lay it downe, so that I may liue: almost he added thereunto, euen vnder *Antonius*. O worthy man, to bee yeelded vnto life! But as I began to say, Thou seest that death it selfe is neither a bad, nor a good thing, *Cato* most honestly vsed it; *Brutus* most dishonestly. Every thing that hath not honor, vertue being added thereunto, it assumeth it. We say that a chamber is full

full of light: yet this fame is most darke by night. The day infuseth light into it, the night taketh it away. So to these things which be by vs called indifferent and middle things, namely, to riches, strength, beautie, honours, rule; and contrarily to death, banishment, bad health, sorrowes, and what other things wee haue feared, cyther lesse or more; cyther naughtinesse or vertue giueth the name of good or bad. Paine of it selfe is neyther hote nor colde, but being put into the Ouen, it waxeth hote; againe, it being put into the water waxeth colde: Death is honest, through that which is an honest thing: that is vertue and a minde contemning outward things. There is also, O *Lucretius*, a great difference of these that we call honest things. For death is not so indifferent, as that whether thou doe weare thine haire curen or not. Death is amongst those things that be not bad indeed, but yet haue a shew of that which is bad. There is a loue of owne selfe, and an engrafted wil of abiding & of preserving owne selfe, & a shunning of dissolution, because it seemeth to take away many good things, and to leade vs out of the abundance of this, whereunto we haue accustomed our selues. That thing also alienateth vs from death, because we haue already knowne these things: those things whereunto we are about to goe; we know not of what for they may be, and we feare things that be vnkowne. Furthermore, there is a naturall feare of darkenesse, into which it is supposed that death will conduct vs. Therefore, although death be an indifferent thing, yet for all that it is not amongst those things, which easily may be neglected. With great exercise the minde is to be hardened, that it may endure the sight and the coming thereof. Death ought to be contemned, more then it is accustomed to be; for we beleue many things concerning it. It hath bene the strife of manie wits to encrease the infamie of it. An infernall prison is described, and a region oppressed with continuall night, wherein is the great porter of hell.

*Lying open bare bones half eaten up
In bloody den, where he doth dine and sup,
Eternally with barking doth affright
Each pale and bloudlesse ghost and shade-like spright.*

But also when thou shalt perswade thy selfe that these things be fables, neither that any other thing remaineth to the dead, which any one ought to feare, another feare commeth in the place of it. For they are alike afraid of being in hell, as of being no where. These things contradicting which long perswasion hath infused vnto vs, the valiant enduring of death, what else may it be but a glorious thing, and amongst the greatest works of a manly mind? which will neuer rise vp vnto vertue, if it beleue death to be an euill thing; it will rise vp vnto it, if it suppose it to be a thing indifferent. The nature of things is vncapable of this, that one may come vnto that which he suppoeth to be an indifferent thing, slowly and lingringly will he come. And that is not glorious, which is done by an vnwilling and backward man. Vertue doth nothing because it is needfull to be done. Adde now that nothing is honestly done, except the whole minde hath endeouored and hath bene present therat, and with no part of it selfe hath resisted it. But when approach is made vnto that which is bad, it cyther cometh to passe by feare of worse things; or by hope of those things that be good, to come vnto the which it is of so great worth, that the enduring of one euill is swallowed vp. The iudgements of the doer doe disagree. Hence it is, that he commandeth to accomplish things purposed: thence that he draweth

backe

back and flyeth from a suspected and perillous thing. Therefore is he distracted into diuers parts. If this be, glorie perilleth. For vertue accomplisheth decrees with an agreeing minde: it feareth not that which it doeth.

*See this, that thou to euils giue no place,
But against them goe with a bolder face
Though thy fortune will permit thee.*

Thou shalt not the more boldly goe, if thou shalt suppose that they be euill things. This is to be taken out of the breast: otherwise suspicion being about to stay the force, will sticke herat. It shall be thrust vpon that, which it was to set vpon. Some would haue the interrogation of our *Zeno* to be supposed to be true, but that other to be deceitfull and false, which is opposed vnto it. I reduce not these things to a Logically lawe, and to those knots of most sluggish workmanship: I iudge that all that kinde is to be thrust away, whereby he who is asked, suppoeth himselfe to be circumvented, and whereby he being brought to confesse, answereth one thing, but thinketh another. Wee must deale more plainly for the truth, and more strongly against feare. These things which are tossed vp and down by them, I had rather to loosen, and to ponder vpon, to the end that I may perswade, and not deceiue. He that will leade an armie into the field readie to die for their wiues and children, how will he exhort? I shew to thee the Fabii, translating the whole warre of the Common-wealth into one house. I demonstrate the Lacedaemonians placed in the very straites of Thermopylae, hoping neyther for victorie, nor for returne. That place was to be a graue vnto them. How exhorteest thou them to receiue the ruine of a whole nation with offering their bodies vnto it? and rather to depart from their life, then from their place? Thou wilt say, that which is euill, is not glorious: death is glorious, therefore death is not an euill thing. O effectuall speech! who after this doubteth to offer himselfe to the deadly weapons points, & standing for to die? But that *Leonidas* how valiantly did he speak vnto them? So dine O fellow souldiers faith he, as if ye should sup amongst the dead. The meate encreased not in their mouthes, it did not sticke in their chaps, it did not fall out of their handes. They went cherefully to dinner and to supper both. What that Romane Captaine, who spake thus vnto souldiers, which were sent to take a place, and were to goe through a great armie of the enemies: It is needfull, O fellow souldiers; to goe thither, but it is not needfull to returne backe. Thou seest how plaine, and how imperious vertues. What man can our beguillings make more valiant? Whom can they make more courageous? They breake the minde, which is neuer lesse to be contracted, and to be compelled with pettie and thornie things, then when some great matter is framed. The feare of death ought not to be taken from three hundred alone, but from all mortal men. How wilt thou teach them, that it is not an euill thing? How wilt thou ouercome the opinions of all ages, wherewith presently infancy is seasoned? What helpe wilt thou finde? What wilt thou say to the weaknesse of man? What wilt thou say wherewith they being inflamed, may rush into the middelt of danger? With what speech wilt thou turne away this consunt of feare; with what speech wilt thou auert the obnoxious perswasion of mankind, which is against thee? Thou composest capitious words, and knittest pettie questions for me. Great monsters are stricken with great weapons. In vaine with arrows and slings did they shoote at that great cruell Serpent in Africa, and more terrible to the Legions of Rome then

vvarre

warre it selfe. Not *Python* indeed was to be wounded, sith huge greatnesse according to the solide vastnesse of his body, cast backe againe weapons, and what- soeuer the hands of men had dared against him; at length was he broken with milstones; and against death dost thou dart fo pettie things? With a bodkin en- countrest thou a Lion? These things are sharpe which thou speakest of. No- thing is more sharpe then the beard of the care of Corne. Smalenesse it selfe maketh somethings vnprofitable and without effect.

EPIST. LXXXIII.

We must liue as before God our beholder and Iudge. Then he aduiseeth concerning his owne life, temperance and watchfulnesse. Againe (as in the former Epistle) a- gainst base talkers, who abuse wisdom with their meane speech and cauils. He teach- eth against Zeno himselfe, discomfiting against drunkennesse. But we must doe more valiantly and famously: and giuing an example thereof, hee condemneth that vice.

THou commandest my seuerall dayes, and all of them indeed to be shewed vnto thee. Well iudgeth thou of me, if thou supposest nothing to be in them which I will hide. If certainly wee mult liue, let vs liue as being in sight: so let vs thinke, as if one were a- ble, and could looke into our innermost brest. For what profit- teth it, that any thing should be secret from man? Nothing is closed from God. He is within our soules, and he commeth into the midst of our thoughts. So, I say, he commeth amongst them, as one to depart at length. Therefore I will doe that which thou commandest, and what I doe, and in what order, I will willingly write vnto thee. I will forthwith obserue my selfe: and that which is a most profitable thing, with my selfe will I recall the day to minde. This maketh vs to be very bad, because no man looketh backe vpon his life. What things we are about to doe, we thinke vpon, and but seldom that: what wee haue done, we doe not thinke vpon. But from that which is past, commeth counsell for that which is to come. This day is solide. No man hath taken any of it from me: it is all of it diuided betwixt the booke and the bed. The least part is giuen vnto exercise of the bodie; and for this cause I giue thanks to old age. It costeth me not much. When I haue stirred, I am wearied. But this is the end of exercise, euen to those that are most strong. Seekst thou with whom I exercise my selfe? One sufficeth me, *Earinus* (as thou knowest) a loue- ly boy: but he shall be changed. Now I seeke for one that is more tender. He indeed faith, that we haue the same estate of bodie, because that the teth of vs both fall out: but now I scarce ouertake him when he doth runne, and within a very few dayes I shall be vnable to doe it. See what continuall exercise can profit. Speedily there is made a great distance betwixt two that goe in a con- trary journey: at the same time he ascendeth, I descend: and thou knowest, how much the one of these is the more speedily done. I lied: for now our age descendeth not, but falleth. Notwithstanding dost thou seeke how this dayes descendeth not, but falleth. As seldom it falleth forth to runners: neither of vs strike succeeded vnto vs? As seldom it falleth forth to runners: neither of vs both did ouercome. From this wearinesse, rather then exercise, I descended into cold water. This is called by me water scarce warme. I that so great wa- ther in cold water, who in the Calends of Ianuarie leaped into a pond, who in the

the new yeare, as I began to reade, to write, to speake somewhat, so began I to leape downe into cleare water, first translating my teneto Tyber, then to this bathing tub, which because I am most strong, and all things are done in good earnest, the Sunne moderateth for mee: Not much time after, doe I tarrie at the Bath. Then I eate drie bread, and a dinner without a board: after which I am not to wash mine hands. I sleepe very little. Thou hast knowne my cus- tome: and I vse a most short sleepe, and as it were by seuerall naps. It is suffici- ent that I haue ceased to watch. Sometimes I know, sometimes I suspect that I haue slept. Behold the crie of the *Cyrenians* maketh a noise in mine eares: mine eares are stricken with some sudden and vniterfall voice. Neither do they put forth, neither indeed doe they interrupt my thought: most patiently I beare their clamorous hoyses, many voices and confused in one, are to mee in stead of a waue, or of a winde beating vpon a wood, & of other things sounding without sense. O what therefore is it? I will tell thee, whereon now I haue set my minde. A thought abideth with me still since yesterday, namely, what most wise men haue meant, who haue made most light and perplexed proofes for greatest things, which although they be true, are notwithstanding like to a lie. *Zeno* would deter vs from drunkennes, an exceeding great man, the founder of this most valiant & most holy sect. Heare now how he gathereth, that a good man will not be drunke. None committeth secret speech to a drunken man: but he committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man will not be drunke. Marke how he may be derided with the like opposite interrogatio. It sufficeth of many to set downe one. No man committeth secret speech to one that is a sleepe, but he committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man doth not sleepe. By what one way he can, *Pesidonium* pleadeth the cause of our *Zeno*: but so can it not be pleaded indeed, as I suppose. For he faith that a drunken man is so said to be two manner of wayes: the one, when one is loaden with wine, and not master of himselfe; the other, if he be accustomed to be made drunke, and be subiect vnto this vice. He is spoken of by *Zeno*, who is accustomed to be made drunke, not hee that may bee drunke. But no man will commit secrets to him, which through wine he may publish abroad, which is false. For that first interrogati- on comprehendeth him that is drunke, not him who will so be. For thou wilt grant that there is great difference betwixt him that is drunke, and a drunkard. He that is drunke, may so then be at the first time, and not haue this vice: and he that is giuen to drinke, is oftentimes without drunkennesse. Therefore I vnderstand that, which is wont to be signified in this word: especially sith it is put by a man professing diligence, and examining words. Adde now, that if *Zeno* vnderstood, and would haue vs to vnderstand this, by doubtfulness of the word, he hath sought place for deceit: which thing is not to be done, when veritie is sought for. But certes although he hath thought thus: yet that which followeth is false; namely, that to him who is accustomed to be made drunke, a secret speech is not to be committed. For thinke to how many souldiers not alwayes sober, both the Emperour, and Tribune, and Centurion hath com- mitted silent things. Concerning that slaughter of *C. Caesar*, of him do I speak, who hauing ouercome *Pompeius*, possessed the Common-wealth: it was as well committed to *Tillius Cimber*, as to *C. Cassius*. *Cassius* dranke water all his life long. *Tillius Cimber* was both too much giuen to wine, and was lauish of his tongue: he iested at this thing himselfe. Can I beare any one, faith hee, who cannot beare wine? Let euery one now name those vnto himselfe, to whom he knoweth that wine is badly, and that speech is well committed. Notwith- standing

standing I will relate one example that commeth to my minde; left it be forgot. For life is to bee instructed by famous examples. Let vs not alwayes flie to those that be old. *Lucius Piso* the warden of the Citie, after that he was once made drunke, spent the greater part of the night in the feast: and did for the most part sleepe almost vntill noone; this was his morning time. Notwithstanding, most diligently he administrated his office, wherein the safetie of the Citie was contained. To him both *Augustus* gave secret commands, when he gaue him the gouernment of *Thracia*, which he did subdue; and *Tiberius* going into *Campania*, when he left many things in the Citie both suspected and hateful, I thinke, because the drunkennesse of *Piso* had well fallen forth vnto him, afterwards made *Cossus* gouernour of the Citie, a graue and moderate man, but drowned and floating in wine, so that sometimes being oppressed with a sound sleepe, he was carried out of the Senate, into which he had come from a feast. To him notwithstanding *Tiberius* wrote many things with his owne hand, which he iudged ought not to be committed to his owne seruants. No priuate nor publicke secret escaped from *Cossus*. Therefore let vs remooue from amongst vs these declamations: The minde hath not power ouer it selfe, being bound about with drunkennesse. As barrels when the cluses are broken with new wine: and as all that is in the bottome, the force of heate casteth vp into the vpper part: so wine foming forth, whatsoeuer lieth hid in the bottome is brought forth and commeth abroad. As they who are loaded with wine, keepe not meat through abundance of wine, so indeed do they keepe no secret thing; that which is their owne and other mens, alike do they spread abroad. But although this is wont to fall forth, so also is that, that with these whom we know somewhat freely to drinke, we deliberate of necessarie things. Therefore this is false, which is put in the place of patronage, that a secret is not to be committed to him, who is accustomed to be made drunke. How much better were it openly to accuse drunkennesse, and to lay open the vices thereof? which euen a tollerable man hath auoided, much more a perfect and a wise man: to whom it is sufficient to quench thirst: who also if at any time mirth doth arise, and is continued somewhat long vpon some other cause, yet notwithstanding resisteth without being drunke. For we will see concerning that, whether the minde of a wife man may be troubled with too much wine, and may doe that which is accustomed to drunken men. In the meane space, if thou wilt conclude this, that a good man ought not to be drunke, why dealest thou with syllogismes? Say how dishonest a thing it is, to powre in more then one can containe, and not to know the measure of ones stomack: how many things drunken men doe, which sober men be ashamed of: that drunkennesse is nothing else, then a voluntarie madnesse. Prolong that which is not lesse, but shorter. Relate the example of *Alexander*, the Macedonian, who in the middle of a banquet stabbed *Clytus*, one most deare and most faithfull vnto him, and vnderstanding that heinous deed, he would haue died; certainly hee deserued to die. Drunkennesse augmenteth and discouereth euery vice; it remoueth modestie, which hindereth from bad enterprises. For mee abstaine from forbidden things, through shame to offend, then through good will. When too much wine possesseth the minde, what euill fouer did hee hid, commeth forth. Drunkennesse causeth not vices, but betrayeth them; then the lecherous person tarrieth not indeed for a chamber, but without delay permitteth to his desires, so much as they shall require: then the shamelesse man professeth and publisheth his disease: then

then the wanton containeth not his tongue nor hand. Pride encreaseth to the haughty, rage to the cruell, malice to the enuious; euery vice is discouered, and commeth forth. Adde, that not knowing of himselfe, doubtful and scarce plaine wordes, wandring eyes, staggering gait, turning about in the head, the house it selfe seeming to turne about: the torment of the stomacke, when the wine waxeth warme; and stretcheth out the bowels. Then notwithstanding, howsoeuer it is tollerable, whilst it is yet in his owne power. What when it is corrupted with sleepe, and that which was drunkennesse is made cruditie? I thinke what slaughters publique drunkennesse hath committed. This hath deliuered most fierce and warlike Nations to their enemies: this hath laide open walls defended against the resolute warre of many yeares: this hath enforced the most resolute, and the refusers of subiection, to the command of other men: this hath conquered those who haue beene vnconquered in warre. So many iournies, so manie battels, so many Winters, through which *Alexander* had passed, the difficultie of times and places beeing ouercome, so manie floods vnexpectedly falling forth, so many Seas dismissed him safe; but the distemper of drinking, and that *Herculean* and fatal cuppe buried him. What glorie is it to containe much? When the victorie shall bee achieved by thee, when men lying scattered asleepe, and casting shall refuse thy drunken carrowles, when thou alone shalt remaine of the whole banquet, when thou shalt overcome all men in magnificall valour, and no man shall be so capable of wine as thy selfe, yet art thou overcome by a Tunne: what other thing saue drunkennesse, and the loue of *Cleopatra* no lesse then wine destroyed *Antiochus*, a great man and of a noble wit, and transferred him into external fashions, and into vices which were not Roman-like? This thing made him an enemy to the Common-wealth, this made him vnequall to his enemies, this made him cruell, when the heads of the Princes of the Citie were set before him as he did suppe, when amongst most exquisite feasts & kingly ryot, he looked vpon to know the heads and hands of the proscribed, when being loaded with wine, he notwithstanding thirsted for bloud. It was intollerable which hee did when he was drunke, although he did thus being sober: how much more intollerable was it, that he did these things in drunkennesse it selfe? For the more part crueltie followeth drunkennesse; for the health of the minde is violated and exasperated. Euen as long diseases cause tender eyes, yea at the least lighting vpon of a beame of the Sunne: so continuall drunkennesse enrageth the minde. For when oftentimes they are not their owne men, vices bred with wine, and obdurate with custome of madnesse, be also of force without it. Tell therefore why a wife-man ought not to be made drunke. Shew the deformitie and the importunitie of the thing with deedes, not with wordes, which will be most easie to do. Prooue these pleasures, as they are called, when they haue passed a meane to be punishments. For if thou shalt argue vpon that, that a wife-man can be drunke with much wine, and retaine a right tenor, although he be ouerturned: thou mayst as well conclude, that he may drinke poison and not die, that he may take iuice of blacke Poppie, and not sleepe, that he may take Ellebore, and not cast vpward or scoure downward, whatsoeuer sickness in the bowels. But if his seere be assaulted, if his tongue be not his owne, why thinkest thou him to be partly sober, and partly drunke?

EPIST. LXXXIII.

Writing and reading are to be changed. Things read are to be turned into one nourishing substance, and are to be made ours. Lastly, there is an exhortation to wisdom. Good and profitable admonitions.



Judge these journeyes which shake off slouthfulnesse from me, to profite my studies and health. Thou seest why they helpe mine health: sith the loue of learning maketh me slowe and negligent of my bodie, I am exercised by others helpe. I will shewe thee why they profite my studies. I haue not departed from reading. But it is necessarie, as I suppose, first, that I may not be content with my selfe alone; then, that when I shall know things sought forth by other men, and then that I may iudge of things alreadie found out, and that I may thinke of those that be to be found out. Reading nourisheth the wit; and it being wearied with studie, notwithstanding not without studie refresheth it. Neyther onely ought we to write, or onely to reade, the one of the things will make sad, and will consume the strength; I speake of writing: the other will dissolue and dissipate it. Interchangeable this is to be exchanged with that, and the one is to be moderated with the other; so that whatsoever is gathered together by reading, the pen may reduce into a bodie. We ought, as they say, to imitate Bees, which wander vp and downe, and picke fit flowers to make honie: then whatsoever they haue brought they dispose and place through their combs, and as our Virgil saith;

*Moist honey to make thicke they much doe strine,
Spreading the same with sweet dew through their flue.*

Concerning them it is not apparent enough, whether they draw a moist substance from the flowers, which is presently honie; or whether that they change those things which they haue gathered with a certaine mixture and propriety of their breath, into this taste. For it pleaseth some, that not the knowledge of making honie, but of gathering it is vnto them. They say that amongst the Indians honie is found vpon the leaues of Reedes, which eyther the dew of that skie or the pleasant and more fat moisture of the very Reede may beget. Vpon our hearbes also the same force, but lesse manifest and notable is found, which a creature born for this end may follow after, and gather together. Som think that those things which they haue picked from the tender of that which is Greene & flourishing, are not without a certain leauen, as I may so call it, whereby diuers things doe knit together into one. But that I be not lead away to any other thing, then to that which is in hand, we also ought to imitate Bees, and to separate what things soeuer we haue heaped together from diuers reading; for distinct things are the better kept. Then vsing the abilitie and care of our wit, to mingle diuers liquors into one taste: that although it shall appeare whence it is taken, yet that it may appeare to be some other thing, then that whence it was taken: which thing we see nature doth in our bodie, without any helpe of vs. Nourishment which we haue taken, so long as it abideth in quality, and swimmeth solid in the stomacke is a burthen; but when it is changed from that which it was, then at length it passeth into strength and into blood. The same

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let vs doe in those things wherewith wits are nourished: that whatsoever wee haue gotten, we suffer not to be whole, nor to be other mens. Let vs concoct them, otherwise they will go into the memory, not into the wit. Let vs faithfully agree vnto them, and make them ours, that one certaine may be made of many things: as one number is made of severall ones, when one computation comprehendeth lesser and disagreeing summes. This let our minde do: all things whereby it is holpen, let it hide: only let it shew that which it hath done. Although in thee the likeness of some one shall appeare, whom admiration hath more deeply fastned in thee: I would that thou shouldest be like to him, not as an Image, but as a sonne. An Image is a thing that is dead. What therefore? is it not vnderstood whose speech thou dost imitate? whose reasoning? whose sentences? I thinke at length it can not be vnderstood indeede; if they bee of a great man, for not in all things, which he hath drawne as examples from euery one, hath hee so imprinted his shape, that they may agree into that one thing alone. Seest thou not of the voyces of how many, a Quire doth consist? Notwithstanding one sound is made of them all. Some one voyce is acute, some base, some in a mean. Womens voices are ioined with mens, recorders and flutes are added vnto them: there the voyces of euery one in severall he bid, of all appeare. I speake of the Quire which the olde louers of musike did know of. In our castles there are more Singers, then once were of spectators vpon the Theaters. When the rowe of those that sing hath filled all wayes, and the Stage is compassed with Trumpeters, and all kinde of Pipes and Organs found from a gallerie above, a consonance is made of discordes. Such would I haue our minde to be, that there be many arts therein, many precepts, examples of many ages, but conspiring in one. How saist thou, may this be done? By continuall taking of heed; if we shall doe nothing but by the perswasion of reason: this if thou wilt heare, it will say vnto thee; Leau these things euen alreadie now, whereunto men doe runne; leaue riches eyther the danger or burden of those that possesse them; leaue the pleasures of the bodie and of the minde, they mollifie and make weake; leaue suing for offices, it is a swelling, vaine, and windie thing, it hath no bound: as well carefull is it, not to see any body before it selfe, as not not to see it selfe after another man: it labourereth with enuie, and indeede with two sorts thereof. But thou seest how wretched he is, who is enuied at, if he himselfe enuie also. Beholdest thou those houses of mightie men; those tumultuous doores with the brawling of them that doe salute? Much reproach is there that thou maist enter in, more when thou hast entred in. Passe by these staires of the rich, and entries hanged with heapes of auncient spoiles. Not onely in a craggie, but also in a slipperie place shalt thou here stand. Hither rather vnto wisdom direct thy course, and seeke to attaine the most quiet, and therewithall the most ample things. What things soeuer seeme to excell in humane affaires, although they be small, and stand about in comparison of the basest things, are notwithstanding by difficult and hard wayes gone vnto. Vnto the height of dignitie there is a broken way. But if thou wilt climbe vnto this top, whereunto fortune submitteth it selfe, thou shalt beholde indeed all things vnder thee, which are accounted exceeding high; but notwithstanding thou shalt come vnto highett things by that which is plaine.

EPIST. LXXXV.

He disalloweth Sophismes, and driueth them from serious studies. He giueth certaine examples, but leadeth to profitable things; against the Aristotelians, that a wife man ought to want affections. Then, that blessed life consisteth of it selfe; it is one and equall, whether it be long or short. Also it is not lessened by outward things, although euils and losses fall forth, yet a wife man respecteth all well. A good and wise Epistle.

Had spared thee, and had now passed by whatsoeuer had remained as yet, contented to giue, as it were, a taste vnto thee, of those things which are spoken by our men, that it may be proued, that vertue alone is sufficiently effectually to fulfill a blessed life. Thou commandest me to comprehend all the questions, that be either of our owne, or deuised for the teaching of vs: which thing, if I will doe, it shall not be a letter, but a booke. That thing so often doe I protest, that in this kind of argument there is no delight vnto me. It shameth me (being armed with a bodkin) to descend into a warre vnderaken by gods and men. He that is wise, is also a temperate man. He that is temperate is a constant man. He that is constant, is a true tempered man. He that is without griefe, is a blessed man. Therefore he that is prudent is a blessed man, and prudence is sufficient for a blessed life. To this collection, some of the Aristotelians answered after this sort, that thus they may interpret a man of true temper, and constant, and without griefe, that a man of true temper may be said to be, who rarely and smallly is disturbed, not he who neuer is. Also without sadnesse doe they say him to be, who is not subiect to sadnes, nor is too frequent, nor too much in this fault. For that were to deny the nature of man, that the minde of some man should bee free from griefe: a wife man is not ouercome with sorrow, but is touched therewith: so other things, after this sort, correspond to their owne sect. They doe not with these things take away the affections, but moderate them. But how little doe we giue to a wife man, if hee bee stronger then the weakest, and merrier then the saddest, and more moderate, then the most vnbriiled, and greater then the basest be? What if *Ladus* admire his owne swiftnesse, looking backe vnto those that be lame and weake?

*On tops of grasse, not pressing them, she ran,
Nor tops of standing corne, her course hurt can;
In midst of sea on waters highest tip,
Her running feet in water doe not dip.*

This is that swiftnesse esteemed of by it selfe, not which is praised in comparison of those that be most slow. What if thou call him, who is lightly sicke of an ague, a sound man? The smalenesse of a discale is not good health. Thus, faith he, a wife man is said to be of true temper, as sweet kernellesse Pomgranats, are called so, not in which there is no hardnesse of the kernels, but in which lesse hardnesse is. It is false: for I doe not vnderstand a lessening, but a wanting of euils in a good man: there ought to bee none, not those that are small. For if there be any, they will encrease, and sometimes will hinder vs. As a greater and a perfect web in the eye maketh blinde, so a small one troubleth the eye. If thou giuest any affections to a wife man, reason shall be vnable to master

master them, and shall be carried away, as it were, with a streame: especially when thou leauest not one, but a whole troupe of affections wherewithall it may strue. A troupe, although it bee of those that be meane, can doe more, then the violence of one that is great. He hath couetousnesse, but it is meane; he hath ambition, but it is not eager; he hath anger, but it is to be appeased; he hath inconstancie, but not very wandering; and subiect to motion: he hath lust, but not madnesse. Better is it with him who hath one whole vice, then with him who hath lighter vices indeed, but yet hath all vices. Then there is no difference, how maine the affection be, and how great soeuer it is; it knoweth not to obey, it receiueth not counsell. As no liuing creature obeyeth reason, not the wilds, not the tame and gentle; for the nature of them is deafe to him that doth perswade: so affections doe not follow, they doe not heare, how small soeuer they be. Tygers and Lions neuer put off fiercenesse, sometimes they submit it; and when thou shalt least expect, their mitigated frowardnesse is exasperated. Vices neuer in good earnest doe waxe tame. But if reason profitech, the affections will not begin: if they shall begin against reasons will, they will perseuer against the will of it. For it is more easie to forbid the beginnings of them, then to rule their force. Certainly this mediocrity is false, and without gain, and is to be esteemed of in the same place, as if one should say, wee might be indifferently madde, or indifferently sicke. Vertue alone hath it; the euils of the minde doe not receiue moderation, more easily shalt thou take them away, then gouerne them. Is there any doubt, but that the inueterate and hard vices of humane minde, which we call diseases, be without moderation; as couetousnesse, as crueltie, as vnruinesse, as impietie? Therefore also the affections are without moderation: for wee passe from these vnto those. Furthermore, if thou giue any power to sadnesse, to feare, to couetousnesse; and to other bad motions, they will not be ruled by vs. Why? because those things be out of our power, whereby they be stirred vp. Therefore they encrease, as they haue greater or lesser causes, whereby they be prouoked. Greater shall the feare be, if there be more wherewithall it may be affrighted, or if one shall look nearer thereunto; couetousnesse shall be more cruell, when hope of a larger estate shall call it forth. If it be not in our power, whether affections may be or not, that indeed is not, how great they may be: if thou hast permitted them to begin, with their causes they will encrease, and they shall bee as great, as they are made by thee. Adde now, that these, although they be but little things, grow to be greater. Neuer doe hurtfull things keepe a meane. Beginnings of diseases creepe forward, although they bee light; and sometimes the least accession drowneth a bodie that is already sicke. But who is so mad, as to beleue that, that the beginnings of those things which are placed without our will, the limits of them are according to our will? How am I sufficiently able to put an end vnto that, which I am scarce able to hinder? Sith it is more easie to exclude, then to suppress things admitted in. Some haue distinguished so that they said: A temperate and a prudent man in the frame and habite of the minde is calme, but not in the event thereof: for in regard of the habite of the minde he is not troubled, neither feareth, nor is sad; but many causes doe outwardly fall forth, which may bring perturbation vnto him. This is it that they would say, that he is not indeed a cholericke man, yet that hee is angry at sometime. And that hee is not a fearefull man, yet that hee feareth at sometime: that is to say, hee wanteth the vice, but not the affection of feare. But if we allow of this feare, with frequent vs it becometh a vice: and anger

being admitted into the minde, discovereth that habit of the minde that wanted anger. Furthermore, if it contenteth not those causes which outwardly come, and feareth any thing, when that valiantly we are to go against weapons, and fires, for our Countrie, Lawes and libertie, it will lingeringly goe forth, and with a minde returning backe. But this diversitie of minde falleth not vpon a wife man. That furthermore doe I iudge to be obserued, lest wee confound two things which are generally to be proued. For by it selfe it is gathered, that there is one only good, namely, that which is honest: that by it selfe againe vertue is sufficient for a happie life. If there be but one good, namely, that which is honest; all then grant that vertue is sufficient to liue well: contrarily it shall not be reiected, if vertue alone doe make a blessed man, that there is one good, that is, that which is honest. *Xenocrates* and *Speusippus* doe suppose, that a blessed man can be made by vertue alone: yet that is not the one only good, which is honest. *Epicurus* also iudgeth, that when one hath vertue, that he is blessed, yet that vertue it selfe is not sufficient to a blessed life: because pleasure may make a man blessed, which is from vertue, and is not vertue it selfe. A foolish distinction. For the same man denieth, that vertue is at any time without pleasure: thus if it alwaies be ioyned vnto it, and be inseparable, it also is sufficient alone. But that is absurd, because it is said, that one shall become happie euen by vertue alone: but shall not become perfectly happie thereby: which thing how it may be done, I doe not finde. For a blessed life hath in it a perfect good, such as cannot be overcome: which thing if it be thus, it is perfectly a blessed life. If the life of the gods hath in it no more nor better thing; and a blessed life is a diuine life; it hath nothing whereunto it can more life vpon it selfe. Furthermore, if a blessed life needeth not any thing, euery blessed life is perfect, and a blessed, and a most blessed life is the same. What doubtest thou, but that a blessed life is the chiefest good? Therefore if it be the chiefest good, it is chiefly a blessed life. As the chiefest receiue not augmentation (for what is above that which shall be the chiefest?) so is not a blessed life indeed, which is not without the chiefest good. But if thou shalt bring in one who is more blessed, then shalt thou make a great many more innumerable differences of the chiefest good: when I vnderstand the chiefest good, I speake of that which hath not a degree above it selfe. If any be lesse blessed then another: it followeth, that he will more desire the life of that other more blessed, rather then his owne life: but the blessed man preferreth nothing before his owne life. Which of these you will it is incredible; either that any thing remaineth to a blessed, which he had rather haue to be, then that which is: or that rather hee should not desire that, which is better then that other thing. For certainly, by how much he is more wise, by so much he will extend himselfe to that thing which is best of all, and euery manner of way he will desire to obtaine it. But how is he blessed, who can still, yea who ought to desire? I will say what it is, whence this error doth come. They know not that blessed life is one. The quality thereof, not the greatest place it in the best estate. Therefore alike is it long and short, broad and narrow, distributed into many places and parts, and gathered into one. He that esteemeth it by number, and measure, and parts, taketh that therefrom, which is the most excellent therein. But what is that which is excellent in a blessed life? That it is full; namely, as the end of eating and drinking is satietie: he eateth more, than man eateth lesse. What difference? Either of them is full. This man drinketh more, he lesse: what difference? neither of them is a thirst. He hath liued more, he fewer yeares. There is no difference: if many yeares

yeares haue made him as well a blessed man, as a few yeares this man. He whom thou callest lesse blessed, is not blessed: the name cannot be lessened. He that is valiant, is without feare: he that is without feare, is without sadnesse: he that is without sadnesse is blessed. This is our interrogation. Against this they endeavour to answer thus; that we bring in a false and a controuerted, for a true thing, namely, that he who is valiant is without feare. What therefore? Shall not a valiant man, faith he, feare euils hanging ouer him? This were the part of a mad man, and of one out of his wits, and not of a valiant man. Heindeed, faith he, feareth most moderately, but is not altogether without feare. They who speake these things are againe returned vnto the same thing, that smaller vices be vnto them in the place of vertues. For he who feareth indeede, but more seldome and lesse, wanteth not badnes, but is vexed with that which is lighter. But yet I think him mad, who feareth not euils hanging ouer him. True it is which he saith, if they be euils; but if he know that they be not euils, & iudgeth dishonestly alone to be that which is ill, he ought securely to looke vpon dangers, & to contemne those things that are feared by other men: or if it be the part of a foole or of a mad man, not to contemne euil things; by how much any one is the more wise, by so much shall he feare the more. As it seemeth to you, faith he, a valiant man shall thrust himselfe into dangers. No; he shall not feare, but shall auoyde them. Warinesse, not feare becommeth him. What therefore? Doest thou say; that he shall not feare death, bands, fire, and other weapons of fortune? No; for he knoweth that those things be not ill, but seeme so to be: he thinketh that all these things be the feares of humane life. Describē captiuitie, beating, chaines, pouertie, tearing a sunder of the members, eyther by lickens or by iniurie: and what soeuer thou shalt bring hereunto, number them amongst imaginarij feares. These things are to be feared by those that be fearful. Supposest thou that to be bad, whereunto some times of our owne accord we must come. Seeketh what is euill? To giue place to these things which are called euill, and to yeeld our owne libertie vnto them, for which we are to endure all things. Libertie perisheth, except we contemne those things, which lay a yoke vpon vs. They would not doubt what would become a valiant man, if they knew what valor were. For it is not vnadvised rashnesse, nor loue of dangers, nor a desire of fearfull things. It is a knowledge of distinguishing, what is euill, and what is not: fortitude is most diligent in defending of it selfe, and the same is most patient of those things, wherein is a false shew of bad things. What therefore if a sword be thrust into the throat of a valiant man, if first one part and then another be hewed forth, if he see his owne bowels in his owne armes, if after a space, to the end that he may feele torments the more, he be set vpon againe, and fresh blood tricketh downe by his dried bowels? wilt thou not say, that this man doth not feare, that he doth not feele griefe? Certainly he feeleth paine, for no vertue putteth off the sense of a man: but he feareth not: being vnconquered, from on high he looketh vpon his dolours. Thou demaundest, what minde then there is vnto him? The same that is vnto them who exhort their sicke friend. That which is euill hurteth, that which hurteth maketh worse. Dolour and pouertie make not worse, therefore they are not bad. False is it, faith he, which is propounded for if any thing hurt, it doth not also make worse: A tempest and storme hurt a Pilot, but notwithstanding they make him not worse. Certaine Stoicks do thus answer against this, That a Pilot is made worse by a tempest and by a storme, because that thing which he had purposed he cannot effect, nor keepe on his course. Worse is he made,

not

not in his skill, but in his work. To whom the *Aristotelian* : therefore, saith he, pouertie and dolour, and whatsoever such like thing there shall be, shall not take vertue from him, but shall hinder his working thereof. This were rightly said, except the condition of a Pilot, and of a wife-man were vnlike. For the purpose of him is in leading his life, not without faile to effect that which he assaileth to doe, but to doe all things aright. It is the purpose of the Pilot, without faile to bring a ship into an haven. They be seruile arts, they ought to performe that which they promise. Wisedome is a mistresse and gouernesse. The arts doe serue to, wisdome commandeth ouer life. I iudge that we must answer after another sort, namely, that neyther the skill of the gouernour is made worse by any tempest, nor yet the very administration of art. The gouernour hath not promised prosperous successe vnto thee, but his profitable endeavour, and skill to gouerne the ship. This appeareth the more, by how much the more force of fortune hath hindred him. He that hath bene able to say this, *O Neptune*, this ship was neuer but right, hath satisfied skill. A tempest hindereth not the worke of a Pilot, but the successe. What therefore sayest thou? Doth not that thing hurt a Pilot, which hindereth him from entring the Port? which causeth his endeouours to be vaine? which cyther beareth him backe, or detaineth and disformeth him? It hurteth him not as Pilot, but as one that doth faile. Otherwise it doth not so much hinder, as shew the Pilots skill. For euery one can, as they say, be a pilot in the calme. These things hinder the ship; not a pilot, as he is a pilot. Two persons a pilot hath; the one common with all, who haue gone aboard the same ship, wherein he himselfe also is a passenger; the other proper, as he is a gouernour. The tempest hurteth him as he is a passenger, not as a Pilot. Furthermore the art of a Pilot is anothers good; it appertaineth to those whom he carrieth: as the art of a Physician appertaineth to those whom he doth cure. Wisdome is a common good, and is proper to owne selfe, for those with whom he doth liue. Therefore peradventure a Pilot is hurt, whose promised seruice to others is let by a tempest. A wife-man is not hurt by pouertie, nor by dolour, nor by other tempests of life. For not all workes of him be hindered, but only those that pertaine to other men: alwayes is he himselfe indeed; then greatest of all, when fortune hath opposed her selfe vnto him, then manageth he the businesse of wisdome it selfe: which wisdome we haue said to be both anothers and his owne good. Furthermore not then indeed is he hindred to profite other men, when some necessities do presse him. Through pouertie he is hindred to teach, how a Common-wealth may be managed: but he teacheth that thing, how pouertie is to be managed. His worke is extended all his life long. Thus no fortune, no thing excludeth the acts of a wife-man. For he doth not that verie thing, whereby he is fobidden to doe other things. He is fit for both chancas: a gouernour of the bad, an ouercomer of the good. So I say hath he exercised himselfe, that he sheweth vertue as well in prosperous as in aduersif affaires, neyther looketh he vpon the matter thereof, but vpon it selfe. Therefore neyther pouertie, nor dolour, nor any other thing, which turneth backe the vnskillfull and driveth them headlong, hindereth them. Hast thou rather he should be pressed? He maketh vse of it. Not only of luorie did *Phidias* know how to make Images: he made them of brasse. If marble were vnto him, if thou hadst offered baser matter, he would haue made such an one thereof, as could be made of that which was the best. So a wife-man will shew vertue, if he may, in wealth; if not, in pouertie: if he shall be able, in his countrie; if not, in banishment; if he can, being a commander;

if

if not, being a souldier: if he can, being sound; if not, being weake: what fortune soeuer he shall entertaine, he will performe some memorable thing thereby. Certain tainers there be of wilde beasts, who teach the fiercest creatures, and which terrifie a man when they meete him, to suffer the yoke: and not contented to haue shaken fierceneffe off, do tame them, euen to keepe them company. The master vseth often to thrust out his hand to Lions; they kille it. The Keeper commandeth his Tyger; the *Ethiopian* Player commandeth his Elephant to fall vpon their knees, and to walke vpon a rope: so a wife-man is skillfull to subdue euill things. Dolour, pouertie, ignominie, prison, banishment, when they come vnto him, are made tame.

EPIST. LXXXVI.

Of the Countrey-house of AFRICANVS, of his building and Bath, which was neyther garnished nor neat. Against the vray of his time. Last of all, of setting Olines, through occasion of a Countrey-house.

Eying in the verie towne of *Scipio Africanus*, I write these things vnto thee, hauing adored the spirit of him, and the Altar, which I suppose to be the sepulcher of so great a man: the soule of him indeed I perswade my selfe that it hath returned into heauen, whence it was: not because he lead great armies (for this also furious *Cambyfes* did, and prosperously vsed furie) but for great moderation and pietie, more admirable in him when he left his countrie, then when he defended it. Eyther *Scipio* must be deprived of Rome, or Rome of libertie. Nothing, saith he, will I derogate from lawes, nothing from decrees. Amongst all Citizens let there be an equal right. O my countrie, vsethe the benefits of me without me. I haue bene the cause, I will also be an argument of libertie vnto thee: I depart if I haue increased more, then is expedient for me. How can I chuse but admire this greatnesse of minde? He departed into voluntarie banishment, and disburthened the Citie. The matter was brought vnto that passe, that eyther libertie should do iniury to *Scipio*, or *Scipio* to libertie. Neither was lawfull to be done. Therefore he gaue place to the lawes, and betooke himselfe to Litterum, as willing to impute the banishment of himselfe, as of *Hannibal* to the Common-wealth. I saw that towne build of foure square stone, a wall compassing about a wood, towers also set vnder both sides of the towne for a defence: A Cisterne laid vnder the buildings and greene places, which was able to serue euen an armie of men: A little narrow Bath, somewhat darke, as the olde fashion was. It seemed none was warmed for our ancestors, except it were obscure. Great pleasure entred into me, beholding the manners of *Scipio* and of vs. In this corner that horrow of Carthage, to whom Rome is in debt, that it was taken but once, walked his bodie, wearied with the labours of the countrie: for he exercised himselfe in work, and he himselfe tilled the earth, as the fashion of the ancients was. He stood vnder this so base a roote, this so meane a floore sustained him. But now who is he that can sustaine to be bathed thus? Poore and base seemeth hee to himselfe, except the walls haue shined with great and precious rounds, except Alexandrian marbles be distinguished with Numidian roose-cast; except all about vpon them, a curious varied plastering be layed like a picture that is drawne, except the chamber be couered ouer with glasse, except stone of the Ile *Tassius*, once a

rare

rare gazing flocke in some Church, haue compassed about our ponds, into which wee let downe our bodies emptied of much sweat; except siluer cockes haue powred our water vnto vs. And as yet I speake of the conduits of the common sort: what when I shall come to the Bathes of freed men? how great pictures, how great pillars holding nothing vp, but placed for ornament like to the causing of cost, how great waters sliding downe vpon stairs with a great noice? To that delicacie are we come, that wee will not tread but vpon precious stones. In this Bath of *Scipio*, there be verie small chinkes, rather then windowes, cut out in the stone-wall, that without hurt of the fenest, they should let the light in. But now are they called the bathes of Gnats, if any be not framed so, as to receiue with most large windowes the Sunne all the day long, except they be bathed and coloured both at one time, except from a throne they look vpon both land and sea. Those therefore which had concourse and admiration when they were dedicated, these are reiected into the number of the old, when riot hath deuised some new thing, wherewithall it selfe might ouercome it selfe. But in old time there were few bathes, neither were they adorned with any trimming vp. For why should a thing of a farthing worth be adorned, and which is found forth for vs, and not for delight? Water was not still powred in, neither alwaies as from a warme fountaine did it runne fresh: neither did they suppose that any matter it was, into what shining vessell they put their washed-off filth. But, O the good gods, how delighted it to enter into bathes somewhat dark, and covered with feeling of the common sort, which thou diddest know, that *Cato*, when he was ouerfeer of the buildings, or else *Fabius Maximus*, or some of the *Cornelii* had tempered with their owne hand? For also the most noble ouerfeers of houses, performed this dutie also of going into those places which receiued the people, and of exacting neatnesse, and a profitable and a healthie temperature, not this which is lately found forth, like vnto a setting on fire, so that it is meet indeed to be washed aliue, as a seruant conuicted of some wickednesse is. No difference now seemeth vnto me, whether the bathe be scalding hot; or be but warme. How great rudenes may some condemne *Scipio*, because into his warme bathe with large windowes he did not let in the day, because with a great deale of day-light he was not sod, and did not see, how he might seeth within a bathe? O miserable man! he knoweth not how to liue; he was not washed in faire, but oftentimes in troubled water, & almost muddy, when more vehemently it did raine. Neither much cared he, whether he were washed fo, for he came to wash away sweat, and not to wash away oymntment therewith. What speeches beleuest thou there will be of some? I enuie not *Scipio*, he liued in banishment indeed, who was washed thus; yea if thou wilt know it, he was not washed euery day. For as they say, who deliuered the maners of the City as they were of old, they washed euery day armes and legges, as which had with worke gathered filth, but all ouer were they washed euery nine daies. In this place some one will say, it is apparant that they were most vncleane. What thinkest thou they smelled of? Of warre, of labour, of playing the men. After that neat bathes are found forth, more filthy men be. *Horatius Flaccus* being to describe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights, what faith he?

Of Pomander doth R VELLVS smell——

Thou art to grant *Rufillus* now, that it were all one, as if he smelled of a Goat, and

and were in *Gorgonius* his place, whom *Horatius* hath opposed to *Rufillus*. It is too little to take oymntment vpon thee, except it be renewed twice or thrice in the day, lest it vanish from the bodie. What, that they boast of a smell, as if it were their owne? If these things seeme too sad vnto thee, thou shalt impute it to the village; wherein I learned from *Agilius* a most diligent husband (for hee now is the possessor of this ground) that a shrub, although it be old, may be translated into another place. This is necessarie for vs to learne, who bee old men, of whom there is none but planteth an Orchard of Oliues for another man. That which I haue scene, this I speake; namely, that an Orchard of three or foure yeares old, will with a plentiful fall of the leafe yeeld forth fruits; yea also that tree will couer thee: which

*Hath bene slow to make a shade before,
To yong nephewes and those that were vnborn:*

As our *Virgil* saith, who beheld, not what might be spoken most truly, but most fecely: neither desired he to teach husbandmen, but to delight those that read. For (to passe by other things) I will adde hereunto that, which is needfull to reprehend at this day.

*In Spring be Beans, and dunged Limons fer,
And Millet doth a new yeares care beget.*

Are these to be set at one time, and whether that the Spring-time be for the sowing of them both; thou mayest iudge from hence. The moneth of *June*, wherein I write these things vnto thee, is neare vnto *July*. In the same day I saw some gathering Beans, and sowing Millet. I returne to the Orchard of Oliues, which I saw disposed after two sorts. He removed the trunks of great trees, the boughes being cut off all about, and being brought to one foot length, with the bodie of the tree, the roots being cut off, that the very head being onely left, whence those did hang. This being besmeared with dung, he put into an hole: afterward he did not heape in the earth, but trod and pressed it downe. There is nothing (as he saith) more effectual then stamping it hard, namely, for that it excludeth the cold and winde; lesse also it is shaken: and for this it suffereth the springing roots to go forth, and to lay hould vpon the ground; which is needfull to be tender as yet, and lightly to stick therunto, light tossing also vp and downe, plucketh it vp againe: but it is scarce a tree, vntill the root do plentifully hide it selfe in the ground, for from euery matter which is made naked, as he saith, new roots doe come out. But the flocke of the tree ought not to stand out about vpon the earth, no more then three or foure feetes; for presently it will be garnished from below: neither shall a great part thereof, as in old Oliue-gardens be withered, and scorchingly drie. This also hath bene another manner of planting them. In the same kinde I haue set in the ground strong boughes, not of an hard barke, such as are accustomed of the tender trees: But when they come, as it were, from a plant, they haue no rough nor ill-fauoured thing in them. That also haue I now scene, an old Vine to be translated from her shrub: The small strings, also of this (if it may be) are to be gathered, there the Vine more largely is to be spread abroad; that also it may take roote from the body thereof. And I haue seen them set; not onely in the Moneth of February: but also in the Moneth of March, which layed hold vpon, and embraced

ced Elmes about, which were none of their owne. All these trees which (as I so speake) are in great plentie, are, as he saith, to be holpen with Cisterne water: which if it profit, we haue raine in the power of our selues. I thinke it not meete to teach thee any more, lest euen as our *Agrius* hath made me to be an aduerfary vnto him, so also I procure thee to be vnto me.

EPIST. LXXXVII.

The frugallitie of SENECA and contempt of externall things: an admonition vnto others, that their wils and decedes might be such. Then follow small disputations, wherein he approoveth, that casuall things are not amongst those that be good: onely that they may be called Commodities.

Have suffered shipwracke, before I haue gone aboard: how it hath come to passe, I set not downe, least amongst the Stoicall paradoxes thou suppose, that this also is to bee put: of which things, I will approue when thou wilt, yea if thou wilt not, that none is false, nor so wonderfull, as appeareth to bee at the first sight. In the meane space this iourne hath instructed mee, how many things we neede not to haue, and how easly with iudgement we might contemne them, which if at any time necessitie hath taken away, we feele them not to be taken away. With a very few seruants, whom one Coach could contain, without any stuffe, saue that which was carried vpon our backs, I and my *Maximus* haue now ledde these two dayes a happy life. A matter esse lyeth vpon the ground, I vpon the matter esse. Of two cloakes, the one is a blanket to lie vpon, the other is made a couerlid. Concerning my dinner, nothing is superfluous therein, it hath beene made readie in no more then in an houres time; neuer without drie figs, neuer without an handfull of hearbs: those if I haue bread, be made like water-gruell: if not, they be for bread: alwayes are they serued in vpon New-yeares day, which I make prosperous and blessed by thoughts that be good, and by greatnesse of the minde: which neuer is greater then when it hath separated forraine things: and by fearing of nothing hath got peace vnto it selfe; and by coueting of nothing, hath got wealth vnto it selfe. The Coach wherein I ride, is a country one. The Mules testifie that they lue by going onely. The Muletter is vnthod, but not for heat: I scarce obtaine of my selfe, that I would haue this Coach to be suppled mine. A peruerse shamefastnesse of that which is right abideth as yet: so often as we doe fall into some bratier company, I blush against my will; which is an argument, that these things which I approue, which I praise, haue not as yet a certaine and vnmoueable fear. He that blusheth at a base Coach, glorieth at a pretious one. Little haue I profited as yet, I dare not publish frugallitie, yea now doe I care for the opinions of those that passe by. A voyce was to be sent out against the opinions of all mankind: yee be mad, you erre, you be amased at superfluous things, you esteeme no man according to his worth. When ye come to patrimonie, ye are most diligent reckoners; thus ye set downe an account of euery one, to whom ye will commit eyther money or benefits. For these also do ye account amongst your expences. He possesseth a great deale, but he oweth much: he hath a faire house, but it is gotten with the money of other men: no man on the sudden can shewe a more gallant familie, but he payeth not his debts. If he shall pay his creditors, nothing

shall

shall remaine vnto him. The same ye ought also to doe in other things, to examine how much proper goods euery man hath. Thou supposest him to be a rich man, because golden houlhold-stuffe followeth him vpon the way, because he tilleth grounds in all Prouinces, because a great booke of his accounts is rould vp, because he possesseth so much ground in the Suburbes, as with enuie he should possesse in the deserts of *Apulia*: and when thou hast said all, he is a poore man; wherefore? because he is in debt. How much sayest thou? All that he hath, except peradventure thou thinkest that there is a difference, whither that one hath borrowed of a man, or of fortune. What to the purpose doe appertaine fatted Mules, all of one colour? What these carued Coaches? What

*Tapestry, Scarlet, foot clothes, horses bore,
And long golde poyrels on their breasts before;
Covered with golde, they champ a yellow bit,
And with their teeth the golde they chaw of it.*

These things can make neyther a better Master nor Mule. *Marcus Cato* the Censor (whose birth truly profited the people of Rome, as much as *Scipio* did; for the one made warre with our enemies, the other with manners of this time) was carried on a gelding, and had a cloake-bagge behinde him, wherein he carried his necessarie stuffe. O how doe I wish that some of these delicate horse-men might meet with him, hauing foot-men and *Numidians*, and a great deale of dust before him. He without doubt would seeme richer and better attended then *Cato* was: he amongst that delicate preparation, yea, when he doubteth exceeding much, whether to bestow himselfe on the word, or on the knife. O how great a dignitie was it to that age, that an Emperour, who had triumphed, who had beene Censor, and which is aboue all, that *Cato* should be contented with one horse, nay certainly not with a whole horse; for his fardell hanging downe on both sides, possessed part of him. Thus wouldst thou not prefer before all the well-fed ambling nags, before great and easie going horses, that one onely horse rubbed by *Cato* himselfe? I doe not see that any end will be vnto this matter, except that which I shal cause to my selfe. Here therefore will I holde my peace as concerning these things: which without doubt hee foresaw they would be such, as now they be; who first called them impediments. Now further will I relate a very few interrogations of our men pertaining to vertue, which we strue to be sufficient for a blessed life. That which is good, maketh men to be good. For also in musicke-skill, that which is good maketh a Musitian. Casuall goods make not a man good, therefore they be not good. The Aristotelians doe thus answer against this, that they say that to be false, which we doe first of all propound: from that say they which is good, men are not also made good. In musicke there is some thing that is good, as a Pipe, an Harpe-string, or some instrument fitted for the vse of singing; notwithstanding not any of these things maketh a Musitian. Here will we answer; you vnderstand not how we haue placed that which is good to a Musitian: for we doe not speake of that which instructeth, but of that which maketh a Musitian: thou comest to the furniture of skill, and not vnto skill. But if there beanie thing which is good in Musicke skill, that certainly will make a Musitian so to be; yea, furthermore I will make that to be more plaine. That which is good in musicke skill, is said so to be two manner of wayes; the one whereby musick effects, the other whereby Art is holpen. The instruments of the Pipe, and

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Organs,

Organs, and Harpe-strings do appertaine to the effect, but they doe not appertaine to the Art it selfe; for he is a workman without these, but cannot peradventure without them vse his skill. This is not alike double in a man; for there is the same good both of a man, and of his life. That is not good which can befall euery most base and dishonest man: but riches befall both to the Bawde and Fencer, and therefore they are not good. That which is propounded, say they, is false; for in Grammar skill, and in the Art of Phyticke and of gouerning, wee see that goods do befall to euery one of the basest sort. But these Arts prolesse not a greatnesse of the minde, they rise not aloft, neyther disdain they such things as come by chance. Vertue extollet a man, and placeth him aboue those which are decre to mortal wights: neyther doth hee too much desire feare those things that are called good or bad. *Chelidon* one of those effeminate ones which *Cleopatra* had, possessed a great Patrimonie: lately *Calpurnia*, both of a wicked and of an vnpure tongue, into the mouth of whom women were purged, both was the heire of much, and left many heires. What therefore? did money make him pure, or did not he himselfe pollute money? which fo falleth vpon certaine men, as a piece of money falleth into the vault. Vertue standeth aboue these things, it is decreed by the worth of it selfe: it iudgeth none of these things to be good, howsoeuer they fall vnto vs. Phyticke and gouernement forbid not to themselves and to theirs, the admiration of such things. He that is not a good man, may neuertheless be a Physitian, may be a Gouernour, may be a Grammarian forsooth as well as a Cooke. To whom it befalleth not to haue euery thing, him mayest thou not call an vnuerfall man. What things euery one hath, such a manner of man he is. The Exchequer is worth so much as it hath; yea, into the reuenew thereof commeth that which it hath. Who setteth any price vpon a full bagge, except the summe of the money put therein hath caused him? The same befalleth to a Master of great patrimonies, they are the reuenewes and the appendices vnto them. Why therefore is a wife-man great? Because he hath a great minde. True therefore it is, that that is not good, which befalleth vnto euery most base man. Therefore will I neuer say, that the want of sorrow is a good thing, a Grasshopper hath that, a Gnat hath that. Nor indeed will I say, that quietnes, and to want trouble is a good thing. What is more idle then a Worme? Seekest thou what maketh a man wife, what maketh a God? It is meet that thou giue some diuine, some heavenly, some magnificent thing. Good falleth not vpon all, neither endureth it euery possessor. See thou,

*What euery land will beare, or will not haue;
This come, that grapes, more happily doth craue.
Some where yong trees do sprout, and grasse amaine:
Of Saffron smelt, hill *Tmolus* is the vaine.
Doth not the Indian climate send Inry out?
Of Sabaeus soft is not their incense bought?
From naked Chalybes is Iron brought.*

These things are assigned to their owne place, that commerce might be necessarie vnto men amongst themselves, if interchangeably one should demand somewhat of another man. That chiefeist good it selfe hath also his feat: it springeth not where Iuorie or Iron doth. Seekest thou what is the place of the chiefeist good? The minde: this except it be pure and holy, entertaineth not God. God is not made of that which is bad; but riches are caused by conuen-

ouenness;

ouities; therefore they be not good. It is not good, saith he, that good springeth of that which is bad. From sacriledge and from theft doth money come: therefore bad indeed is sacriledge and theft: but because, it causeth more bad, then good things. For it giueth gaine, but with feare, with care, with torments both of bodie and of minde. Who soeuer speaketh this, it is needfull that he admit, that as sacriledge is bad, because it doth many bad things, so also that it is good in some sort, because it doth some good: then which thing what is more monstrous? Although we be altogether perwaded, that sacriledge, theft, and adultery are amongst those things that be good. How many blissh not at theft; how many boast of adultery? for small sacriledges are punished, great ones are carried in triumph. Adde now that sacriledge, if altogether it be good in any sort, shall also be honest, & shall be said to be well done: for the action is ours, which thing the thought of no man receiuet, therefore good things cannot come of those that be bad. For if, as yee say, for this one thing sacriledge is bad, because it bringeth much euill: if thou shalt remit punishments to it, if thou shalt promise security, altogether it shall be good. But the greatest punishment of heinous deeds is in themselves. Thou creest, I say, if thou put them off to the Hang-man, and to the faye: presently are they punished, when they are done, yea whilest they are in doing them. Therefore good is not borne from that which is bad, no more then a Fig from an Olive tree. They answer that they be borne for seed: good things cannot wax worse. As that which is honest, is not borne from a dishonest thing, so from a bad thing is not that which is good: for the same is an honest and a good thing. Some of ours do thus answer against this: let vs suppose that money is a good thing, whence soeuer it be taken, notwithstanding money is not therefore from sacriledge, although it be taken from sacriledge. Thus vnderstand this. In the same pitcher there is both gold and a viper. If thou shalt take the gold out of the pitcher, because there also a viper is, not therefore doth the pitcher giue gold vnto me, because it containeth a viper, but it giueth gold, although it haue a viper. After the same sort gaine is made from sacriledge, not as sacriledge is dishonest and wicked, but as it hath gaine; euen as in that pitcher a viper is bad, not the gold which lieth with the viper: so in sacriledge this heinous deed is bad, but not the gaine. Again, it is argued: the condition of both the things is most vnlike: there can I take away gold without the viper: heere I cannot make gaine without sacriledge: this gaine is not added to, but is mingled with wickedness. Which whilest we will obtaine, we fall into many euill things: that is not good, whilest wee will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things; therefore riches are not good. Your proposition, saith he, hath two significations; the one whilest we will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things: but into many bad things doe we fall, whilest also wee would obtaine vertue. Some one whilest hee hath failed to studie, hath suffered shipwracke; another hath bene taken. Another signification is this, that whereby we fall into euils, that is not good. The consequent to this proposition will not be by riches or by pleasures we fall into euils: or if by riches we fall into many euils, riches are not onely not good, but be bad. But yee onely say, that they be not that which is good. Furthermore, saith he, yee grant that riches haue some vse, and amongst commodities doe ye number them. But by the same reason they shal not be a profit indeed: for by them many discommodities come to vs. Some men answer thus vnto these things: ye erre, who impute discommodities vnto riches. They hurt no man, either doth folly hurt euery man, or the wickedness of other men: so, euen as a sword which killeth no man, yet is the

weapon of him that doth kill. Riches therefore doe not hurt thee, if for riches there be hurt vnto thee. *Poſidonius* ſpeaketh better, as I ſuppoſe, who ſaith, that riches are the cauſe of euill things, not becauſe themſelues can doe any thing, but becauſe they prouoke thoſe that will doe. For there is one efficient cauſe, which of neceſſitie forthwith muſt hurt: another is a precedent cauſe, riches haue in them this precedent cauſe. They puffe vp the minde, bring forth pride, procure enuy, and ſo farre forth eſtrange the minde, that the fame of money, yea that which will hurt delighteth vs. But good things ought to want all manner of blame: they be pure, they doe not corrupt, nor ſolcite the minde: they liſt vp indeed and dilate, but without ſwelling. Thoſe things that be good, cauſe confidence, riches cauſe boldneſſe. Thoſe things that are good cauſe magnanimitie, riches infolencie. But infolencie is nothing elſe, then a falſe ſhew of greatneſſe. After this ſort ſayeſt thou, riches are not only not that which is good, but alſo that which is bad. They were a bad thing, if by themſelues they ſhould hurt; if (as I haue ſaid) they ſhould haue an efficient cauſe: now they haue a precedent cauſe, and indeed not only one prouoking, but drawing minds thereunto. For they ſhew forth a very likely ſhape of that which is good, and credible to moſt men. Vertue alſo hath a precedent cauſe vnto enuie, for many through wiſdome, many through iuſtice are enuied at: but neither from it ſelle hath it this cauſe, nor any like vnto it. For contrarily that more likely ſhape is by vertue ſet before the mindes of men, which may call them vnto loue and admiration thereof. *Poſidonius* ſaith, that we muſt reaſon thus: What things giue neither greatneſſe, nor confidence, nor ſecuritie to the minde, are not good: but riches, and good health, and things like vnto theſe, cauſe none of theſe things; therefore they are not good: yea alſo hee enforceſt this reaſon after this ſort. Thoſe things be bad which giue neither greatneſſe, nor confidence, nor ſecuritie to the minde; but contrarily beget infolencie, pride, arrogancie: but by caſual things we are enforced into theſe; therefore they are not good. By this reaſon, ſaith he, they ſhall not be commodities indeed. There is one condition of commodities, of good things. A commoditie is which hath more uſe, then trouble: a good thing ought to be ſincere and without hurt on euery part. That is not good which proſiteth more, both that which bringeth proſit alone. Wherefore, commoditie pertaineth both to liuing creatures, and to vnperfect men, and to ſooles. Therefore diſcommoditie may be mixed therewithall: but it is called commoditie, being eſteemed by the greater part thereof. That which is good, appertaineth to a wiſe-man alone, it is meet that it ſhould be without hurt. Be of good courage: one, but an *Lierculean* knot remaineth vnto thee. From bad things good is not made; from many pauerities riches doe not come; therefore riches are not good. Our men acknowledge not this reaſon. The *Artiſtotelean* both ſaine and looſen it. But *Poſidonius* ſaith, that this Sophiſme is toſſed through all the Logicians Schooles, and by *Antipater* is reſellid thus. Pouertie is not called according to a putting to, but according to a taking from, or (as the Ancients haue ſaid by priuation: the Grecians ſay, *ἀνὰ σπῆραν*) not becauſe it hath, is it called, but becauſe it hath not. Therefore by many void things nothing can be filled: many things, and not much want, are the cauſe of riches. Thou underſtandeſt pouertie, otherwiſe then thou oughteſt to doe. Pouertie is, not which poſſeſſeth a few, but which poſſeſſeth not many things. Therefore it is called not from that which it hath, but from that which is wanting vnto. More eaſily would I expreſſe that which I meane, if there were a Latine word, whereby *ἀνεία* is ſignified. *Antipater* affligenti

affligenti this to pouertie. I ſee not what other thing pouertie may bee, then poſſeſſion of a ſmall thing. Concerning this we will ſee, if there ſhall be great leaſure at any time, what the ſubſtance of riches, what the ſubſtance of pouerty may be: but then alſo will we conſider, whether it were better to aſſwage pouerty, to take loſſie lookes from riches, then to ſtrive concerning words, as though already we had iudged of the things. Let vs ſuppoſe that we are called to Parliament. A law is propounded for the abolishing of riches: by theſe reaſons ſhall we perſwade or diſſwade? By theſe ſhall wee cauſe the people of *Rome* to require, and to praife pouertie, the foundation and cauſe of their Empire? and to feare their wealth? to thinke how they haue found theſe amongſt the conquered? that hence ambition, and bribery, and tumults haue broken into a moſt holy and a moſt temperate Citie? That too luxuriously the ſpoyles of the Nations are ſhewed out? That one people hath taken from all, more eaſily that from one it might bee taken by all. It is better to perſwade theſe things, and to fight againſt the affections, not to beguile them. If we can, let vs ſpeake more valiantly; if not, more openly.

EPIST. LXXXVIII.

Liberal ſtudies are not amongſt good things, neither doe they of themſelues leade to vertue. Generally teacheth be this in Grammar, in Muſicke, in Geometrie, in Aſtronomie. But although they doe not leade, yet they helpe: that is, they ſu ther and prepare. Then there is another diuiſion of Arts, into Vulgar, Sporting, Childiſh, Liberal: and amongſt theſe he makerh Philoſophie to be onely that, which truly maketh free. Yea it alone ſearcheth forth concerning Good and Bad things, it alone knoweth them; it therefore alone, or chiefly is to be embraced: and ſhereth how vnprofitable and ſuperfluous things Great Readers follow after, yea ſome Philoſophers too. O good, O golden things be here! Reade ye both yong an old.



How deſireſt to know what I thinke concerning liberal ſtudies. I admire none, I number none amongſt thoſe things that be good, whoſe end is for gaine. Hired workmanſhips they bee, ſo farre profitable, as they prepare, and not detain the wit. For ſo long muſt wee abide in them, as the minde can perſorme no greater thing; they be our rudiments, not our workes. Wherefore, thou ſeeſt they be called liberal ſtudies, becauſe they be worthy of a free man. But one ſtudie is liberal indeede, which maketh a free man; this is of wiſdome, high, valiant, magnanimous; other be pettie and childiſh things. Beleeueſt thou that there is any good in theſe things? the profeſſors whereof thou ſeeſt to bee the moſt diſhoneſt, and the moſt wicked of all men? We ought not to learne, but to haue learned theſe. Some haue iudged that that queſtion is to be propounded concerning liberal ſtudies, whether they could make a man good. They promiſe it not indeed, neither doe they affect the knowledge of this thing. A Grammarian is conuerſant about the care of ſpeech, and if he will wander any further, about Hiſtories. yea that he may extend his limits the fartheſt of all, about Verſes. What of theſe maketh the way to vertue? Doth the vnfoling of Syllables, and diligence of words, and memorie of fables, and the law and ſcanning of verſes? Which of theſe takerh away feare, takerh out couetouſneſſe, reſtraineth luſt? Let vs paſſe to Geometrie, and to muſicke: nothing

(shalt thou finde with them, which forbiddeth to feare, forbiddeth to couer: which whosoeuer is ignorant of, in vaine he knoweth other things. Let vs see whether these teach vertue, or not; if they doe not teach, they deliuer it not indeed: if they doe teach, they be Philosophers. Wilt thou know, how that they haue not sit downe to teach vertue? behold how vnlike the studies of all be amongst themselves: but likenes had bin if they had taught the same things. Except peradventure they perfwade thee, that *Homer* was a Philosopher, with these very things whereby they conclude, they may deny it. For sometimes they make him a Stoick, allowing of vertue alone, & flying back from pleasures, and not retiring backe from that which is honest, for the price of immortallitie it selfe: sometime an Epicurean praising the state of a quiet Citie, and amongst bankets and songs spending his life: sometime an Aristotelian bringing in three kinds of good things: sometime an Academicke, teaching all things to be vncertaine. It appeareth that none of these things be in him, because that all be: for these things disagree amongst themselves. Let vs grant vnto them, that *Homer* was a Philosopher: certainly he was made wise before he knew any verities: therefore let vs learne those things, which haue made *Homer* to be a wise man. For me to seeke after this thing indeed, whether *Homer* or *Hesiod* were elder by birth, no more appertaineth to the busines, then to know, whether *Hebe* was younger then *Helen*, and why so badly she did beare her age. What, I say, supposest thou that it appertaineth to the purpose, to enquire for the yeares of *Patroclus* and *Achilles*? Seekest thou where *Vixes* did wander, rather then that thou cause, that we doe not alwayes goe astray? There is not idle time to heare, whether that *Vixes* were tossed betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, or was without the world that is knowne vnto vs: for so long a wandring could not bee in so narrow a place. Tempests of the minde doe daily tolle vs, and wickednesse driueth vs vpon all the euils, which *Vixes* had. Beautie is not wanting which may sollicit the eyes, not an enemie: hence are very cruell monsters and delighting in humane blood: hence are deceitfull allurements of the eares: hence are shipwracks and so many varieties of euill things. Teach mee this thing how I may louemy Countrey, how my wife, how my father, how euen suffering shipwracke, I may faile vnto these so honest things. What enquirest thou, whether *Penelope* was vnchast, whether shee deceiued her age, whether she suspected him to bee *Vixes* whom shee saw, before that shee knew it to be true? Teach mee what chastitie is, and how great a good there is in it: whether it bee placed in the bodie or in the minde. I passe to a Musitian. Thou teachest mee how acut and graue founds may agree amongst themselves, how a concord may bee of strings making an vnlike found. Make rather that my minde may agree with it selfe, and that my counsels may not disagree. Thou shewest vnto mee which be the mourning tunes: shew rather how in aduersitie I may not vter a mourning voice. The Geometrician teacheth me to measure large pieces of grounds: rather let him teach, how I may measure, how much may be sufficient to a man. Arithmetike teacheth mee to number, and to lend my fingers to couetousnesse: rather let it teach, that these computations doe nothing appertaine to mine estate. Hee is not a happier man, whose patrimonie wearieth the casters vp of his accounts: yea very superfluous things may hee possesse, who shall become most vnhappy, if hee bee constrained to reckon vp, how much hee hath. What profiteth it mee to know, how to diuide a small field into parts, if I know not with my brother how to diuide it? What profiteth it subtilty to know how many fecte are in an acre of ground, and also

to

to comprehend if any thing hath escaped the search; if a mightie neighbour maketh me sad and encroacheth on somewhat of that which is mine? Teachest thou me, how I may lose nothing of my bounds? but I am willing to learne how I may lose them all with mirth. I am expelled, saith he, from my fathers and from my grandfathers land. What? before thy grandfather who possessed this ground? Tell if thou canst; not what mans, but what peoples it was? Thereon hast thou entred, not as a Lord, but as a Tenant. Whose Tenant art thou? Thine heires, if thou hast good lucke. Lawyers denie, that any thing can be prescribed vpon, which is publike: this is publike which thou possessest, and belongeth indeede vnto mankind. O remarkable Art! thou knowest to measure round things, thou bringest into a quadrate what shape fouer thou shalt receiue: thou tellest of the distances of the starres: nothing is there but falleth within the measure. If thou be a workeman; measure the minde of man: tell how great, tell how little it is. Thou knowest which is a straight line; what profiteth it to thee, if thou be ignorant what is straight in life? Now I come to him who boasteth in the knowledge of heauenly things.

*whether colde SATVRNE doth it selfe betake,
And what circles CYCLENVS star doth make.*

What shall it profit to know this? that I may be carefull when *Saturne* and *Mars* shall be in opposition, or when *Mercury* shall make his euening fall *Saturne* looking? Rather I will learne this, that wherefoeuer these things be, that they be prosperous, that they cannot be changed. A continuall order and an inuicible course of destinies moueth these: by set courses they doe retire. They eyther moue or note forth the effects of all things. But whether they bethe cause, why euery thing falleth forth, what shall the knowledge of an vnchangeable thing profite thee? or whether they signifie, what skilleth it to prouide for that which thou canst not auoyde? Whether thou do know or not know these things, they shall come to passe.

*On the swift Sunne, and starres that follow it,
If that thou looke in order as they sit,
Th' ensuing day will neuer thee deceiue,
Nor cleare nights flights of foresight will beauc.*

Sufficiently and abundantly it is provided, that I should be safe from ambushes. Dost not the time that is to morrow deceiue me? for it deceiueh him that is ignorant hereof: I know not what shall be; I know what may come to passe. I despaire nothing of this, I expect the whole. If any thing be remitted, I take it in good part. Time deceiueh, if it spareh mee: but neyther so indeed deceiueh it. For as I know that all things may fall forth, so also I know that for certaine they will not fall forth. For certaine I expect prosperous things: I am prepared for those that be bad. In that it is needfull that thou suffer me not going by that which is put in writing. For I am not perfwaded to receiue Painters into the number of the liberall arts, no more then makers of statues, or workers in marble, or other seruants of riotousnes. Alike do I expell wraisters from these liberall studies, & all the skill consisting in oyle and clay; or may I receiue those that make sweet oiles, & Cooks and others, that do apply their wits for the pleasures

tures of vs? For liberall things, I pray thee haue these fasting vomitors, whose bodies be fat, but mindes be leane and asleepe? Doe we beleuee that this is a liberall studie for our youth, which our auncestors haue exercised to be right, to cast Darts, to toss a Speare, to ride an horse, to handle weapons. Nothing did they teach their children, that was to be learned by those that lie still. But neyther these nor those do teach or nourish vertue. For what profiteth it to gouern a horse, and with a bridle to moderate his course, and with most vnbridled affections to be led away? What profiteth it with wrastling; or with buissets to overcome many men, and to be overcome by anger? What therefore? Do liberall studies bestow nothing vpon vs? For other things much, for vertue nothing. For these base professed Arts, which consist of the hand, confer very much to the instruments of life, notwithstanding to vertue they doe not belong. Why therefore doe we instruct our children in liberall studies? Not because they can giue vertue, but because they prepare the minde to the receiuing of it. For as that first literature, as the auncients called it, whereby the first principles are deliuered to children, teacheth not the liberall Arts, but prepareth a place for the first receiuing of them: so liberall Arts leade not the minde to vertue, but make it fit. *Pojidonius* saith that there be foure kinds of Arts; the vulgar and base, sporting, childish, and the liberall Arts. Vulgar be of crafts-men, which consist of the hand, and be busied for the furnishing of life; wherein there is no counterfeiting of comelinesse, nor of any honest thing. Sporting Arts be those which tend to the pleasure of the eyes & of the eares. To these you may number the Ingeniours, who deuise frames rising vp of themselves, and boards secretly encreasing to a great height, and other varieties scarce thought vpon; eyther those things separating which did cleaue together, or these things which stood asunder, comming together of their owne accord, or these things which stood vp by little and little, setting downe againe vpon themselves. The eyes of the vnskillfull are stricken with these things, wondering (because they haue not knowne the causes) at all sudden things. Childish they be, and haue some similitude with the Liberall Arts, namely, these which the Grecians call *γυμναστικά*, and our men call Liberall Arts. But they alone are Liberall Arts (and as I may more truly speake) bee free, which haue a care of vertue. Euen as, saith hee, some part of the minde is for naturall, some for morall, some for reasoning Philosophy; so also this troope of Liberall Arts, doth in Philosophy challenge a place vnto it selfe. When we cometo Naturall questions, we stand to the telimonie of Geometrie. Therefore is it a part of that which it doth helpe? Many things helpe vs, yet for that they are no parts of vs: yea if they were parts, they would not helpe. Meate is an helpe of the bodie, yet is it not a part. The seruice of Geometry performeth somewhat vnto vs: so is it needfull to Philosophie, as a Carpenter is vnto it; but neither is he a part of Geometrie, nor that of Philosophie. Furthermore, both haue their ends: for a wise-man both seeketh and knoweth the causes of naturall things, the numbers and measures of which, a Geometrician followeth after and counteth. A wise man knoweth after what manner heauenly things consist, what force, or what nature is vnto them: a Mathematician collecteth the courses, and returnings backe, and the obseruations, by which they descend and be lifted vp, and sometimes make a shew as though they stood still, although that heauenly things cannot stand. A wise-man knoweth what the cause is that expresth images in a glasse: a Geometrician can tell that vnto thee, how much a body ought to be absent from the image, and what forme is of the glasse that may represent images. A Philo-

sopher

sopher will proue the Sunne to be great: the Mathematician will shew how great it is, who proceedeth by a certaine exercise and vse; but that he may proceede, certaine principles are to be obtained by him. But that Art standeth not vpon her owne right, whose foundation is by request. Philosophy desireth nothing from another thing, it raiseth vp the whole worke from the ground. The Mathematicks (as I may so speake) is a superficiall Art, it receiuech principles from others, by the benefit of which it may come to farther things: it by it selfe it could come to that which is true, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I should say that it would bestow much vpon our minds, which encrease by the handling of heauenly things, and draw somewhat from it. The minde is made perfect by one thing, namely, by the vnchangeable knowledge of good and bad things, which agreeth vnto Philosophie onely. But none other Art enquireth about good and bad things: let vs consider all Vertues in particular. Fortitude is a contemner of things to be feared: it despiseth, prouoketh and breaketh terrible things, and such as send our libertie vnder the yoke: what therefore doe liberall studies strengthen this? Fidelitie is the most holy good thing of a humane breast, by no necessitie is it constrained to deceiue, it is corrupted by no reward. Burne, saith he, beat, kill, I will not betray; but by how much the more paine shall seeke to discover seerer things, by so much will I the more deeply hide them: what are liberall studies able to cause these mindes? Temperance ruleth ouer pleasures; it hateth and drieth away some, it dispendeth with other some, and reduceth them to a sound meane, neyther at any time doth it for themselves come vnto them. It knoweth that the best meane of desired things is, not to take how much thou wilt, but how much thou oughtest. Humanitie forbiddeth to be proude ouer thy fellows, to be courteous: in words, in deedes, in affections it sheweth it selfe gentle and easie vnto all; it supposeth none euill to be estranged from him, but especially it loveth that good of it selfe which shall be for anothers good; what doe liberall studies command these maners? No more then simplicitie, modestie, frugalitie, and parsimonie; no more then clemencie, which spareth the blood of another as it were his owne, and knoweth that a man must not prodigally vse a man. When yefay (saith he) that without liberall studies vertue cannot be attained vnto: how denie ye that those things confer nothing to vertue? Because neyther without meat can vertue be attained vnto, yet notwithstanding meate appertaineth not to vertue. Wood conferreth nothing vpon a ship, although that a ship cannot be made without wood. There is no cause, saith hee, that thou mayest thinke any thing to be made with the help of that thing, without which it could not be made. That also may be spoken indeede, that without liberall studies wisdom may be comen by: for although that vertue be to be learned, notwithstanding it is not learned by these things. But why is it, wherefore I should esteeme that he shall not become wise, who is ignorant of learning, seeing wisdom is not in learning? It deliuereth deedes, not wordes; and I cannot tell whether the memorie may be more sure, which hath no help out of it selfe. Wisdom is a great and spacious thing; it hath neede of an empty place: wee must learne diuine and humane things, things past, things to come, things fading an eternall, and time it selfe; concerning which one thing, see how many things may be fought for; first, whether any thing may be by it selfe, then, whether any thing may be before time: if time hath begun with the world, whether also before the world, because somewhat hath bene, time hath also bene. Innumerable questions be only concerning the mind; whence it may be, and what, when

when it beginneth to be, how long it may be: whether it may passe from one place to another, and may change her house, and may be cast from one forme of liuing creatures into another: or that it may liue no more then once, and being sent forth may wander in the whole world: whether it be a bodie, or no: what it will doe, when it hath ceased to doe any thing by vs: how liue will vie her libertie when she shall flee out of this denne: whether it may forget former things, and there begin to know it selfe, after that it being led out of the bodie, hath departed on high. Whatsoeuer part of diuine and humane affaires thou shalt comprehend, thou shalt be wearied with huge abundance of things to be sought for, and to be learned. That these so many, and so great things may haue free place of remaining, superfluous things are to be taken out of the mind. Vertue will not put it selfe into these straits: a great matter desireth a large space: let all things be expelled; let the whole brekt be emptye for it. But the knowledge of many Arts delighteth. Let vs therefore retaine so much of them, as is necessary. Supposest thou that it is a thing to be reprehended in him, who getteth superfluous things for his vse, and layeth abroad the pompe of precious things in his house: and thinkest thou him not to be blame-worthy, who is occupied in the superfluous implements of learning? To bee willing to know more, then may be sufficient, is a kinde of intemperancie. What, that this following after Liberrall Arts maketh men trouble some, full of words, vnreasonable, pleasures of themselves, and therefore not learning necessary things, because they haue learned superfluous things. *Dydimus* the Grammarian wrote foure thousand bookes: wretched, if he had read so many superfluous things. In these booke it is sought of the Country of *Homer*; in these of the true mother of *Annaeus*: in these whether *Anacreon* led a more lustfull or a more drunken life: whether *Sappho* was a whore; and other which were to be vnlearned, if thou shouldst know them. Goe now, and deny life to be long. But also when thou shalt come to our owne men, I will shew that many things with axes are to be cut off. This praising, O learned man! costeth great expence of time, great trouble of the care of other men. Let vs be content with this more rusticke title: O good man. Is it euen so? Shall I tosse ouer the Chronicles of all Nations, and shall I search who first hath written verses: how much time may be betwixt *Orpheus* and *Homer*; when I haue not records of time, shall I reckon it: and shall I reuiew the note of *Arctarchus*, wherewith he noted the verses of other men: and in Syllables shall I spend my time? What shall I so sticke in the Geometrical dult? Hath that wholesome precept, *spare time*, so fallen out of minde? Shall I know these things, and be ignorant of my selfe? *Apollon* the Grammarian, who vnder *Caius Caesar* was carried about in all Greece, and by all Cities was adopted into *Homer*'s name, said, that *Homer* hauing finisht the matter both of the *Odyssey* and *Iliads*, added a beginning to his worke, wherein he comprehended the *Troian* warre. He brought an argument of this thing, because of purpose he had placed two letters in the first verse, containing the number of his bookes. It is meet that he know these things, who will know many things. Wilt thou not thinke how much time bad health may take from thee, how much publike and priuate businesse, how much businesse by day, how much sleep, measure thine age, it is not capable of so many things. I speake of Liberrall studies: how much superfluitie Philosophers haue, how much retiring from vse. They also haue defended to the distinction of Syllables, and to the proprieties of coniuunctions and prepositions, and to enuy Grammarians, to enuy Geometricians. Whatsoeuer was superfluous in the Arts of them, they translated

translated into their owne Art. Thus it is come to passe, that through more diligence they know rather to speake, then to liue. Heare how great euill too great subtiltie can cause, and how great an enemy it is to truth. *Protagoras* saith, that alike, concerning euery thing it may be disputed on vpon both parts: and concerning this very thing, whether that euery thing may be disputed on vpon both parts. *Nauphaneas* saith, that of these things that seeme to be, that nothing rather is, then is not. *Parmenides* saith, that of these things that are seene, there is nothing at all. *Zeno Eleates* hath cast all businesse out of businesse; hee saith, that nothing is. The *Pyrrhonians* are for the most part conuersant about the same things, so are the *Megarians*, and *Eretrians*, and the *Academicks*, who haue brought in a new knowledge, of knowing nothing. Cast all these things into that superfluous stocke of Liberrall studies. Those deliuer a knowledge that will not profit; these take away the hope of all knowledge: it is better to know superfluous things, then nothing at all. These doe not carry a light before, whereby the eye may bee directed to that which is true: these put out mine eyes. If I beleue *Protagoras*, there is nothing but doubts in the nature of things: if *Nauphaneas*, this one thing is certaine, that nothing is certaine: if *Parmenides*, there is nothing but one thing: if *Zeno*, there is not one thing indeed. What therefore be we? What these things which stand about, nourish, and sustaine vs? The whole nature of things is a shade, or vaine, or deceitfull: I cannot easily tell, whether I may be more angry at them, who would haue vs to know nothing: or at them, who haue not indeed left this thing vnto vs, to know nothing.

EPIST. LXXXIX.

The difference betwixt Philosophie and wisdom: and a diuerse diuision thereof, and a game a diuision and description of the parts. Then an admonition, that these and such like are to be referred to manners and to the minde: and by the way he inuengeeth again: those that be badly rich, and therewithall he chastiseth riotousnesse and customnesse.

THOU desirest a profitable thing, and which is for certaine necessary vnto wisdom, namely, that Philosophie be diuided, and that the huge bodie thereof be disposed into members. For more easily by parts are we brought to the knowledge of the whole. I would that as the face of the whole world commeth into sight, so that whole Philosophie might come vnto vs, a sight most like to the world. For truly it would speedily draw all mortall men into admiration of it selfe, these things being left, which now with great admiration of the great ones, we doe beleue. But because this cannot fall forth, so shall it be looked vpon by vs, as the secrets of the world are seene. The minde of a wise-man indeed comprehendeth the whole frame thereof, neyther lesse swiftly goeth about it, then our eye goeth about the skie: but to vs, to whom darkenesse is to be broken thorow, and whose sight faileth in that which is hard by, feuerall things can more easily be shewed, we being as yet not capable of the whole. I will therefore doe that which thou requirest, and I will diuide Philosophie into parts, not into pieces. For it is profitable to be diuided, and not to be hacked small. For as to comprehend the greatest, so hard it is, to comprehend the smallest things

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The people are described into Tribes, an armie into hundredths. Whatsoeuer hath encreased to be very great, is more easily taken notice of if it hath departed into parts; which (as I haue said) it is not meete, they should be innumerable and small. For too great a diuision hath the same fault, that no diuision hath: it is like to that which is confuted, whatsoeuer is cut euen vnto dust. First therefore, as it seemeth I will tell, what difference there may be betweene wisdom and Philosophie. Wisdom is a perfect good thing of the minde of man: Philosophie is a loue, an affection of wisdom. This sheweth that which it hath attained vnto. It appeareth, whence Philosophie may be named: for it consisteth with the name it selfe. Some haue defined wisdom thus; that they called it a knowledge of diuine and of humane things, and the causes of these. This addition seemeth superfluous vnto me, because causes be parts of diuine and of humane things. Also there haue bene who haue defined Philosophie; some one way, and some another way: some haue said, that it is a studie of vertue; some a studie of correcting the minde. By some it is called a desire of true reason. As though it were manifest, that there were some difference betwixt Philosophie and Wisdom. For it cannot come to passe, that that which is affected, and that which affecteth is the same thing. As there is much difference betwixt money and counterfeitesse, seeing the one desireth, the other is desired: so is there betwixt Philosophie and Wisdom. For this is the reward and effect of that: that cometh, this is come vnto. Wisdom is that which the Grecians call *sofia*. This word did the Romanes also vse, as also they now vse Philosophie; thing which the ancient Comedies acted in gownes will proue, and the title written vpon the monument of *Dioscorides*:

*Stranger stand still, to go do not proceede,
But stay, the wisdom of Dioscorides.*

Some of our men, although Philosophie were the studie of vertue, and this were sought for, and that did seeke, haue notwithstanding thought, that those might not be seuered. For neyther Philosophie is without vertue, nor vertue without Philosophie. Philosophie is a studie of vertue, but by vertue it selfe: but neyther can vertue be without the studie of it selfe, nor the studie of vertue be without it selfe. For not as in these who endeavour to strike any thing from a farr off, in one place is he that striketh, in another that which is striken: nor as journeyes which leade vnto Cities, be without them. By vertue we come vnto it. Therefore Philosophie and vertue doe cleaue together betwixt themselves. Both the greatest and most authors haue said, that there be three parts of Philosophie; namely, Morall, Naturall, and Reasonable. The first composeth the minde, the second searcheth the nature of things, the third exacteth the proprieties of words, and their frame, and manner of reasoning, that false things may not creepe in for that which is true. But there be found, who likewise would diuide Philosophie into fewer things, and who would diuide it into more. Some of the Aristotelians haue added a fourth part, namely, Ciuill skill, because it desireth a certaine proper exercise, and is occupied about another matter. Certaine haue added a part vnto these, which the Grecians call *oikonomia*, the knowledge of gouerning a familie. Some also haue seperated a place for the kinds of life. But is not any part of these, which is not found in that Morall part. The Epicureans haue supposed, that there be two parts of Philosophie, Naturall and Morall.

all. The reasoning part they haue remoued away. Then, when they were constrained with the things themselves to seperate doubtful things, to reprove false things lying hid vnder the shew of that which is true, themselves also brought in a place, which they call Concerning iudgement and rule, it being called Reasonable after another name: but they suppose that place to be an augmentation of a Naturall part. The Cyrenians tooke naturall things away together with the reasonable, and were content with Morall: but these also, who remoue them away, doe bring them in another way. For they diuide Morall things into five partes: that one part is of things to be desired and to be fledde from, another of the affections, a third of the actions, a fourth of the causes, a list of the arguments. Causes of things are from the naturall part, arguments from the reasonable, actions from the Morall. *Aristo Chius* not onely said, that the naturall and reasonable were superfluous, but also contrarie, hee also clipped Morall Philosophie round about, which he had left alone. For hee tooke away that place, which containeth admonitions, and said, it appertained to a Tutor, and not to a Philosopher or a louer of Wisdom: as though that a wise-man is any thing else, then a Tutor of mankind. Therefore sixth Philosophie or the loue of Wisdom is three-fold, let vs first beginne to dispose the Morall part thereof, or that which ordereth the manners of men. Which it pleaseth againe to be deuided into three: that the first might bee a contemplation distributing his owne to euery man, and esteeming how much euery thing is worthy of; this part is most profitable; for what is so necessarie as to set prices vpon things? The second part is of endeavour, the third of actions. For the first is, that thou iudge of how great worth euery thing may be: the second, that thou take an ordered and temperate affection to these things: the third, that there may be an agreement betwixt thine endeavour and action, that in all these things thou mayest agree with thy selfe. Whatsoeuer of these three shall bee wanting, it also troubleth the rest. For what profiteth it, to haue all things iudged of within, if thou be too much in eagernesse? What profiteth it to haue repressed eagernesse, and to haue desires in thine owne power, if in the verie action of things thou be ignorant of times, and knowest not when, and where, and how euery thing ought to be done? For it is one thing to haue knownen the worth and prices of things; another, the oportunities; another to reframe eagernesse, and to goe, not to rush to the doing of things. Therefore then is life agreeable to it selfe, when action hath not forsaken eagernesse. Eagernesse is conuicted from the worth of euery thing, therefore it is remisse or more fierce, according as that thing is worthy to be fought for. The part of Philosophie which teacheth concerning the nature of things is cut into two; things that haue bodies, or into those that be without bodies. Both are deuiced (as I may so speake) into their owne degrees. The place of bodies into these first, namely into those things which make, and those things which are begotten of these: but the elements are begotten. The very place of an element (as some suppose) is simple, or without any mixture at all; as other some thinke, it is diuided into a matter, and into a cause mouing all things, and into the elements. It remaineth that wee diuide the reasonable part of Philosophie. Euery speech is eyther continued or diuided betwixt him that answereth and asketh. It hath pleased that the one should be called *Dialektike*, or the Arte of Logicke, the other *Rhetorike*. This careth for wordes, and sense, and order. *Dialektike* is diuided into two parts; into wordes and significations: that

is, into things which are spoken of, and into wordes, wherewith they are spoken. Then there followeth an huge diuision of them both : therefore I will make an end in this place.

*I only will relate
Of things their chiefest state.*

Otherwise, if I would make parts of parts, there will be made a book of questions. I scarce thee not, O *Lucilius*, the best amongst men, from reading these things, so that whatsoever thou shalt read; thou doe presently referre it vnto manners. Bridle thou those, stirre vp that which languisheth in thee, binde that which is loose, tame that which is stubbornne, and vexe thy publike desires as much as thou canst : and these saying, How long the same things? Answer, I ought to say, How long will yee the same offend? Yee will haue the remedies to cease before the vices. But I so much the rather will speake, and because yee refuse, I will goe on. Then beginneth Physicke to profite, when touching causeth griefe in a troubled bodie. I will also speake those things which shall proliue the vnwilling. Sometime not some flattering voyce shall come vnto you: and because each of you will not heare the truth, heare it in publike. How farre will yee propagate the limits of your possessions? The ground is narrow for one Master, which receiued a people. How farre will yee stretch out your tillage, not being contented indeede with sowing of Prouinces, to limit a measure of your Farmes. The runnings offamous foulds thorough the ground of priuate men, and great Riuers, and the bounds of great Nations, from the Fountaine vnto the mouth, bee yours. This also is too little, except yee haue compassed Seas with your large possessions: except your Baylife raigne beyond the *Adrian*, and *Ionian*, and *Aegean* Sea, except Ilands, the houses of great Capitaines, bee numbred amongst the basest things. Possesse ye so largely as ye will; let that be priuate ground, which sometimes was an Empire : make yours whatsoever yee can, so that more belongeth to another man. Now I talke with you, whose riotousnesse is alike spaciouly spread abroad, as the couetousnesse of those is. I will tell you; How long shall be no water-lake, ouer which the height of your Villages may not hang? No streame, whose banks your buildings may not couer about? Wherefoeuer veynes of warme water shall spring vp, there new lodgings of you shall be builded. Wherefoeuer the shoare shall bend crookedly into some creeke, yee presently will lay foundations; not being contented with ground, except yee force with hand, to drie the Sea farther in. Although your houses glitter in all places, somewhere being set vpon Mountaines, for the vast prospect both of Land and Sea : somewhere being reared vp from the plaine ground to the height of Mountaines ; when yee haue builded manie, when yee haue builded huge things, yee are notwithstanding but fewe small and small bodies. What doe many chambers profite, yee lie but in one. It is not yours, wherefoeuer yee are not. Then I passeto you, whose deepe and vnstable throat, on the one side searcheth Seas, on the other side searcheth Landes. Through great labour hee followeth after some creatures with hookes, some with snares, some with diuers kinds of Nets : no liuing creatures haue peace, except it bee by loathing and deresing them. For how little of these bankers, which ye prepare through so many hands, doe ye taste of with a mouth wearied with pleasures? How little of this wilde beast,

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taken with danger, doth the master with a raw and loathing stomacke taste of? How little of so many thel-fish brought from so far, slideth downe by this insatiable stomacke? Vnhappie also ye are, because yee vnderstand not, that yee haue a greater hunger, then a belly. Tell these things to other men, so that whilst thou tellest them, thou mayest heare them thy selfe. Write, so that when thou hast written, thou read, and referre all to the manners, and to the asswaging of the outrage of affections. Studie, not to know any thing more, but better to know things.

EPIST. XC.

The praise of Philosophy, it hath formed life, it hath framed societies and Empires, it hath giuen lawes and equitie. Also whether Art is profitable to life, as working with the hammer, working in Marble, in mettals, on clothes, and such like? Himselfe denieth it, against Posidonius, and saith, that these things are inferior to the maiestie thereof, and that many of these be superfluous. It manageth, and hath managed the affaires, not of the bodie, but of the minde. Also whether wise-men were in the rude age? No, but those that were like to wise-men, by the benefit not of learning, but of nature. There are many good things amongst these, and fruitfull for knowledge, and for life.

WHo can doubt, my *Lucilius*, but that it is the gift of the immortal gods, that we liue, but of Philosophy, that we liue well? Therefore by so much that we owe more to it, then to the gods, by how much more a good life is a greater benefit, then life? For certaine it should be due, except the gods had giuen Philosophie it selfe: the knowledge whereof they haue giuen to none, but the abilitie to all. For if they also had made this a common good, wee likewise should be borne wise: wisdom had lost that which is the best therein, that it is not amongst casual things. For now this is precious and magnificent in that, that it cometh not by chance, that euerie man oweth that vnto himselfe, that it is not sought for from another man. What shouldst thou haue, to admire in Philosophy, if it had beene a thing comming by gift? One worke of this is, to finde forth the truth concerning diuine and humane things: Iustice, Godlinesse, Religion, and all the other traine of vertues vnited and agreeing amongst themselves, neuer do depart from this. This hath taught to honor diuine things, to loue humane things, and that government is in the power of the gods, and that societie is to be amongst men: which sometime remained inuolable, before couetousnesse distracted societie, and was a cause of pouertie euen vnto them whom it hath made rich. For they haue ceased to possesse all things, whilst they would haue them to be their owne. But the first men, and who were begotten of these without corruption, followed nature, and had the same, both for a Capitaine and law, according to the iudgement of him that was better. For it is the part of Nature to submit worse things to the better. For either the greatest or the most vigorous bodies doe indeed rule ouer the dumbe flocks. A base Bull goeth not before, but he who hath overcome other males in greatnesse, and in strength of limbes: the highest of Elephants leadeth the flocks: amongst men for chiefest is he accounted

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red who is the best. Therefore a Gouverneur was chosen by the minde: and so it was the chiefest happinesse of the Nations; amongst whom one could not be more mightie, except he were better. For he is able to doe so much as he will, who thinketh that he cannot doe, save that which he ought. *Polidonius* therefore doth iudge, that rule was in the power of wife-men, in that which is called the golden age. These contained their hands, and defended the weaker from those that were more strong: they perswaded and dissuaded, and shewed both profitable and vnpromisable things. The wisdom of these men provided that nothing might be wanting vnto theirs, their fortitude kept dangers backe, their bountie encreased, and adorned those that were subiect vnto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule ouer other men, but an office. No man tried how much hee was able to doe: against them, through whom he had begun to be able to doe. Neither was there either minde or cause to iniurie any one, when there was good obedience to him who gouerned well, and a King could threaten nothing besides, to those who did badly obey, then that they should depart out of his Kingdome. But after that, vices creeping vp, Kingdomes were turned into tyranny: there began to be need of lawes, the which were made by wife men at their beginning. *Solon* who founded *Athens* with equall right: amongst the seuen noted for wisdom in his age. If the same age had brought forth *Lycorgus*, he had bene in that holy number accounted the eight. The lawes of *Zaleucus* and of *Charondas* are praised; these learned not right at the Bar, nor at Counsellors doores, but in that secret and holy solitarie place of *Pythagoras*, which they gaue to *Sicily*, which flourished then, and to *Greece* in *Italy*. Hitherto I agree to *Polidonius*: that Arts were invented by Philosophy, which Arts life vtieth in continual practise: I wil not grant; neither that glory which is adioyned to building. That, saith he, taught those who were scattered vp and downe, and couered with a cottage, or with some rock, vnder which they digged, or with the trunk of an hollow tree, to deuise houses for them. But I iudge Philosophy, no more to haue invented these frames of one house arising vpon another, and pressing downe Cities, then the ponds of fishes shut herein, to the end that the throat might not vndergoe perils of tempests, and although that the sea were exceedingly rough, yet that riot might haue her haucens, wherein she might fatten euery sort of fish. What sayest thou? hath Philosophic taught men to haue a locke and key? and what else was it, then to giue a signe to couetousnesse? Hath Philosophy with so great perill of the inhabitants, hung vp these tops of houses that hang ouer vs? For it was too little to be couered by these things which by hap did befall vnto vs, and without difficultie and art to finde out some receptacle for our selues. Releuee that age was happie, which was before builders of houses were. These things were borne when riot began to be, to hew wood into a fouresquare, and with an instrument of iron cutting it, as it is marked out, and to polish a beame with a certaine hand.

*Our forefathers with wedges clane
Such wood as they then cut would haue.*

For houses were not prepared for a supper, which could encertaine the people: neither for this vse were Pine or Fir-trees carried vpon a long row of carts, the streets trembling thereat, whilst from that tree, roofes being loaded with gold did hang. Forkes vnder-propped a cottage hanging downe vpon both sides: thicke dead boughes and leaues being heaped together, and set a side-long, cau-

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fed raine although it were great to runne of. They being secure, dwelled vnder these houses. That hatch couered free-men, bondage enhabited vnder marble and gold. In that also I disagree from *Polidonius*, because hee iudgeth that working-tooles were deuised by wife-men. For after this manner he might say, that they were wife, by whom

*Denis'd it was the wilde with net and gin
To take; with dogs great fields to compass in.*

For the craft of men, not wisdom hath denis'd all these things. In this thing also I disagree, that they were wife-men, who invented the metals of iron and brasie: when the burned ground through the firing of woods had powred forth the veins that did lie aboue. Such men inuent these things, as honour them. This indeed seemeth not so subtil a question to mee, as it seemeth to *Polidonius*: whether the hammer or the pinfers began to be vsed first. One of an exercised, tharpe, of no great, nor high wit found them both forth, and euery thing besides which is to be sought for with a bended bodie, and with a minde looking towards the earth. A wife-man hath bene easie to feed. What else? fish euen also in this age, hee desireth to be most soone provided. How I pray thee agreeeth it, that thou admire both *Diogenes* and *Demetrius*? Whether of these seemeth vnto thee to be wife, he that invented the law: or he who seeing a boy drinking water in his hollow hand, presently brake a cup taken out of his bagge, thus reproving himselfe: How long haue I, foolish man, had superfluous burthens? Who foulded himselfe double in a Tub, and did lie therein? At this day whether thinkest thou him the wiser man, who hath found forth, how out of secret pipes he may cast forth Saffron vp to a great height; who with a sudden force of water filleth and drieth little seas; who so coucheth together the changeable roofes of supping Parlors, that one fashion after another may presently succede, and so often the roofe may be changed as the dishes themselves: or him, who sheweth this both to himselfe, and to other men, that Nature hath commanded no hard or difficult thing vnto vs? That we may dwell without a cutter of marble, that we may be clothed without traffick with the *Serians*, that we may haue necessary things for our vses, if wee shall be content with these things, which the earth hath laid in the highest part thereof? Whom if mankind would heare, they should know that a Cooke were as superfluous as a Souldier. They were wife-men, or for certaine, like vnto wife-men, to the bodies of whom there was a speedie fence. Necessary things cost but a simple care: men labour for delights. Thou wilt not desire worke-men, if thou follow nature. It would not haue vs to be entangled, it hath furnished vs, vnto whatsoeuer things it hath constrained vs. Cold is intollerable for a naked bodie. What therefore? What, cannot the skins of wilde beasts, and of other creatures, enough and abundantly defend vs from cold? Doe not many Nations couer their bodies with barks of trees? Are not the feathers of birds sewed together for the vse of apparell? And are not at this day a great part of the Scythians couered with the skins of Foxes and of Mice, which bee soft, and not to be pierced thorow by the winde? Notwithstanding there is neede of a thicker shade, to driue backe the heat of the Sommer Sunne. What therefore, hath not Antiquitie hidden many places, which either by iniurie of time, or by some other chance being made hollow, haue retired into the forme of a den? What therefore? haue they not with their hands wouen an hurdle of twigs, and platted

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itered it with base clay, then haue they not couered the top thereof with stubble, and with other things fetched out of the wood, and whilst raine hath slidden downe by the causes therof, haue they not in security spent the Winter? What therefore? doe not the Syrtick Nations lie in a place digged out of the ground? who because of the too great heate of the Sunne, haue no couering sufficient enough for the repelling of the heate, but the very drie ground it selfe? Nature was not so much an enemy, that seeing the gaue an easie passage of life to all other creatures besides, man alone should not liue without so many Arts. None of these things is by it commanded vnto vs, nothing is to be sought for with labour to prolong our life. We be borne to prepared things: we haue made all things difficult vnto vs by dislaine of easie things. Houses and clothes and nourishments of bodies and meates, and those things which be now made a great businesse were easie to come by, and freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the measure of all things was as necessitie required; we haue made these things precious, we haue made them maruailous, we haue made them to be sought for with great and with many Arts. Nature sufficeth to that, which it requireth. Riot hath reuolted from nature, which continually inciteth it selfe, and increaseth in so many ages, and helpeth vices with wit. First it began to desire superfluities, then contrarie things, last of all it folde the minde to the bodie, and commanded it to serue the lust thereof. All these Arts, where-with the Cittie is continually set on worke, or maketh such a stirre, doe manage the affaires of the bodie: to which all things were once performed as to a seruant, but now are provided as for a Lord. Therefore hence be the thops of weauers, hence of hammer-men, hence of those that seeth perfumes, hence of those that teach effeminate motions of the bodie, and effeminate and wanton songs. For that naturall meane hath retired backe, which finished desires with necessarie helpe: now is it clownithesse and miserie to be willing to haue so much as doth suffice. It is incredible, my *Lucilius*, how easie sweetnesse of speech can draw from the truth, euen those that be great men. Behold *Pasidonium*, as mine opinion is, one of those who haue added much to Philosophie, whilst first of all he will describe how some threads may be hard spunne, and how some may be drawne from the soft and loosed tow: then how a webbe of cloth extendeth the yarne with weights hung thereon, how the woofe is woven in to mollifie the hardnesse of the cloth, pressing it together on both sides, and how the broad places may be contrained to come, and to be ioyned together: he also saith, that the Weauers Art was inuented by wife-men, forgetting this most subtile kinde, which was afterwards found out, wherein

*The web is ioyn'd to beame, a small sicke doth diuide
The yarne, the midale woofe with shuttle slide,
Which teeth in flay of Weauers loome fast put,
With their broad comb the women yarne do cut.*

But if it had hapned vnto him to see the webs of our time, of which apparrell is made that will not couer, wherein I will not say, that there is no helpe to the bodie, but that there is no helpe for shame? Then he passeth to husbandmen, and no lesse eloquently describeth how the ground is plowed vp, and tilled againe, to the end that the earth may more easily lie open to the rootes, then he describeth the seed that is sowne, and weedes picked out by the hand, lest some casuall and wilde thing may encrease vnder it, to kill the corne. This also, saith

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he, that it is the worke of wife-men; as though that now also tillers of ground did not finde out very many new things, whereby fertillitie might be encreased. Then not contented with these Arts, sendeth a wife-man downe into the hand-mill, for hee declareth how imitating the nature of things, men beganne to make bread. The hardnesse of the teeth meeting together, one with another, breaketh, saith he, the corne that is receiued into the mouth, and whatsoeuer falleth from them, is brought againe by the tongue vnto the same teeth: then is it mingled with spittle, that more easily it might passe thorow the slipperie iawes; but when it cometh into the bellie, it is concocted with the heat of the stomacke, then at length cometh it to the bodie. Some following this example, laide one rough stone vpon another, in likeness of the teeth, of which the vnmoueable part expecteth the motion of the other: then the graines are broken by the grinding of them both, and more are they turned backe againe, vntill being ground they be brought vnto meale: then sprinkled he flower with water, and mixed it with continuall kneading, and made bread thereof; which first of all warme ashes and an hore stonedid bake: afterwards by little and little were Ouens found forth, and other meanes, whose heate might serue, according to the pleasure of men. There wanted not much, but that he said, the Shoemakers craft to be also found forth by wife-men. Reason indeed, but not right reason hath inuented all these things. These are inuentions of a man, not of a wife-man: so verily indeed as ships, by which we passe ouer Riuers, and by which we passe ouer Seas, sailes being fitted for the receiuing of the force of windes, and a sterne being added to the end of the poope, which hither and thither might enforce the course of the ship: and an example is drawn from fishes, who be stered by the taile, and with the small force thereof do bend their swiftnesse into cyther side. All these things indeede, saith he, did a wife-man finde forth, but being lesse then that himselfe might handle them, he gaue them to more base seruants; yet they were inuented by none other, then by such as at this day take charge of them. We know that certaine things haue at length come forth in our memory; as the vse of windowes made of stone, sending cleere light thorow them, by reason of a slate that the light shineth thorow: as the hanging vp of bathes, and pipes pressed into the walls, by which heat might be disperfed all about, which should alike cherish at one time, both those things that be below, and those that be aboue. What shall I speake of Marbles, where-with Temples, where with houses doe shine? What of heapes of stone, fashioned to be round and smooth, whereof we make galleries and houses capable to receiue whole peoples? What of the notes of words, whereby speedie speech is taken, and the hand followeth the swiftnesse of the tongue? These are the deuices of the most vile slaues: wisdometh sitteth more deepe, neyther teacheth it the hands, it is a mistresse of mindes. Wilt thou know what thing that hath found forth, or what it hath made? Not vncommonly motions of the bodie, nor variable singings by the Trumpet and Flute, by which breath being receiued, cyther in the going forth, or in the passing thorow, is formed into voyce: nor weapons, nor walls, nor warres; it endeuoureth profitable things, it fauoureth peace, and calleth all mankind to an agreement. It is not, I say, an artificer of instruments for necessarie vses. Why assignest thou so small things vnto it? Thou seest a framer of thy life. It hath other Arts indeede vnder rule: for he that hath life, the ornaments of life do also serue vnto him. But he treadeth to a blessed estate, to that he leadeth, to that he openeth the way. Hee sheweth what be, and what seeme to be euill things. He putteth vanitie out of the mind.

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He giueth solid greatnesse: but he represseth that which is puffed vp, and beautifull to be seene, through that which is vaine: neyther suffereth hee to be vnknewne, what difference there is betwixt great and swelling things; he deliuereth the knowledge of all nature, and of his owne. He declareth what the gods, and of what manner they be; what be the infernall, what the houlhold and the genies be: what be those cuerlasting soules, hauing the second nature of deities, where they abide, what they doe, what they can, what they will. This is the initiation of him, whereby not a priuate hallowed place, but the huge Temple of all the gods, euen this world is laid open: whose true images, and true representations he hath brought forth to be seene in the soules of men: for the sight is dull vnto so great sights. Then it returneth to the beginning of things, and to eternall reason infused into the whole, and to the force of all feedes properly figuring euery thing. Then hee beginneth to enquire of the minde, whence it was, where, how long, and in how many parts it is diuided. Then from corporall hee hath translated himselfe to incorporall things, and hath examined the truth, and the arguments of them: after these, how the doubts of life and of death should be discerned. A wise-man withdraweth not himselfe, I say, as it seemeth to *Poſidonius*, from these Arts, but not at all cometh he vnto them. For hee had iudged nothing worthy of inuention, which he would not iudge worthy of perpetuall vs. He would not take vp things to be laid down. *Anacharſis*, saith he, found out the Potters-wheele by the turning whereof vessels be fashioned. Then because that the Potters wheele is found in *Homer*, he had rather that the verses should seeme to be false, then a fable. I do not contend, that *Anacharſis* was the author of this thing: and if he was, a wise-man indeed inuented it, but not as being a wise-man: as wise-men doe many things, as they be men, not as they be wise-men. Suppose that a wise-man is exceeding swift, hee will excell all in running, as hee is swift, not as he is wise. I would desire to shew some glasse-maker to *Poſidonius*, who with breath falsioneth glasse into many formes, which would scarce bee framed by a diligent hand. These things are found out, since wee haue ceased to finde out a wise-man. *Democritus* himselfe is said to haue found out the Arch of stone, that the bending of stones by little and little declining on one side, might be fastened to a stone in the middelt. I say, that this is false. For it is needfull that before *Democritus*, both bridges and gates were, whose tops for the most part are crooked. Furthermore, yee haue forgotten, how the same *Democritus* found out, how Iuory should be polished, how a well purged stone should be turned into Emrold, by which purging euen at this day, stones profitable in this kind being found out, are coloured. Although that a wise-man hath found out these things, yet found hee not them out, as he is a wise-man: for he doth many things, which we see as well to be done, euen by those that are most vnwise, but either more skillfully or more practically. Seekst thou what a wise-man hath found out. what he hath brought forth into light? First the nature of things, which he hath looked vpon, as other liuing creatures haue done, with eyes flow to diuine things. Then the law of life, which hee hath directed according to all things: neither only hath he taught to know, but to follow the gods, and to reccite accidents no otherwise then commands. He hath forbidden to obey false opinions, and he hath weighed with true estimation, of how great worth euery thing was: hee hath condemned pleasures mixed with repentance. And hath praised good things which will alwaies please, and hath made apparent, that he is the happiest man, who hath no need of happinesse: that he is the most mightic

tie man who hath power ouer himselfe. I speake not of that Philosophie, which hath placed a Citizen out of his countrey, gods out of the world, which hath giuen verue to pleasure: but concerning that, which supposeth that there is no good thing, saue that which is honest, which cannot be mollified neither by the gifts of man, nor of Fourtune, the price of whom is this, not to be able to be taken with any price. I do not suppose that this Philosophie was in that rude age, wherein as yet workmanship was wanting, and they learned profitable things by vse it selfe: as before those fortunate times, when benefits of Nature did lie to be vsed in common, before couetousnesse and riot had seuered mortall men, and that by comfort they ran out to spoile, they were not wise-men, although they did things to be done by those that are wise. Certainly not any one shall more admire any other estate; neither if God permitted him to fashion earthly things, and to giue manners to the Nations, shall allow any other thing, then that which is remembred to haue bene amongst them, with whom

*The ground then none did plow, none might diuide
Land that to him alone might then betide.
The earth it selfe in common all did lie;
No toiling was, but things to grow did bie.*

What was more happie then that kinde of men? They enioyed the nature of things in common: that sufficed to be a parent for the defence of all: this was the secure possession of publike wealth. Why haue I not said that, that kinde of mortall men was the richest of all, wherein thou couldest not finde one that was poore? Couetousnesse brake into things that were settled exceeding well: and whilst it desired to take somewhat apart, and to turne it to the vse of it selfe, it hath made all things other mens, and from being vnmeasurable, hath brought them into a strait, and hath brought in pouertrie, and by coueting many things, hath lost all things. Therefore although it should now conuert and repaire that which it hath lost; although it should adde fields vnto fields, and driue out neighbours from their lands, either by price, or wrong; although it should enlarge grounds to be as bigge as prouinces, and call a long wandering through their owne, a possession: yet no enlarging of limits shall bring vs thither, whence we haue departed. When we haue done all, we shall haue much, whereas we had all. The earth it selfe was more fertill without labour, and was large for the vse of the people who robbed it not. Whatsoeuer Nature had brought forth, it was a pleasure no lesse to haue found it out, then to shew the inuention to another: neither could there be defence too much or too little to any one: it was diuided amongst those that did agree. As yet the stronger had not laid hand vpon the weaker, as yet a couetous man did not by hiding that which did lie vp for him, also exclude another from necessary things. There was the like care of another, and of a mans owne selfe. Weapons did cease, and hands were not tainted with humane blood; they turned all their hatred vpon beasts. They whom some thicke wood had couered from the Sunne, who liued safe vnder leaues in a bale cottage, against the rigor of Winter or of raie, passed ouer pleasant nights, without sighing. Carefulnesse, tofseth vs in our purple and stirreth vs vp with most sharpe prickes; the hard ground gaue soft sleepe vnto them. Carued roofes did not hang ouer them, but they lying in the open aire, the starres did slide ouer them, and the notable spectacle of the nights,

nights, the world was driven on apace, leading so great a worke with silence: as well by day, as by night, the prospect of this most beautifull house did lie open: one might behold the signes, declining from the middle part of heauen, and againe some arising from their hidden place. How could it not but delight to wander amongst miracles that be so largely spread abroad? But yee be afraid of euery sound of the houses, and if any thing make a noise amongst your pictures, yee flee away astonished. They had not houses like Cities. The aire and winde was free in open places, and the light shade of a rocke or of a tree, and very cleare fountains, and riuers not made stale by any worke, nor by a conduit, nor by any constrained course, but running of their owne accord, and meadows beautifull without arte, amongst these things there is country little houses, reared vp by a rusticall hand: This house was according to Nature, wherein one might be lawfull to dwell, neither fearing it, nor for it; now houses be a great part of our feare. But although a notable, and a life wanting deceit was vnto them, yet were they not wise-men, sith now this is a name in great workes. Notwithstanding I deny not that they were men of an high spirit, and freshly sprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet waited in strength sent forth better things. But as wit was more valiant in all, and more prepared for labours; so wits were not consumed in all things. For Nature giueth not vertue; it is a skill to be made good. They indeed did not seeke for gold, nor siluer, nor glistering stones shining amongst the lowest dregs of the earth, yea as yet they euen spared dumb creatures: so farre was it off, that a man not angry should kill a man not fearing; onely comming to see him, should kill any one. Not as yet any one had garnished apparell, as yet gold was not wouen in; as yet it was not deluded out. What therefore? they were innocent in ignorance of things: but there is much difference, whether one will not, or know not to sinne. Iustice was wanting to them, wisdom was wanting, temperance and fortitude was wanting. A rude life had certaine things like vnto all these vertues: vertue befalleth not but to a minde instructed and taught, and brought to the highest by continuall exercise. Furthermore, indeed we are borne to this, but without this: and also in the best, before thou instruct, there is matter of vertue, not vertue it selfe.

EPIST. XCI.

The dolefull and sudden burning of the Colony at Lyons: by calling in of that, we are to thinke of sudden things, and which may fall forth to a man. See setteth before our eyes the vncertaine and variablenesse of things: the greatest and most firme things may be diminished, changed, withdrawne, by earth-quake, waters and fire. Almost all things are condemned to perishe. Therefore neither death nor infamie is to be feared by a man.



VR. *Liberalis* is now sad, the fire, wherewith the Colony at Lyons was burned vp, being related vnto him. This accident might moue any man, much more one who loueth his country exceeding much. Which thing causeth to seeke out the resolution of ones minde, namely, which he hath exercised, for those things which he supposed might be feared: but I wonder not, if this so vnthought of mischief, and almost vheard of hath not bene without feare, sith it was with-
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out example. For fire hath vexed many Cities, it hath destroyed none. For also where fire is set vpon houses by the enemies hand, it faileth in many places: and although forthwith it bee raised ypagaine, notwithstanding, seldom doth it so deuoure all, that nothing be left to the sword. Scarce also at any time hath there bene so greivous and so pernicious an earth-quake; as to ouerthrow whole Townes. Lastly, neuer hath there any where bene so terrible a fire, that nothing remained to another burning. One night hath laide along so many most faire workes, euery one of which might haue made seuerall Cities to haue bene famous; and it falleth forth in so great peace, as could not indeed be feared in warre. Who can beleue this? that armes being quiet, onely where, when securitie is spread abroad throughout the whole earth, Lyons that was pointed at in Gaule, is sought for. Fortune hath permitted all, whom publicly it hath afflicted, to feare that which they were to suffer: no great thing but hath had some space of the ruine thereof. In this there was onely one night betwene a great Citie and none at all. To conclude, I am longer in telling thee that it hath perished, then it was in perishing. O *Liberalis*, all these things incline our affection to be firme and vndaunted against the evils thereof. Neyther is it stricken without a cause. Vnexpected things doe aggrauate the more: noueltie addeth weight to miseries: neyther any man but hath the more grieved at that thing which he hath admired. Therefore nothing ought to be vnprovided for by vs: the minde is to be sent before vnto all things: and wee must thinke, not whatsoeuer is accustomed, but whatsoeuer may be done. For what is it, that fortune cannot when she will, take away euen from the most flourishing? which he cannot by so much the more assault and shake, by how much it shineth the more beautifullly. What is hard, or what is difficult vnto her? Not alwayes one way, nor all of her ruinish vpon vs. Sometimes she calleth for our owne hands vpon vs, sometimes contented with her owne strength, she findeth forth dangers without an author. No time is expected, in pleasures themselves causes of dolour doe arise. Warre ariseth in the midst of peace, and the helpes of securitie passe ouer into feare. He is an enemy from a friend, a foe from a fellow. The calmes of summer is driven into sudden tempests and those which be greater the winter storms. Without an enemy we suffer hostile things; and too great felicitie hath found forth causes of slaughter vnto it self; if other things faile. Diseases set vpon the most temperate, the consumption vpon the strongest, punishment vpon the most innocent, tumult vpon the most secret. Chance chuseth some new thing, by which as it were forgetting, she reneweth her owne strength. Whatsoeuer long continuance of many labours, and much fauour of God hath builded vp, one day scattereth and dissipeth it. He gaue long delay to euils halting on, who hath said that a day, an houre and a moment of time sufficeth for the ouerthrowing of Empires. There were some comfort to our weakenesse, and to our affaires, if all things were repaired with so great speed as they be finished by. Now increasings goe softly, but they make halt to losse: nothing in priuate, nothing in publicke is firme: as well the destinies of men as of Cities are turned about. Feare neerly attendeth the choysiest pleasure; & although there are no occasions of troubles outwardly, mischiefes breake forth from such places where they were least expected. These Kingdomes which stood both in ciuill and forraigne warres, are ruined without any opposition. What Common-wealth could support her felicitie? All things therefore are to be thought vpon, and the minde is to be confirmed against those things that may happen. Thinke vpon exiles, torments, warres, sickennes and ship-
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shipwracks. Fortune may becaue thee of thy country, and thy country of thee: she can cast thee into a desert, she can make that place desolate, wherein the people is almost stifled with thronging. Let the whole condition of mans life be set before our eyes, and let vs consider in our mindes (if we would not be oppressed, neither stupified with any vnusall miseries, as if they were new) not how much happeneth oftentimes, but how much may for the most part fall out. We must wholly apprehend the inconstancie of the affaires of this world. How often haue the Cities of Asia & Achaia bin ruinated by one earthquake? How many Cities in Syria, and how much hath the earth deuoured in Macedonia? How often hath this miserie afflicted Cyprus? how often hath Paphos beene buried in her owne ruines? Oftentimes haue wee heard newes of the destructions of whole Cities, and we amongst whom these rumours are ordinarily spread; how small a part are we of all things? Let vs therefore erect our selues against aduersities, and whatsoever thing may happen, let vs know that it is not so great as is reported. A rich Citie, the ornament of all those Prouinces, into the which it was infested and receiued by them, being built vpon a hill, and that not ouer-high is burned. And time also shall consume the very foundations of all these Cities, which now thou hearest praised for their magnificence and riches. Seest thou not how in Achaia the foundations of famous Cities are consumed? and that nothing is extant wherby it may be knowne that in times past they haue beene. Not onely those things which are framed by hand doe perish. Not onely such things as mans Art and industry hath planted come to nought. Those places are covered with the sea that stood far off from the sight of the flame. The fire hath consumed the Mountaines from the hollow wherof it flamed out. And in times past hath eaten away the highest Promontories which were a sollace to Sailers, & brought the proudest hills to humble shoars. The very workes of nature are vexed, and therefore ought we to suffer patiently the destruction of Cities. All things that stand must fall, and an end remaineth to all things: whether the windes shut in by an internall force and blast haue shaken of the weight vnder which they be held; or the force of floods in secret, hath throwne downe those things that stand against them; or the violence of flames hath broken the ioyning together of the ground; or oldnesse, from which nothing is safe, hath by little and little overcome them: or the vnwholesomnesse of the skie hath cast out people, and situation hath corrupted deserts. It is a longthing to reckon vp all the wayes of the destinies. This one thing I know, that all the workes of mortall men are condemned by mortallitie. We liue amongst those things that perish. These and such like comforts I apply to our *Liberals*, he being set on fire with a certaine burning loue to his country; which peraduenture is consumed, that it might be the better builded vp. Oftentimes iniurie hath made place to greater fortune. Many things haue fallen that they might rise higher and greater. *Timagines* an enemy to the prosperitie of the Citie, did say, that he grieved at the firing of Rome for this one thing, because he knew that better would rise againe, then had been burned. In this Citie also it is very like, that all will strue, that greater and more certaine things may be restored then they haue lost. I wish that they may be more long-lasting and builded with better signes of lucke for a longer age to come. For the hundredth yeare is scarce to this Colonie from the beginning thereof, an age scarce long enough for a man. It being lead forth into this frequencie, waxed well againe with the oportunitie of the place: which notwithstanding hath suffered

fered most grievous chances within the space of the olde age of a man. Therefore let the minde be framed to vnderstanding, and to patience of her lot, and let her know, that there is nothing which fortune dare not doe. That she hath the same right against Empires, which she hath against those that doe rule: that she can doe the same against Cities, that she doth against men. None of these things is to be fretted at. We haue entred into that world, wherein men liue by these lawes. Pleaseth it? Obey. Pleaseth it not? Depart which way thou wilt. Beangry, if any thing be foolishly, vniushly resolved vpon by thy selfe. But if this necessitie tyeth the highest and lowest, therefore returne into fauour with destiny, by which all things are dissolued. There is no cause that thou measure vs with Tombs, and with these Monuments, which being of vnquall bignesse, doe compasse the way about. The dust maketh all equall. We are borne vnlike, we die alike. The same I say of Cities, that of the inhabitants of Cities. As well was Ardea taken, as Rome. That maker of mankind hath not distinguished vs by birth, nor by famousnesse of names, no longer then we be. But when we come to the end of mortall things: O ambition, faith he, depart thou; let there be the same law to all things which presse the earth. We be alike to the suffering of all things. No man is more fraile then another, no man is more certaine of his owne vntill next day. *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians, began like a wretch to learne Geometry, that he might know how little the earth was, whereof he had possessed very little. Thus, I say, like a wretch for this, because he was to vnderstand that hee did beare a false sirname. For who can be great in so small a thing? Those things that were deliuered were subtile, and to be learned by diligent attention: not which that mad man could perceiue, who sent his thoughts beyond the Ocean, Sea. Teach me, faith he, easie things. To whom his Maker said; These things be the same, and alike difficult vnto all. Thinke thou that the nature of things faith this. Those things wherof thou complainest, they are the same vnto all: more easie things can be giuen vnto none; but who soeuer will, shall make those things more easie vnto himselfe. How? With vprightnesse of minde, It is meet both that thou grieve, and thirst, and be hungry, and waxe olde, and if longer stay amongst men befall vnto thee, that thou be sicke, and lose somewhat and doe perish. Notwithstanding there is no cause that thou mayest beleue these things which make a noise about thee. None of these things is bad, nothing intollerable or hard. Feare is from consent vnto these things. Thus thou fearest death as report. But what is more foolish then a man fearing words? Our *Demetrius* is accustomed elegantly to say, that the speeches of the vnskillfull are as much esteemed by him, as the breaking of winde. For what difference, faith he, is there vnto me, whether that these doe make a noyse from aboue or from below. How great madnesse is it to be affraide, lest thou be discredited by those that haue no credite? As ye haue feared fame without cause, so all those things, which ye should neuer feare, except fame had commanded it. What shall a good man suffer losse, being bespotted with vniust reports? Neither indeed let this hurt death in the iudgement of vs: for this also endeuoureth that which is bad. None of them who accuse it, haue tried it. In the meane space it is rashnesse to condemne that which thou knowest not. But thou knowest that, how profitable to many it is, how many it freeeth from torments, from poetrie, from complaints, from punishments, from tediousnesse. We are not in the power of any thing, sith death is in our owne power.

That reason ruleth in man, and that all things are to be referred to this, and that blessed life is in that being perfect. That externall things haue light or no weight. Also that pleasure is of no moment, it is the good of vnreasonable creatures. And yet that externall things may be assumed, which are according to nature; but with iudgement: and that this then is good in them, to be well chosen. Neuertheless also wisdom: and that one is blessed, yea most blessed by vertue alone. These things may befall: yet being added, they doe not encrease, nor being taken away doe decrease blessednesse: against which no time can doe any thing. That wee are to be made like to God, and that we goe to him.

Thinke that thou and I agree of this, that externall things are gotten for the body, and that the body is reuerenced for the honour of the minde, that there bee seruile parts in the minde, whereby wee bee moued and nourished, giuen vnto vs for that principall thing. In this principall there is somewhat that is vnreasonable and reasonable. That serueth to this. This is one thing, that is not referred vnto any besides: but it carrieth all things vnto it selfe. For also that diuine reason is set ouer all things, it selfe is vnder none. And also this of ours is the same, because it is from it. If we agree amongst our selves concerning this, it followeth also that we agree concerning that, that blessed life is placed in this one thing, that reason may be perfect in vs. For this alone submitteth not the minde, it standeth against Fortune. In every habit of things, it being preferred, preferueth. But that is the onely good, which is neuer broken off. He, I say, is blessed, whom nothing maketh lesse; he holdeth the chiefe, and leaneth not indeed vpon any thing, saue vpon himselfe. For he may fall, who is sustained by the helpe of another. If it be otherwise, those things that be not ours shall begin to preuaile much in vs. But who shall stand by Fortune, or what wife-man admireth himselfe for those things that bee others? What is blessed life? securitie and perpetuall tranquillitie. The greatness of the minde will giue this, and a firme constancie of a thing well iudged of. But how come we to this? If all veritie be thoroughly looked vpon; if an order, manner, comelinesse, and an hurtlesse will, or that which is bountifull, and bent to reason, and neuer departing from it, being both louely, and to be admired, be preferred in the doing of things. Lastly, that I may briefly write the forme vnto thee, such ought the minde of a wife-man to bee, as may become a god. What can he desire, to whom all honest things doe befall? For if things that be not honest, can conferre any thing to the best estate, blessed life shall be in those things, without which it is not. And what is more foolish or more dishonest, then to tie the good of a reasonable soule vnto vnreasonable things? Notwithstanding, some iudge the chiefe good to be encrease, because it is scarce full, casual things resisting it. *Antipater* also amongst the great Authors of this sect, saith, that himselfe giueth somewhat to externall things, but very little. But thou seest what manner of thing it is, not to be contented with day-light, except some pettie fire shined vnto vs. What moment in this clearenesse of the Sunne can a sparke of fire haue? If thou art not contented with honestie alone, it is needfull that thou wilt haue quiet to be added thereto, which the Grecians call *hesychia*, or pleasure. The one of these things

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how soeuer may be received. For the minde is voide of trouble; being free to the beholding of the vniuerse, and nothing calleth it away from the contemplation of Nature. That other thing, namely, pleasure is the good of a beaust. We adde an vnreasonable thing to that which is reasonable, a dishonest thing to that which is honest. Doth the tickling of the body cause a happy life? Why therefore doubt ye to say, that a man is well, if his taile be well? And numbrest thou him, I doe not say, amongst men, but amongst mankind, whose chiefe good consisteth of tastes, and colours, and sounds? Let that creature which is borne to eate, onely depart from that most beautifull number of liuing creatures, and next vnto the gods, and let him be numbred with brute beausts. The vnreasonable part of the minde hath two parts: the one courageous, ambitious, vnbridled, placed in the affections: the other base, languishing, giuen vnto pleasures. They haue left that vnbridled, but better, certainly more valiant and more worthie a man: and haue thought this feeble and abieft to be necessarie to a blessed life. They haue commanded reason to serue this, and haue made that which is demisse and ignoble, to be the good of a most generous creature. Furthermore, it is mixed, and monstrous, and framed of the diuers agreeing members of liuing creatures. For as our *Virgil* saith of *Sylla*:

*A womans face and virgins breasts most faire
Vntill her middle-part: after she bare
Fishe-like, a bodie wait with Dolphins tailes,
And many a wolvis paunch with her the trailes.*

But although that fierce, horrible, and swift liuing creatures are ioyned to this *Sylla*, yet of what monsters haue these men compounded wisdom? The first part of a man is vertue it selfe; the brittle and fading flesh, and apt onely to receiue meates, as *Poisonius* saith, is committed vnto this. That diuine vertue endeth in a mutable thing; and a sluggish and decaying liuing creature is adioyned to the higher, venerable, and heauenly parts thereof. That rest how quiet soeuer gaue of it selfe nothing indeed to the minde, but removed impediments. Pleasure of it owne accord dissolueth and mollifieth all strength. What dissagreeing coniunction of bodies amongst themselves shall bee found? A most sluggish thing is adioyned to that which is most valiant; scarce serious things to that which is most seuer, euen a disemperate and confused thing to that which is most holy. What therefore, saith he, if good health, and quiet, and a wanting of griefes shall no wayes hinder vertue, wilt thou not seeke for those things? What else but that I should seeke? Not because they be good, but because they be according to nature, and because with good iudgement they be taken by me. What good then shall there be in them? This one, to be chosen well. For when I take such garments as meete, when I walke as is requisite; when I sup as I ought: not the supper, or walking, or apparell are good things, but my purpose in these of keeping a meane agreeable vnto reason in every thing. Yea now I will adde, the choice of neat apparell is to be desired by a man. For man is by nature a neat and an elegant liuing creature. Therefore neat apparell is not a good thing by it selfe, but the choice of neat apparell; because it is not good in the thing, but in the choice: because our actions be honest, not those things that are acted. That which I haue spoken of apparell, suppose that I haue spoken the same concerning the bodie. For Nature hath also compassed the minde with this, as a certaine apparell, it is the cloa-

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thing thereof. But who at any time hath esteemed his apparrell by a cheft? A sheath maketh the sword to be neither good nor bad. I also doe answere thee the same concerning the bodie: I would take indeed, if choise be giuen, both health and strength. But my iudgment concerning them, and not they themselves, shall be that which is good. A wife-man is bleiued indeed, saith hee; notwithstanding, he obtaineth not that chieftest good, except also that naturall instruments be correspondent vnto him. Thus wretched indeed he cannot be, who hath vertue; but he is not most bleiued, who is forsaken of naturall good things, as of health, and of foundnesse of members. Thus granteth that which seemeth more incredible, that one is not miserable in the greatest and in continuall dolors, yea also that he is bleiued: thou deniest that which is more light, that hee is most bleiued. But if vertue can cause that a man bee not miserable, it will more easily cause that he be most bleiued. For lesse distance remaineth from bleiued to most bleiued, then from miserable to bleiued. Or what thing preuaileth so much, that it may place him amongst the bleiued, who is taken from calamities: can it not adde that which remaineth, to make him most bleiued? Faileth it in the highest top? Commodities and discommodities are in life; both are without vs. If a good man be not miserable, although he be pressed with all discommodities; how is he not most bleiued, although he be destitute of some commodities? For euen as he is not depresse with a burthen of discommodities, to be euen a miserable man; so is he not led with want of commodities, from being a most bleiued man. But as well he is most bleiued without commodities, as he is not miserable by discommodities. Cannot his good be taken from him, if it can be diminished? A little before I said, that a small fire helpeth not the light of the Sunne. For whatsoeuer shineth without it, is hid with the clearnesse thereof. But certain things, saith he, doe also hinder the Sunne. But the force and the light of the Sunne is whole, euen amongst opposite things: and although somewhat may lie betwene, which may hinder vs from the sight of it, yet is it in worke, and is carried in his owne course. So often as it hath shined amongst the clouds, it is no lesse, nor flow indeede, then when it shineth bright, because there is great difference, whether that somewhat doe only stand against or hinder. After the same sort opposite things detract nothing from vertue. It is not lesse, but shineth lesse: peradventure it so appeareth not, nor shineth vnto vs: it is the same vnto it selfe, and after the fashion of the obscured Sunne, doth in secret exercise her force. Therefore calamities, and losses, and injuries, can doe this against vertue, that a small cloud can doe against the Sunne. There is found, who saith, that a wife-man having scarce good health, is neither miserable nor bleiued. Hee also is deceived; for hee matcheth casual things with vertues, and giueth so much to honest things, as to things wanting honestie. But what is more silitie, what is more vnworthie, then to compare venerable things with those that are base? For faith, iustice, pietie, fortitude, prudence, are venerable things: on the contrarie, those bee vile, which doe befall more full to the most base, namely, a found thigh, and arme, and teeth, and the health and strength of these. Again, if a wife man who hath a diseased body, shall bee accounted neither miserable nor bleiued, but shall be left in the middelt: his life also shall neither bee to bee desired nor to be fled from. But what is so absurde, as that a wife mans life should not bee desired? and what is so without credit, as that there is a life which is not to be desired, or to be fledde from? Then if the losses of the bodie doe not make miserable, they suffer to bee bleiued. For they vvich haue not power of

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translating into a worser estate, haue not power indeede of hindering the best estate. We know, saith he, that somewhat is hot, and somewhat cold; and that luke-warme is betwixt them both. So one is bleiued, and another miserable; another neyther miserable nor bleiued. I will diligently search this Image that is set against vs. If I shall put more cold into that luke-warme, it will bee made cold: if I shall power on more warme, it shall at last bee made warme. But how much soeuer I shall adde to the miseries of this man, who is neither miserable nor bleiued, hee shall not bee miserable, as yee say, therefore this similitude is vnlike. Then I deliuer to thee a man neyther miserable nor bleiued: I adde blindenesse to him, he is not made miserable: I adde weaknesse, hee is not made miserable: I adde continuall and grieuous dolors, hee is not made miserable. Whom so many euils translate not into a miserable life, they doe not indeede leade him from a bleiued life. If a wife-man, as yee say, cannot fall from being bleiued, to bee miserable, hee cannot fall into not bleiued. For why should hee, who hath begonne to slide, flay any where? That thing which suffered him not to bee rolled to the bottome, keepeth him in the toppes. But why cannot a bleiued life be vndone? indeede it cannot be lessened; and therefore vertue it selfe, by it selfe, is sufficient vnto it. What therefore, saith hee, is not a wife-man more bleiued, who hath liued longer, whom no dolor hath called away: then hee who oftentimes hath wrastled with bad successe? Answere mee: Is hee not both better and honest? If these things bee not, hee is not more bleiued indeede. It is meete that hee liue more rightly, that hee may liue more bleiuedly: if hee cannot liue more rightly, hee cannot liue more bleiuedly indeede. Vertue is not augmented: therefore not a bleiued life indeede which is from vertue. For vertue is so great a good thing, that it feeleth not these small additions, namely, shortnesse of life, and dolor, and diuers discommodities of the bodie. For pleasure is not worthie, to which it may haue respect. What is the chieftest in vertue? Not to neede a future thing, nor to reckon his dayes. In whatsoeuer time yee will, eternall good maketh absolutely perfect. These things seeme incredible vnto vs, and running out about humane nature. For we measure the maiestie thereof by our weakenesse, and wee put the name of vertue vpon our vices. What furthermore, seemeth it not alike incredible, that one being placed in greatest torments, should say, I am bleiued? But this voice is heard in the verie shoppe of pleasure: *I liue*, saith Epictetus, *this most bleiued and last day*: when on the one side difficultie of making water tormented him, and on the other side an incurable dolor of an exulcerated belly tormented him. Why therefore are these things incredible with them, who embrace vertue: sith also they are found amongst them, ouer whom pleasure ruleth? These degenerate also and of a most base minde say, that a wife-man shall not be miserable, nor bleiued, in greatest dolors, in greatest calamities. But this also is incredible, yea more incredible. For I see not, how vertue being cast from her owne height, how it may not bee driuen into the lowest. It eyther ought to make bleiued; or if it be driuen from this, it shall not forbid to be made wretched. He that standeth cannot be ouercome: it is requisite that eyther hee be ouercome, or ouercome. Both vertue and bleiued life befall to the immortal gods alone: a certain shadow and similitude of those good things be vnto vs. We come to those things, we attaine them not. But reason is common to gods and men: this is consummated in them, it is consummable in vs. But our vices draw vs to despair. For that other second man, as one scarce constant to keepe

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the best things, whose iudgements yet slideth and is uncertaine, desireth the sense of the eyes and of the eares, good health, and no ill-fauoured aspect of the body, and abiding in his fashion, and furthermore, a longer space of life. By this he may bee bulied in things not to be repented of, according as an vnperfect man may. There is a certaine force in this badnesse, whereby it maketh the minde prone to bad things: he worketh wanting badnesse, and that working is different from that which is good. As yet he is not good, but is fashioned for good: but whosoever wanteth any good thing, is bad.

*If present vertue and a minde
In any man thou shalt forth finde;*

He matcheth the gods, he striueth thither being mindefull of his originall. No man doth wickedly endeavour to ascend thither, whence he had descended. But what is it, why thou esteemest not, that there is some diuine thing in him, who is a part of God? All this wherein we are contained, both is one thing, and is God: and we are the fellows and the members of him. Our minde is capable; it is carried thither, if vices presse it not downe. As the shape of our bodies is lifted vp, and looketh towards heauen: so the soule, to which so much as it will, it is lawfull to be stretched forth, is fashioned for this by nature, to will things equall to the gods, and so to vse her strength, and to extend her selfe into her owne space. For if it endeouored to the highest by force of another, it were great labour, to goe into heauen: it returneth, when it hath gon this iourney, it goeth boldly, and is a contemner of all things, neither hath it respect to money: gold and silver are most worthy of that darknesse wherein they haue lien, it esteemeth not this glittering, wherewith they strike the eyes of the vnskillfull: it knoweth that they be digged out of the mud, from the which our couetousnesse hath separated and digged them vp. It knoweth, I say, that riches are seated some where else, then where they are heaped vp; the minde, not the chest ought to be filled. One may set this ouer the rule of all things, one may bring this into the possession of nature, as being his owne. Let the East and West be his limit, and let him possesse all things after the manner of the gods; let him from aboue despicke men with their riches: of whom none is so ioyfull in his owne, as sorrowfull at another mans. When he hath lifted vp himselfe into this loftinesse, he is also not a louer, but a manager of the bodie, as of a necessarie burthen: neither subiecteth he himselfe to that, ouer which hee is set. No man is free who serueth the bodie: for to passe by other masters, whom too great care for it hath found forth, the command of it is austere and delicate. Sometime it departeth from this with an vpriight minde, sometime it breaketh from it with a great minde; neither seeketh it what end there shall be afterwards to the remainders thereof. But as wee neglect the haire that be shauen from the beard; so that diuine minde being to depart out of a man, iudgeth that it no more pertaineth to himselfe, how his receptacle be bestowed, whether the fire burne it vp, or the beasts pluck it a funder, or the earth couer it, no more then the secondines pertaine to an infant new borne. Whether when it is cast out, the birds carry it a funder, or it be consumed.

*When cast it is away
To Sea-dogges for a pray,*

What is it to him? Who then also whilest he is amongst men, feareth no threats: (hall

shall he after death feare any threats of them; whom we scarce ought to feare vntill death? The hooke, saith he, shall not teare me, nor the rending of my dead carcasse cast out to reproach, although loathsome to them that shall look on. I request no man for a last duetie: I commend my reliques to no man. Nature it selfe hath provided that no man should be vnburied. Whom cruelty hath cast forth, the day shall burie. *Seneca* saith eloquently:

*Leave not for a Tombe or any Grave,
To bury my remains Nature will graue.*

Thou wouldest haue thought that one girded like a man had spoken it: for he had both a great and a many wit, except he himselfe effeminately had managed it.

EPIST. XCIII.

Concerning the death of the Philosopher METRONACTES, who died a young man. That life is of small regard: also life is to be measured, not by space, but by wit. Euerie good life is that which is long: lastly, nothing here is long.

IN the Epistle wherein thou bewailedst the death of *Metronactes* the Philosopher, as though he might & ought to haue liued longer, I haue desired thy equitie, which is abundant in thee to euery person and in euery businesse, but faileth in one thing, wherein it faileth all men. I haue found many vpriight towards men, but none towards the gods. We daily chide delinquie: why was he taken away in the midst of his course? Why is not he snatched away? Why extendeth it olde age grievous both to himselfe and to others? Whether I pray thee, iudgeth thou it to be more fit, that thou obey nature, or that nature obey thee? But what difference is there how speedily thou depart, whence likewise thou must depart. We must not care to liue long, but to liue enough. For there is neede of delinie, that thou mayest liue long; that thou mayest liue enough, there is neede onely of the minde. Life is long if it be full: but it is filled, when the soule hath restored his owne good vnto himselfe, and hath translated the power of it selfe to it selfe. What doe fourescore yeares spent in sloath helpe him? This man liued not, but made an abode in life; neyther lately, but long agoe did he die. He liued fourescore yeares. The difference is from what day thou accountest his death. But he died young; yet hee performed the duties of a good citizen, of a good friend, of a good sonne: he failed in no part: although his age were imperfect, his life was perfect. He liued fourescore yeares; yea, rather he was fourescore yeares; except peradventure thou sayest him to haue liued so, as trees are said to liue. I desire thee my *Lucius*, that we endeavour this, that euen as pretious things, so our life may not lie much open, but may be worth much. Let vs measure it by the actions, not by time. Wilt thou knowe what difference there is betwene this courageous man, and contemner of fortune, who hath gone through all the degrees of humane life, and is promoted vnto the highest good, and him ouer whom many yeares haue passed? The one is also after death the other perished before death. Therefore let vs praise and place him in the number of the happy, to whom how little time sooner hath happe

happened, it is bestowed well. For he hath seene true light, he hath not bene one of the ordinary sort; he liueth, and hath flourished. Sometime he hath vsed prosperous successe: sometime, as it cometh to passe, the brightnesse of a strong Planer hath shined through the cloudes. Why seekest thou, how long he hath liued? He liued euen vntill posteritie: he passed away, and gaue himselfe to the memory of ages to come. Neyther therefore haue I refused that many yeares should befall vnto me. But yet will I not say, that any thing hath bene wanting to a blessed life, if the space thereof be cut off. For I haue not fitted my selfe vnto that day, which greedy hope hath promised to be the last vnto me: but I haue looked vpon euery one as being my last. Why askest thou me, when I was borne? Am I as yet reckoned amongst those that be more young? I haue that which is mine owne. Euen as in a lesser habite of bodie, one may be a perfect man: so in a lesser measure of time, there may be a perfect life. Age is amongst externall things. So long as I am, it is another time: so long as I am a good man, it is mine owne time. Exact this of me, lest as it were in darkenesse I measure out an vnnoble age; that I may leade a life, not that I may be carried through it. Seekest thou what is the largest space of life? To liue euen vnto wisdom: He that cometh vnto that, hath touched, not the longest but the greatest end. But let him glorie, and giue thanks vnto the gods; and amongst them, let him impute it to himselfe, and to the nature of things, that he hath bene. Deferuently shall he ascribe it: for he hath returned a better life then he receiued. He hath set downe the patterne of a good man: he hath shewed what an one and how great he was: if he had added any thing, it had bene like vnto that which was past. And notwithstanding how long doe we liue? We enioy the knowledge of all things. We know from what things the principall Nature lifteth vp it selfe on high, how it ordereth the world, by what courses it recallecth the year, how it hath shut vp all things which were at any time, and hath made it selfe the end of it selfe. We know that the starres goe by their owne force: that nothing but the earth standeth still: that other things with a continuall swiftnesse runne on. We know how the Moone passeth by the Sunne: wherefore being more slow, she leaueth the swifter behinde her: how it receiuieth or loseth light: what cause bringeth on the night, what bringeth backe the day. Thither must we goe, where thou mayest behold these things neerer vnto thee: neither, saith that wise man, do I the more valiantly depart, because I iudge a way to lie open for me vnto the gods. I haue deferred indeed to be admitted, and now haue I bene amongst them: and I haue sent my minde vnto that place, and they haue sent theirs vnto me. But suppose that I be taken away, and that nothing of a man remaineth after death: I haue alike as great a minde, although I depart to passe into no place. He liued not so many yeares as he might haue done. Also it is a booke of a few verses, but to be praised and profitable indeed: thou knowest the Chronicle of *Tamulus*, that it is not fashonable, and what it is called: alike is the long life of certain men, and that which followeth the Chronicle of *Tamulus*. What iudgeth thou him to be more happy, who is slain in the last day of the show of *Gladiators*, then he who is slain in the midst of the dayes? What thinkest thou that any one is so desirous of life, that he had rather haue his throat cut in the vntiring house, then on the Theater? No greater space doe we one goe before another. Death goeth through all; he that killeth, followeth him close who is killed. That is the smallest thing, concerning which men doe most carefully deale. But what pertaineth it to the purpose how long thou auoydest, that which thou canst not auoide?

EPIST.

EPIST. XCIII.

A discourse, whether the Teaching or Exhorting part of Philosophy be more profitable? and whether the one can suffice without the other? ARISTO preferreth the former, and admitteth it alone: and his arguments be here. And other adioyne the other part, and shew the great vses thereof: and SENeca distinguisheth finely, sweetly, and fruitfully. Read and delight.

SOME haue receiued that part of Philosophie alone, which giueth proper precepts to euery person, but frameth not the whole man, perswading the husband how to carrie himselfe towards his wife; the father how to bring vp children; the master how to gouerne seruants: and haue left the other as wandring without our profite: as though any one could in part perswade, except first he had comprehended the summe of vniuersall life. But *Aristo* a Stoicke, on the contrary esteemeth this to be a light part, and which descendeth not euen vnto the breast: but that which hath nor precepts, he saith, that it profiteth very much; and that the decrees themselves of Philosophie, are the constitution of the chiefest good, which he that hath vnderstood and learned well, himselfe commandeth himselfe, what is to be done on cyther part. Euen as he who learneth to cast a Dart, taketh a fit place, and frameth his hand for the direction of those things which he deliuereth; when he hath gotten this force by instruction and exercise, he vseth it at what focuer he will; for he hath learned not to hit this or that, but what focuer he will: so he who hath instructed himselfe for his whole life, desireth not particularly to be admonished, hee being taught for the whole; not how to liue with a wife or with a sonne, but how he may liue well: in this also it is, how he may liue with his wife and children. *Clement* iudgeth this part also to be profitable indeede, but weake except it flowed from the whole, except one knew the very decrees and heads of Philosophie. Therefore this place is diuided into two questions; Whether it be profitable or vnprofitable, and whether it alone can make a good man, that is, whether it be superfluous, or can make all things else superfluous. They who would haue this part to be thought superfluous, say thus: If any thing set against the eyes hindereth the sight, it is to be remoued; but that not being cast away he hath lost his labour, who hath giuen instructions: thus thou shalt walke, thither shalt thou stretch out thine hand; after the same manner, when any thing blindeth the minde, and hindereth it from discerning the order of duties, he doth nothing who deliuereth precepts: thus shalt thou liue with thy father, thus with thy wife. For precepts will profite nothing, so long as error is spread before the minde: if that be driuen away, it will appear: what is due to euery dutie. Otherwise thou teachest him what a found man must doe, thou makest him not found. Thou shewest to him that is poore, how to play the rich man: but how can this be done, if so be that pouertie remaine? Thou shewest to him that is hungry, what he may do as a man being full: rather take away hunger, which is fastned to the inward parts. The same will I say vnto thee concerning all vices; the things themselves are to be remoued away; we are not to command that which cannot be done, whilst they do remain. Except thou shalt expell false opinions, that we be troubled withall; neyther will a couetous man heare how he must vse money, nor a fearefull man how he may contemned dangers. It is requisite that thou make him

him know that money is neyther good nor bad: that thou shew vnto him most miserable rich men: that thou cause, that whatfoeuer we haue feared in publique, he may know that it is not so to be feared, as same relateth it is: no not colour nor death: that it is a great comfort often in death, which the law constraineth vs to suffer, because it returneth to no man: obliuiscence of minde shall be for a remedie in griefe: he that suffered any thing resolutely, maketh it to be lighter vnto himselfe: that the nature of griefe is the best, because neyther that which is extended can be great; nor that which is great can be extended: that all things are to be valiantly receiued, which the necessitie of the world commandeth vs. When thou hast brought him by these decrees vnto the sight of his owne condition, and he shall know that a blessed life is, not which is according to pleasure, but according to nature: when he shall altogether loue vertue, the onely good of a man, and shall flee from dishonestie as that which is onely bad, he shall know that all other things, namely, riches, honours, good health, strength, empire be in the middle part, and are neyther to be numbred amongst the good, nor reckoned amongst the euill. He shall neede no instructor to say vnto him, walke thus, sup after this manner; this becommeth a man, that a woman; this a married man; that a bachelor. For these things which they do diligently prescribe, they themselves cannot do. These things doth the School-master teach his scholar, the grand-mother her nephew, and the cholericke master argues that a man must not be angry. If thou enter into the schooles, thou shalt finde that children are taught all that for their lesson, which Philosophers boast of with such loftie looks. Finally, whether wilt thou propose such things as are manifest, or such as are doubtfull? Those things that are euident neede not to be taught, and he that teacheth such things as are doubtfull, is hardly beleueed. It is therefore a superfluous thing to teach. This learne thus: If thou proposeth things that are obscure and ambiguous, thou must confirme them by proofes. If thou wilt proue them, those things by which thou prouest are more auailable, and are sufficient enough of themselves. Thus vs thy friend, thus thy fellow Citizen, thus thy companion. Why? Because it is iust. All these things the common place as touching iustice, will furnish me with. There finde I that equity is a thing to be desired of it selfe, that feare cannot compell vs thereunto, and that for gaine we will not respect it: briefly, that he is not iust and vpright who approueth any thing in this vertue, but the vertue it selfe. When as I haue perused my selfe of these things, and learned it perfectly, what doe these precepts profite me, which instruct the learned man? To giue precepts to a wise man is a superfluous trauaile, to an ignorant man it sufficeth not. For he must heare not onely what is taught him, but why it is taught him: that is to say, whether they be necessarie to him that hath true opinions as touching goods and euils, or to him that hath not: hee that hath them not, will be no wayes profited by thee, for a common report contrary to thy admonitions hath filled and possessed his eares. He that hath an exact iudgement of that he ought to flee and follow, knoweth that which he ought to doe, although thou be silent. All this part of Philosophie therefore may be cut off. There are in vs two euils, which make vs commit others. Either in our mindes is there a mallice contracted by euill opinions; or although it be not occupied with falsities, yet is it inclined vnto error, and is quickly corrupted by some vaine appearance, which draweth him thither whether he should not pretend. It behoueth vs therefore cyther to cure the sicke minde, and to deliuer it from vices, or that it be not as yet infected, but inclined vnto euill, to prevent it. The decrees of Philosophy

Philosophie doe both the one and the other. Therefore such a kinde of teaching doth nothing. Furthermore, if we giue instructions to all in particular: we should neuer make an end. For we must instruct the Vsurer one way, the Husbandman another way, the Merchant thus, him that affected the friendship of Princes, otherwise thus, those that should loue their equals: that way, such as affect their inferiours. In matrimony they must teach how a man must liue with a wife, whom he married a maid; how with her that had a husband before, how with a rich, how with a poore one. Thinkest thou there is no difference betwixt a barren and a fruitfull woman, betwixt an old, and a young maiden, betwixt a mother, and a stepdame? we cannot comprehend all kinds; and yet euery one of them requireth seuerall lessons and aduertisements. But the lawes of Philosophie are short, and containe and write all things. Adde hereto that a wise mans precepts ought to be limited and certaine; if they are found to bee infinite, they are out of the limits of Philosophie, wisdom knoweth what the bounds of all things should be. This part therefore which proposeth things in particular ought to be removed, because that what he promitteth to performe to a few, he cannot performe to all. Contrariwise wisdom embraceth and containeth all men. There is little difference betweene public madnesse, and that which the Physicians describe, but that the particular is possessed with a certaine sicknesse, the publique is besotted with false opinions: the one hath drawne the causes of his furie from the indisposition of the body, the other from the infirmities of the minde. If a man should giue precepts to a furious man, and teach him how to speake, how to walke out, how to behaue himselfe in publique, how in priuate, he should be more mad, then the mad man he teacheth. He must purge the melancholy humor, and the cause of furie must be removed. The like must be done in this other furie of the minde; it must be discussed and driuen away, otherwise all aduertisement will bee to no end. These things are spoken by *Ariston*. To whom we will answere in particular. First to that where he saith, that if any thing hindereth the eye and letteth the sight, it ought to be removed. I confesse that he hath no neede of precepts to make him see, but of medicines to purge his sight, and meanes to driue away that which blemisheth the same. For by nature we see, and he that taketh away the obstacles, he returneth the eye to his sight. But Nature teacheth not a particular dutie to euery one. Secondly, he that is cured of his suffusion, cannot as soone as he hath recovered his sight, giue sight to other men likewise. He that is rid of an infirmity recureth also. The eye needeth neyther exhortation nor counsel to vnderstand the proprieties of colours, it will distinguish white from blacke without any teacher. Contrariwise, the minde needeth many precepts to discern what is to be done in life. Albeit the Philitian not only cureth the infirme eye, but counselleth also. Thou must not (saith he) expose thy weake eye-sight suddenly to the open aire and brighter light, first from an obscure place seeke out a shady, then be more bould, and by little and little accustom thy selfe to endure the cleare light. Thou must not studie after meat, keep thy selfe quiet where thine eyes are great and swolne. Aioide the winde and force of cold, lest it beate vpon thy face, and such like, which were no lesse profitable then the medicines were. In brife, Physicke annexeth counsailes to remedies. Error, saith he, is the cause of sinne, which sinne counsaile acquitteth vs not of, neither conuinceth false opinions of good and euill things I grant that precepts suffice not of themselves to driue a peruerse opinion out of the vnderstanding: but it followeth not, that being annexed to others, they should be vnprofitable.

First

First of all, they refresh the memorie. Secondly, by their meanes, those things which in generall seemed confused, being diuided into parts, are more diligently considered. Happily thou after this manner supposest consolations and exhortations superfluous, but they are not; consequently not admonitions. It is a folly (saith *Ariston*) to command a sick man such a thing as he should doe in his health, whereas his health is to be restored vnto him, without which all his precepts are vaine. But haue not both the sick and whole certaine things common to them both, whereof they ought to be admonished, as not to eate ouergreedily, nor trauell excessively? Both poore and rich haue certaine common precepts. Cure auarice (saith he) thou shalt haue nothing wherein thou shalt admonish either the poore or rich: if the couetousnesse both of the one and the other bee abated. Is it a different thing not to desire money, and to know well to visit? The couetous haue no measure in their desires, they that are not couetous, know not how to make vse of money as they ought. Take away the errors (saith he) the precepts are superfluous. It is false: for suppose that auarice be moderated, dissolution restrained, rashnesse bridled, idleness awakened: although the vices are driven away, yet ought we learne that which we ought to doe and how. The admonitions serue to no vse, being applied to enormous vices. I answer that Physicke healeth not incurable diseases, yet is it ministered to some for remedie, to other some for mitigation: not all the whole power of Philosophie, although she intend all her forces to this end, can roote out an indurate and inextinguishable plague out of our mindes: and yet she remedie some euils, though she cureth not all. What profiteth it, saith he, to shew that which is discovered? Greatly, for sometimes although wee know a thing, yet we regard it not. Admonition teacheth not, but it awakeneth and setteth the memorie, and preuenteth forgetfulness. We take little heed of many things, which passe before our eyes. To admonish is a kinde of exhortation. Oftentimes our mind pretendeth not to comprehend that which is apparent: we ought therefore to refresh the memory with the knowledge of things best knowne. In this place it shall not be amisse to repeat the notable saying of CALPURNIUS VATTINIVS, *You know there hath bene bribing, and all men know that you know it.* Thou knowest that we ought to entertaine friendship religiously, but thou doest it not. Thou knowest him to be a wicked man, that requireth his wife should bee honest, and himselfe hunter after other mens wives. Thou knowest that as the ought not to acquaint her selfe with an adulterer, so thou shouldst not haue to doe with a strumpet, and yet thou visit to prostitute. For this cause oftentimes oughtest thou to call thy dutie to memorie, for thy memorie must not be distracted, but at hand and before thine eyes. All holisome things ought to be oftentimes remembred, and renewed, to the end that besides the knowledge thereof, wee may haue them readie to assit vs. Besides that which is already well comprehended, is vnderstood and remembred farre better. If those things (saith he) be doubtfull which thou teachest. Thou oughtest to adde prooffe vnto them, they therefore be not the precepts will profit. I answer, that the authoritie of him that admonisheth, sufficeth without any prooffe of his saying. As the answeres of the Lawyers are of force although they yeeld no reason of their counsell. Moreover, precepts haue a great waight in themselves, especially if we intermix them with poeie, or that in prose they be shut vp together in a few, but graue words. As those of CATOES, *Buy not that which thou needest, but that which is necessarie. That which thou hast no need of is deare of a farthing.* And these other sentences proceeding from

from Oracles or other excellent men. *Spare time. Know thy selfe.* Wouldst thou aske the cause thereof, if a man should repeat these these sentences. *Forgetfulness is the remedie of injuries. Fortune fauoureth the audacious. The idle man hinders himselfe.* These sentences seeke no aduocate, they touch the affections and profit, because Nature vnfoldeth vertue in them. Our mindes containe all the seeds of vertue, and these seeds fructifie by meanes of admonitions; no otherwise then a sparkle being alighted with a light blast, becometh a great flame: vertue is awakened, when she is either touched or shaken. Furthermore, there are certaine things, which buried in our vnderstanding, beginne to shew their worth, when they are quickened by admonitions. There are other sorts of things which lie heere and there, which a dull vnderstanding and vnexercised cannot recollect. It behoueth therefore to gather them into one, and to ioyn them together, to the end they may be more forcible, and raise the minde the more. Or if precepts haue no power, we must exterminate all institution, and be contented with Nature herselfe. They that see this, consider not that there are some that haue a stirring and noble spirit; the other of a dull and heauie. In briefe, that all are not equally, are not of one ingenuitie. The power of the minde is nourished, and encreaseth by precepts, and annexeth new perfwalions to those that are innate, and correcteth those that are depraued. If any man (saith he) hath not the true decrees, what shall admonitions profit him, that is plagued and drowned in vices? Truly this, that he may be deliuered of them. For the naturall disposition is not extinguished in him, but obscured and oppressed. In pursuite whereof the endeouoreth to raise her selfe; and to resist euill. As soone as she is succoured and assisted by precepts, these receiue their forces, provided that this contagion of sinne, which hath so long time infected her, hath not wholly mortified her. For then the whole disciplines of Philosophie vniting all her forces, cannot restore her. For what difference is there betwene the decrees and precepts of Philosophie, but that the one are generall, the other particular. Both of them command; the decrees are generall, the precepts particular. If any one (saith hee) hath iust and honest decrees, such a one is admonished in vaine; not so. For this man, although hee know that which he ought to doe, yet seeth he not exactly all the parts of his dutie. For we are not only hindered by our affections, from executing that which is good, but for want of a knowledge how to finde out that which is requisite in euerie thing. Sometimes we haue a minde well composed, but heauie and vnadressed to finde out the tract of the offices of our life, which is discovered vnto vs by admonitions. Drive away (saith he) the false opinions, as touching goods and euils, settle the true in stead of the false, and then will admonition be profitable. Assuredly the minde is gouerned by such meanes, but not by this meanes only. For although it be by arguments gathered, what are good, and what are euill, notwithstanding precepts haue their parts, and both Prudence and Iustice consist in offices, and offices are disposed by precepts. Furthermore, the iudgement that we haue of goods and euils, is confirmed by the execution of offices, whereunto we are guided by precepts. For they agree together, neither may those goe before, but these will follow after, and keepe their rancke; whence it appeareth that the Generall march before. Precepts, saith he, are infinite. It is false. For they are not infinite in things that are great and necessarie, but their differences according to time, place, and persons are finite. But to these likewise are generall precepts giuen. There is no man (saith he) that cureth himselfe by precepts, and consequently not malice. There is a difference. For in

curing a mad man of his madnesse, he is restored to his health. If wee haue excluded false opinions, we presently apprehend not that which we ought to doe, and were it so, yet our admonition would confirme the right apprehension and iudgement we haue of goods and euils. This likewise is false, that precepts no wayes profite mad men: For as they profite not alwayes, so further they the cure. Both threatnings and chastisements haue restrained mad men: I speake now of those mad men whose wits are altered, but not taken from them: The lawes, replieth he, cause vs not to doe that which we ought. And what other thing are they, but precepts intermixed with threatnings? First of all they perswade not, because they meniee; but precepts constrain not, but perswade. Secondly, lawes deterre vs from doing euill: precepts exhort euery one to doe his duetie. Adde herunto, that lawes are profitable to good manners, provided, that precepts be vnited to their commandements. In this thing differ I from *Pesidomius*: I allow not the principles that are set in the beginning of *Platoes* lawes. For a law should be short, to theend that the ignorant might apprehend it more easily, as if it were an Oracle. Let it command, not dispute: Nothing seemeth more impertinent and foolish to me, then a law garnished with a Preface. Admonish, tell me what thou wouldst haue me do; I listen not to thee to learne, but to obey. The lawes are profitable, so fee wee that Common-weales, which haue had euill ordinances, haue had worse manners. But lawes profite not all men; no more doth Philosophie, and yet it ceaseth not to be profitable and powerfull in forming mens minds. And what other thing is Philosophie but the law of our life? But let vs presuppose that the lawes are vnprofitable; it followeth not therefore that admonitions are vnecessary: otherwise we should say that consolations, exhortations, dissuasions, reprehensions and praises, serued to no purpose. These are sorts of admonitions, & by their means the spirit attayneth his perfection. There is nothing that more reueleth our vnderstandings with vertue, nor that retireth them more from an euill custome, and confirmeth them in goodnesse, then good mens conuersation. For by little and little it descendeth and distilleth into the heart, and to be often seene and heard, standeth in stead of precepts, vndoubtedly the onely meeting with wise-men doth grea good; and thou mayest learne somewhat of a virtuous man, euen then when he is silent. I cannot so well tell thee how it profiteth, as I haue found that it profiteth me. Some small creatures (as *Phaden* saith) when they sting are not felt, so small and ready is their stinge to giue the pricke, but the swelling is discovered although there appeare no wound in the same. The like will befall thee in thy conuersation with wise-men, thou shalt not perceiue when or how he profiteth thee, but thou shalt finde the profite. Whereto (saith he) tendeth all this? Good precepts and admonitions, oft-times reiterated, will profite thee as much as good examples. *Pythagoras* saith, that they who entred into a Temple, or that saw neere vnto them any image of the gods, or heard the voyce of some Oracle, changed their mindes and thoughts. Who dare denie, but that the most Idots of the world are powerfully striken with some precepts? As for example, by these which ensue, which are short, but sententious, and of great waight, namely, *Nothing too much. The greedy minde is neuer satisfie with gaine. Such measure as thou metest, the same shall be mete to thee.* These things heare we with strong apprehension, neyther may any man doubt or dispute vpon them: Why? Because truth perswadeth without any assistance of reason: if the respect we beare vnto any man bridleth our spirits, and reprehelleth our vices, why should not admonition doe the like? If correction maketh

keth men ashamed, what should hinder the same effect in good admonition although it were accompanied but with simple precepts? But what admonition is more powerfull, and pierceth deeper, which forthwith his commandements with good reasons, that allegeth why a man should doe this or that, and what good may befall a man by his obedience? If commandement and authoritie serue, so doth admonition; but authoritie is of great vse; and consequently admonition. Vertue is diuided into two parts, into contemplation of truth, and into action. Institution teacheth contemplation, admonition action: A iust action both exerciseth and sheweth vertue. But if he that perswadeth profite him that is to act, he likewise will profite that admonisheth. If therefore vpright action be necessary to vertue, and admonition sheweth what iust actions be, it followeth that admonition is necessary. There are two things which greatly fortifie the minde, assurance of the truth, and confidence. Admonition produceth both these. For there is credite giuen to the same, and when she is beleued, the minde conceiue high hopes, and is filled with confidence: admonition therefore is not superfluous. *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of great vnderstanding, and onely happy to the publique good, amongst all those that were raised by ciuill warres, was wont to auow, that hee was very much indebted to this sentence; *For by concord small things increase, by discord the greatest are ruined.* This, saith he, made me become a good brother, and a sure friend. If such sentences familiarly entertained in the minde do forme the same, why should not this part of Philosophie which consisteth of such like sentences, doe the like? A part of vertue consisteth in discipline, another in action: thou must learne, and that which thou hast learned thou must confirme by action: which if it be so, not onely decrees of wise-men are profitable, but also the precepts, which restraine and oblige our affections as it were with an Edict. Philosophie, saith he, is diuided into these, into science and the habite of the minde. For he that hath comprehended anything, and knoweth that which he ought to do and auoide, is not yet wise, except his spirit be transformed into those things which he hath learned. The third part, consisting in precepts, is composed of the two precedent, both of decrees and of habite, and consequently superfluous to make vertue complete, whereas they two are sufficient. By this reckoning then consolation is vnecessary, for this also consisteth of both; neyther exhortation, perswasion, neyther argumentation. For she taketh her originall from the habite of a composed and strong minde. But although these parts proceede from that habitude of the minde, the best habite of the minde is both of the one, and of the other. Furthermore, all that which thou sayest respecteth a perfect man, and such a one as hath attained the summe of humane felicitie. But to this a man attaineth very slowly; meane while we must shew an vnperfect man, yet such a one as is toward the way which he ought to hold in his actions. It may be that wisdome may adresse her selfe without admonition, considering she hath already ledde the spirit so outward that he cannot be moued but on the right way. But as touching those that are more feeble, they had neede of a conductor that may say vnto them, Thou shalt shun this, thou shalt doe this. Besides, if he expect the time, wherein of himselfe he may know that which is best to be done, he shall in the meane space erre, and erring shall be hindered from attayning to that wherby he may be contented with himselfe. He must therefore be gouerned till he begin to be able to gouerne himselfe. Children are taught to forme their letters, their fingers are held, and their hand directed, and led to teach them to fashion and counterfeite letters, then are they commanded

to follow such and such examples, and by them to reforme their writing. So is our minde strengthened if it be instructed by: propoling some example vnto it which the may follow. These are the things whereby it is approued that this part of Philosophy is not superfluous. Furthermore it is demanded: whether the alone sufficeth to make a wise-man. We will answer this question at another time: for the present, omitting those arguments, doth it not appeare vnto vs that we had neede of some aduocate, who may giue vs instructions contrary to the precepts of the people? A man cannot speake any thing that toucheth vs not. They that with vs good hurt vs, and they also that curle vs: for the imprecation of those imprethe in vs false feares, and the loue of others spoyleth vs, in desiring our prosperitie, because it driueth vs to goods that are forraigne, wandring, and vncertaine, whereas we might draw felicity from our selues. I say that we are not permitted to follow the right way. Our parents and seruants draw vs vnto cuill. No man erreth to himselfe onely, but spreadeth his follie amongst his neighbours, and learneth of theirs likewise. And therefore the vices of the common fort are in euery priuate man, because the people amongst whom he conuerseth hath giuen them him, and in making others badde he becommeth badde himselfe, hee hath learned the worse, and afterwards teacheth the same; and when that which each one knew to be most wicked was gathered and put together, that great heape of iniquitie was made and discovered. Let there bee therefore some guide that may pull thee by the eare, drue thee from the brute of Citties, and reclaime thee from the flatteries of the common fort. For thou abusest thy selfe if thou thinkest that vices are borne with vs; they steale vpon vs, and were ingested into vs. Let vs therefore repress those opinions which buzze about our eares by frequent admonitions. Nature neither tyeth nor obligeth vs to any vice: she hath ingendered vs intire and free: nothing that might incite our auarice hath she placed in open sight, but hath put both golde and siluer vnder our feete to be kicke and trode vpon, or whatsoever it be for which we are kicke and trode vpon. She hath addressed our faces towards heauen, and would that we should beholde whatsoever she hath made, either magnificent or wonderfull in the world, the rising and settings of the starres, the sudden course and motion of the heauens, which by day make vs see the goods of the earth, and by night those of the heauens. The slow motion of the starres, if they be compared with the whole, the swift, if thou imagine how great way they make without euer staying; then the eclipses of the Sun & Moore, opposed the one against the other: moreover, diuers other things worthy admiration, whether they succed by order, or break forth being moued by their causes: as the pillars of fire in the night, the flashes streaming from the opening heauen without thunder and lightning, the pillars, beames, & other diuers inflamed impressions in the aire: nature disposeth all these things about vs. As touching gold, siluer & iron, which by reason of both these hath depriued vs of peace, she hath hid them, as if they had bin badly committed vnto vs. But we haue brought them to light, to the end we might fight for them: we calling the waighy earth fro off them, haue digged them vp, the only causes & instruments of our dangers. We haue trusted our miseries vnto fortune, neyther are we alarmed that they are in the greatest estimatiō with vs, which were most deeply buried in the boſom of the earth. Wilt thou see how fallacious the brightness is that blemisheth & bewitcheth thine eyes? There is nothing more abiect, nor more obscure then those as long as they are buried in their mould. Why not? when as they are drawn out of the darknes of the largest and longest mynes,

mynes, there is nothing more deformed then they are, whilst they are sepeared from their excrements, and drawn from their vaines. Briefly, regard a while those that trauell in the myne, by whose hands this ferrill and informed kinde of earth is purged, and you shall see how they are befmeared with smoake. But these use more deile the mindes then the bodies, and there is more soyle in those that possesse them, then in those that refine them. It is necessary therefore to be admonished, and to haue some Counsellor of good vnderstanding, that in so great confusion and tumult of fallities, may truly speake vnto vs: what shall helpeake? Those words and wholesome counsailes, which may open our eares, being deafned by so many ambitious cries, and say, Thou hast no cause to enuy these whom the people termeth great and happy men. There is no cause that a vaine applause should rauish from thee the seied habitude and health of thy soule. There is no reason that this great Lord, so gaily attended and clad in purple, should drue thee from the height of thy peace. Thou hast no more cause to iudge him more happy, to whom euery man giues place, then him whom the Sergeant enforceth to giue way. If thou wilt exercise a power that may be profitable vnto thee, and hurt no man, drue vice from thee. Many there are that let fire on Citties, that leuell huge Fortresses with the ground, which for many hundred years were held impregnable, that raise Plat-formes as high as Castles, who by Engines of batterie ouerturne marueilous high walke, who cause armies to march before them, that necerly pursue their flying enemies, who couered with the blood of conquered Nations, haue gotten countries as farre as the bounds of the Ocean; but these haue defeated their enemies, haue themselves bin overcome by their own desires. No man might make head against their armies, no more then they knew how to resist their ambition and cruelties. Euen then when they seemed to pursue others, they were pursued themselves. The cursed desire of spoiling other mens countries afflicted vnhappy Alexander, and sent him to countries vnkown. Dost thou think him a man of vnderstanding, or in his right wits, who began to ruinate Greece, where first he was brought vp and instructed, did afterwards pillage all that which euery one possessed and esteemed best? He imposed a yoke on Sparta, and silence to Athens. And not content with the spoile of many Citties, either subdued or bought by Philip his father, he scattered them from one place to another, made war vpon all the world without remitting ought of his wonted cruelty, imitating herein the savage beasts, who bite more then hunger enforceth them to. Furthermore, he ioyned diuers kingdomes in one, he made himselfe dreadfull to the Greeks and Persians, he subdued the free Nations that were vnder Darius his Dominion; yet would he beyond the Ocean, and the Sun being displeased that Hercules and Bacchus pillars should confine his victories. He addressed himselfe to enforce Nature; he will not march, neyther will hee stay in a place resembling those fardels which are cast from the top to the ground, which cease not to tumble down vntill they fall to the bottom. Neyther did vertue nor reason counsaile Pompey to enterprise his forraigne and ciuill warres, but a disordinate loue of flattering greatness droue him now into Spaine against Sertorius, then to make warre against the Pirats, and to assure the Seas. These were his pretexts to maintaine his authoritie, who drue him into Africa, into the North, into Armenia, and through all the corners of Asia against Mitridates. It was an immeasurable desire of greatnesse, being in his owne opinion not great enough. What thing thrust Caesar vpon his owne and his Countreys ruine? Glorie and ambition, and no measure of cōmeticke about others: for hee could not endure

endure that one should be before him, when as his Common-wealth endured two Masters. Thinkett thou that *Marius* who was once Consul (for one Conulate he receiued, the other like he bribed or enforced) was egged on by vertue to hew the *Cimbrians* and *Thentons* in pieces, to follow *Iugurth* thorough the deserts of Africa, and to expose himselfe to so many perils? *Marius* conducted the Army, but ambition conducted *Marius*. These men, whilst they shooke all others, were shaken themselves after the manner of whirle-windes, which before they winde in those things they force vpare themselves tossed; & therefore turne they with greater furie, because they haue no holde of themselves: by which means these men, after they haue cruelly tormented others, do feele in themselves this pernicious fury, wherewith they haue offended other men. Think not that any man may become happy by another mans misfortune. All these examples proposed both to our eyes and eares, ought to be remembered, and our hearts full filled with euill opinions, ought to be clesed. Where the place is voyde there mult we lodge vertue, which rooteth out pleasing lyes which seperateth vs from the people (to whom we giue ouer-much credit) and confirmeth vs in sincere and good opinions. For this is wisdom, to be conuerted into nature, and to be reformed thither whence publique error hath expelled vs. It is a great part of health, to haue forsaken the counsaillors of folly, and to haue far-fled from this company of people which corrupt one another. To know that this is true, consider how euery man liueth after one sort in publique, after another in priuate. Solitude of it selfe, neither teacheth vs simplicity or innocence; the country maketh vs not more frugal or temperate, but when there is no body that may beholde and giue testimony, vices retire themselves. For their good lieth in this to be beheld and scene. Who would put on a purple robe if no man should see him? Who being couched vnder the shadow of some rusticke tree, hath mustred all the people of his dissoluteness to himselfe alone? No man is braue in secret, no not in the presence of two or three of his familiars, but according to the number and quality of those that beholde him, maketh he shew of his vanities. So then if any one, eyther know or admire vs, that is the spur that pricketh on to discover all these things, on which we are mad and besotted. Take away the shew, thou shalt abolish couctousnesse. Ambition, dissoluteness and pride will haue themselves scene. Wilt thou recouer them? Hide them. If therefore we are lodged in the midst of Cities, let vs keep some good counsaillor about vs: who opposing himselfe against those that praise great possessions, prisseth a rich man very little, and that measureth his goods by their vice: against those who make reckoning of nothing but credite and humane greatnesse, let him approue and commend that honest repose which the study of good letters giueth; and let him esteeme nothing so much as a conscience that hath forsaken all transitory things, to ground himselfe vpon the reall good? Let him shew that all they who are commonly called happy tremble; and are dismayed in that high degree so much enuied, and haue a farre other opinion of themselves then the people hath. For those things that are raised, & highly prised in other mens eyes, in their iudgments are slippery, sleepey, & vnertain. For this cause they are heartlesse and fearfull as often as they looke into this steepe mountain of mightines, wherupon they are mounted. Then suspect they those things they desired, and their felicity which hath bene so odious vnto others, is more hatefull to themselves: Then praise they a peaceable and retired life: authority is distastefull vnto them, they seeke to be discharged of their prosperitie; then shalt thou see them play the Philosophers for feare, and take good counsaill

counsaill from their aduersitie. For as if prosperitie and a good minde were appointed contraries, we are most wise in our miseries, contrariwise prosperitie bereaueth vs of our iudgement.

EPIST. XCIV.

It adhereth or dependeth of the former, and the question is, whether the Exhortatorie part of Philosophie may alone suffice? When as especially he hath shewed so many and so cleare uses thereof. He denieth, setteth downe, and refelleth the arguments which are urged. Therefore he praiseth the doctrinall part, and sheweth that precepts flow from that fountaine, and that life is contained therein. He intermixeth worthy things, and by the way maketh an excursion against riot, lust, and vnlawfull affection of honors. The whole Epistle is excellent and fruitful.

THOU requirest me to represent that which I had remitted, till another time, and that I should write vnto thee, if that part of Philosophie which consisteth in precepts, which the Greekes call *megethikē*, wee preceptiue bee sufficient to make a man perfectly wise. I know thou wilt take it in good part, if I deny the same, and for that cause the rather doe I renew my promise, and will not suffer that my word so expressly and solemnly engaged should be broken. Hereafter aske me nothing which thou wilt not obtaine, for sometimes wee instantly require that, which wee would refuse if it were offered vnto vs. This, whether it bee lightnesse or familiaritie, is to bee punished with a facilitie of promising: wee seeme to will many things which we would not. A certaine Reciter brought a great historie written in a small hand, and straitly foulded, and hauing red ouer a great part thereof: *I will giue ouer* (saith he) *if you will*. To this it is answered with a loud voice. *Read on, Read on*, by those who would willingly that hee should presently hold his peace. Oftentimes we will owe things, and with another, and to the gods themselves wee speake not truth; but the gods either heare vs not, or haue mercie vpon vs. But I setting apart all fauour will redeme my selfe, and will cloy thee with a long Epistle, which if thou readest vnwillingly, say that thou thy selfe art the cause, and number thy selfe amongst those whom a wife continually tormenteth to get her selfe some new gowne daily: amongst those that haue no ioy of the goods they haue gotten with great labour: amongst those whom honour torments, being gotten by all industrie and labour, and therest who are partakers of their owne euils. But leaving this Preface, I come to the point. A blessed life (say they) consisteth of iust actions, whereunto we are led by precepts; consequently precepts are sufficient to make the life happie. Yet precepts doe not alwayes lead a man to iust actions, but when as the minde is capable and conformable to instructions. Sometimes they are proposed in vaine, to wit; when the vnderstanding is besieged with false opinions. Againe; although they doe right, yet know they not that they doe right: For no man can performe that which he ought euery way, nor vnderstand when hee ought to doe a thing, nor how much, nor with whom, nor how, if from the beginning he hath not bene addressed and fashioned exactly in all reason. By means whereof he cannot with his whole minde constantly and willingly endeavour vnto vertue, but shall be doubtfull and look backe. If an honest action (say they) proceedeth from precepts, precepts shall sufficiently

Insufficiently suffice to make the life happy, but the one is true, consequently, therefore so is the other. To these we answer, that honest actions proceed not only from precepts and particular instructions, but also from maxims and general rules. If other artes (saith he) are content with precepts, wisdom also will be contented, which is the art of life, but he maketh a master of a ship that instructeth him thus. Steere after this manner, strike saile after this fashion, take the benefit of a good winde thus, resist a contrarie that way, and make vse of such a meane to warrant thee from a crosse winde. Precepts likewise confirme other sorts of Arts. Cannot therefore Philosophers teach others to liue; cannot they doe the like? All these arts are employed about the instruments of life, not about the whole life, and therefore many things hinder and let them externally, such as are hope, couetousnesse, and feare. But Wisdom the mistress of life cannot be hindered by any thing from continuing her exercise, for shee preuenteth impediments, and tempereth obstacles. Wilt thou know wherein they differ in condition? In mechanic arts it is more excusable to sinne for want of aduice, then casually, and in wisdom it is a great fault to sinne willingly. That which I say is so. The Grammarian is not alhamed of a Solcisme, if he make it willingly, but he blusheth if he doe it without taking heed. If the Physitian foreseeeth not that his patient begins to weare away, he committeth more error in his art, then if he perceiued the defect, and pretended not to know it. But in the art of good life, more shamefull is their fault, who offend willingly. Adde hereunto that the most kinde of arts, yea of them all the most liberrall haue not only their precepts, but decrees, as Physicke hath. There is therefore one sect of Hippocrates, another of Asclepiades, another of Themison. Besides no contemplatiue art is without her decrees, which the Greekes call *dogmata*, wee precepts: propositions and foundations, which you shall finde in Geometrie and Astronomie. But Philosophie is both contemplatiue and actiue, she speculately and setteth hand to the worke. For thou errest, if thou thinkest that the only promiscuous terrestriall actions, she aspieth more high. I search (saith shee) the whole world, neither containe I my selfe inclosed in the company of mortall men, to the only end to perswade or dissuade. Great matters, such as are aboue your reach call and inuite me.

*For first I will disclose and let thee know
The secrets of the heauens and higher powers,
Whence Nature formes, and whence she makes things grow;
Whence they encrease, and spread their seeds and flowers,
He count thee all their of springs and their ends,
And what in each thing Nature most intends.*

As Lucretius saith. It followeth therefore that being contemplatiue, shee hath her decrees. In effect no man shall cuer performe that which he ought, but he that hath comprehended the reason whereby in euery thing he may performe his decrees in all offices; which hee shall not obserue who hath receiued but meere precepts. Those things that are distributed by parcels are feeble in themselves, and if I may so say, without roote. Those are decrees which defend vs, which maintaine our securitie and tranquillitie, which comprehend at once all life and all nature. The same difference is there betweene the decrees and precepts of Philosophie, as there is betweene letters and whole clauses. The one depend vpon the other, decrees also are the cause of precepts and of all things.

The

The ancient wisdom, saith he, onely taught nought else, but what was to be done, and to be esteemed. And then were men farre better, after learned men began to flourish, good men were scant. For that simple and open truth is changed into an obscure and subtil science, and we are taught how to dispute, not how to liue. Without doubt, that ancient wisdom, as you say, was rude and simple in the beginning, no lesse then other arts which haue bene polished by succession of time. But at that time also the present remedies were not necessarie, wickednesse was not growne to that height, neither had shee spread her selfe so largely euery where; simple remedies were sufficient for simple vices. But now the more strange the mischises are which assault vs, the more solide should our resist and defences be. Physicke in times past was but the knowledge of a few Simples, whereby a flux of blood might be stayed, and wounds by little and little might be healed. Afterwards shee attained to this raritie of medicines: neither is it to be wondered at, that in those dayes she had so little to doe; sure then men had more stronge bodies, and were contented with easie and simple diet, and not corrupted by art and pleasure. Which diet, after it beganne to be sought, not to take away, but prouoke hunger; and a thousand sorts of sauces were inuented, whereby the appetite might be awakened. Those meats which sustained such men as were hungrie, are become as many burthens to full bellies. From thence proceeded palenesse, and the trembling of the nerues, being drowned in wine, and a more miserable leaneenesse caused rather by cruditie, then by hunger. From this excesse hath proceeded the weaknes and stumbling of the feete, and such a kinde of gate as drunken men vse. Thence grew the water betwixt the filme and flesh, thence was the belly distended, whilst it was accustomed to receiue more then it could containe. Thence came the blacke landers, the discoloured face, and the consumption of such as rotted inwardly. Thence crooked fingers, by reason of the stiffness of the ioynts, hence the Apoplexie, hence the Palsey: why should I reckon vp the swimming and turning of the head, the torments both of eyes and eares, and the vermination of the inflamed braine; and all the passages of our bodies, whereby wee are purged, affected with inward vlcers. Besides an innumerable sort of Feuours, the one violent and sudden, the other lent and lingering, the other beginning with much horror and shaking of the members? why should I rip vp other innumerable diseases, the iust plagues of intemperance? Free were they from those evils, who as yet were not weakened by these delicacies, who gouerned and ministred vnto themselves. They hardened their bodies with industry and true labour, either wearied with running, or hunting, or plowing of their lands; and their meat was such as could not please any but such as were hungry. There was therefore no need of so great a multitude of Physitians, neither of so many instruments and subnotaries. There health being entertained by a simple cause, was simple also: many dithes haue bred many sicknesses. Behold how many things gormundize the ruine both of land and sea, intermixeth together to the end they might afterwards be swallowed by one greedy gullet. It cannot be, but that things so diuers should striue one with another, and after they are swallowed downe, should hardly bedigested, by reason that the one is a hinderance to the other. It is no marvell, if of mores so different, such confused and violent sicknesses are engendred, nor that the humours being driuen by contrary passages, should redound as they doe. See heere the cause why we haue so many different sorts of sicknesses, as of meats. The greatest of the Physitians, and the Founder of the Science, saith, that women are neither bauld nor

sicke

licked of the gout, yet they at this day are both destitute of haire and lame in their feet. The nature of women is not changed, but the life. For whereas they haue equalled men in their licentiousnes, they haue likewise had an equall part in their maladies. They watch no lesse, they drinke no lesse, and challenge their husbands in bathing and drunkenesse. Both the one and the other haue, as it were, by force filled their panches, yeeld it vp againe by their mouths, and in vomiting returne backe againe all the wine they haue swallowed. The women as well as the men gnaw vpon the Ice to coole their ouer-hot stomachs. But in lust they surpass the males, being borne to suffer. The gods and goddesses confound them, who haue peruerced the order of habitation both with male and female. Wonder not therefore, though the greatest amongst Physitians, and Naturalists was deceived in this, that at this time there are so many bauld and gowtie women. By excesse haue they lost the benefit of their sex, and because they haue shaken off the habit of women, they are condemned to endure the sicknesses of men. The ancient Physitians knew not what it was to prescribe their patients to feed often, and to replenish their vaines that were emptied with wine: they knew neither how to cup nor to scarifie, nor to bath and sweat those that had been long time sick, they knew not how by binding the legs and armes, to reuoke the hidden heat to the outward parts, which was stayed in the center. There was no need to looke about for many kinds of remedies, when as there were but few sorts of sicknesses. But now to what number and height are infirmities growne? This is the vsury which we pay for so much pleasure as we haue wrongfully and inordinately desired. Maruellest thou to see so many sicknesses? Number me the Cookes. All studie is giuen ouer. The professors of liberall sciences are without auditors, their sieges void, and their schollers gone. Solitude dwelleth in the Schooles of Rhetoricians and Philosophers. Contrariwise, how many famous Kitchens are there: how many yong men fill vp the fires of such as are prodigall and dissolute. I speake not of the troopes of poore yong children, who at the shutting vp of a feast attend to suffer other villanie in the chambers. I ouerslip the troopes of those that haue bene abused contrarie to Nature, distinguished by nations and colours, so as on the one side, all they of the same height are rauaged, and they whose beards begin to bud, and such as are haired alike, to the end that he who hath the straight and long haire, should not bee mixed amongst those that are curled. I ouerspell the troopes of Passlers, and attendants who serue in supper when the signe is giuen them. Good God, how many men are busied about one belly. Thinkest thou that these mulhromes, a sort of pleasant poison, although they hurt not vpon the present, doe they not secretly work and wrong at last? Thinkest thou that this snow, which they vse to refresh and coole themselves with in Sommer, hardeneth not their liuers, and that vsauoury meat of Oysters, that are fattened with mud, engender they not vicious and clammy humors? Belueest thou not that the fauce which is composed of Mackerels and other sort of fish that costs so deere, doth it not with his drying saltnesse burne the entrailes? Iudgest thou that these rotten ioyces which are swallowed downe hot, can they without harme be extinguished in the stomacke? How stinkie and pestilent belches? What loathing of themselves? Whilest they digorge their old surlers? Know thou, that whatsoeuer they take rotterth, but digestest not. I remember that in times past *Esopes* dish was much spoken of, wherein this sweet-lipped fellow running vnto his owne ruine, gathered all that was either rare or daintie from the tables of great men: there were diuers sorts

of

offhel-fish handsomly chewed and ready to swallow, athwart whereof were enterlaced Creuisses, and about them dressed Barbels, cut in pieces and severed from their finnes and bones. It loatheth them. to feede on cuerie dish apart, all sauces are mixt in one, and at supper-time that is done, that should be done after collation time. Now must I expect to haue the minced meates serued in so small, as if they had been chewed. What difference is there betwene taking away the scales and bones, or to haue a Cooke to execute the office of our teeth? It is too tedious a thing. to disguise all sortes of meates; for once wee must make a hochpot, why should I put any hand into a dish that had but one kinde of daintie? Let me haue many come together. Let the ornaments of many dishes be vnited and ioyned together. Let them forthwith know, who say that this prodigality at mens Tables is done to make them to be talked of and esteemed, that these are not publike, but excesse done in secret. Let those things that were wont to be severally dressed, be serued in in one broth. It is all one as if Oysters and Sea-crabs, Mulls and Mullers be mixed together. The meat of those that vomit should not be more confused. But as these meates and sauces are confounded the one with the other; so likewise of such confused excesse, diuers compounded inexplicable, different, and manifold sicknesses do arise, against which Physique hath begun to arme her selfe with many remedies and obseruations. The same say I of Philosophy; it was in times past more simple, amongst those whose finnes were not so enormous, but more easie and slight to be cured. Against so great corruption of manners all things are to be attempted. And would to God this plague at last might be so ouercome: we play the mad-men, not only in priuate but in publike; Doe we repress priuate murders? What shall I say of warres and the glorious sinne of destroyed countries? Neyther avarice nor cruelty knew any measure; and these things as long as they are done by stealth, and by priuate men are least hurtfull and monitrous. By the ordinances of the Senate, and Edicts of the people, those hainous offences which are condemned in priuate men, are permitted vnto all, and committed in sight of every man. We praise a publike crime, which we would punish with death had it bene committed secretly. Are not men ashamed, that by nature are the mildest, to take pleasure in shedding their neighbours blood, to make warre, and leaue this exercise to their children? whereas euen the dumbe and sauage beasts haue peace amongst themselves. Against so porent and generall a furie Philosophy was made more effectually, and assumed so much power vnto her selfe, as they had gathered against whom she is addressed. It was an easie matter to chide and reprove those that were giuen ouer to wine, and besotted with delicacy and dainties; for there needed no great force to reduce the minde to frugality, from whence by little and little she had reuolted.

*Now neede we worke by force and violence,
And then by Art and great experience.*

Pleasure is sought for on euery side. No vice conteyneth it selfe in it selfe. Dissolution runs headlong into avarice, honesty is forgotten: there is nothing filthy if it be prised or pleasing. A man, a sacred thing; a man is now murdered in jest. And whereas it was impiety to teach a man to giue and receiue wounds, now expose we him in publike both naked and difarmed, supposing that his death would be a pleasing spectacle to content an assembly. So then in this perueritie

perueritie and corruption of manners there needeth some medicine more eager then was accustomed to dissipate these inueterate cuils. We must propose *Maximes* and rules, that the perswasion of falsities too greatly entertained, may be wholly extinguished. To these if we annex precepts, consolations, exhortations, they may preuaile, being scarce powerfull enough of themselves. If we will let them free that are bound, and draw them from those cuils wherewith they are now entangled, let them learne what cuill is, and what good is. Let them know that all things change their name but onely vertue, and now become euill, and now good. As the first bond of warfare is Religion, and the loue of our Ensigne, and the loathing and hainousnesse to forsake it, and after this all the rest are easily commanded and obtained at his hands who hath solemnly obliged his faith: so also must thou lay the first foundations in those whom thou pretendest to conduct vnto happy life, and to plant vertue in their hearts. Let them be seized with a zealous superstition thereof, let them loue her, let them desire to liue with her, not to liue without her. What then? Are there not some that without any subtil institution, haue become honest, and haue attained to great perfection, whilst they onely submitted themselves to bare precepts? I confesse no lesse. But they had a happy and apprehending spirit, which in a moment apprehended that which is proper for his instruction. For euen as the immortal gods haue learned no vertue, whereas by being and nature they are all good, so some of noble nature comprehend those things which are taught them, and as soone as vertue is shewed vnto them, they embrace it. Whence grew these mindes so greedily catching after vertue, and so fruitfull of themselves? But to those that are dull and hard of vnderstanding, or long time besieged with euill customes, the rust of their mindes must be rubbed off. Euen as we easily draw those vnto perfection who are inclined to good; so on the other side the meanes to redresse the feeble, and to dispossesse them of their euill opinions, is to propose vnto them the rules and *Maximes* of Philosophie, which are marvellous necessary, as thou shalt perceiue by that which ensueth. We haue certaine inclinations which make vs heauy in some affaires, and light and rash in others: neyther may this rashnesse be repressed, nor that slownesse awakened, except their causes be cut off, such as are false admiration and fained feare. As long as these haue vs in their possession, thou mayest say, This must thou doe for thy father, this for thy children, this for thy friends, this for thy guests; but auarice will restraine him that would attempt so good a course. He shall know that he ought to fight for his countrey, but feare shall diswaide him. He shall know that he must labour for his friends to the vttermost, but pleasures shall withdraw him. He shall know that it is a most hainous kinde of iniurie towards a wife to entertaine a harlot, yet shall lust compell him to the contrary. It will therefore profite nothing to giue precepts, except thou first take away all things that are contrary to them: no more then it will profite to haue laide weapons in sight, and to haue set them neerer, except his hands be vnbound that vseth them. To giue a meane vnto the minde to apprehend the precepts which we giue, we must giue it libertie. Let vs suppose that a man doth that which he ought not; he will not doe it continually, he will not doe it equally, for he knoweth not wherefore he doth it. By aduenture or by custome some things will goe well, but a man shall not haue a rule in hand, to know the same whereunto he may trust that they are rightly done, which he hath done. He will not promise to continue good that is casually good. Againe, precepts may happily instruct thee to doe that which thou

thou oughtest, but not in that sort as thou oughtest; and if they performe not this, they bring thee not to vertue. He shall doe that which he is aduised to do: I grant it. But that is little, because the praise consisteth not in the deede, but in the manner how it is done. What is more odious then a sumptuous supper, wherupon a man spendeth a Knights liuing? What is more worthy of censure then if a man (as these gluttons say) bestow this vpon himselfe and his *Genui*? and yet haue there beene some persons, both very sober and temperate, that in such extraordinary banquets haue spent the summe of teuentie fife thousand crownes. If for gormandize sake a man lauieth in this expence, it is hateful; if it be to honour any great and noble assembly, it may be borne withall, for it is no excess but a solemne expence. The Emperour *Tiberius* hauing receiued a Barbell of a wonderfull greatnes: (shall I set downe the weight to awake gourmands? for it is said that it weighed more then foure pounds & a halfe) commanded it to be carried to the market and sold, saying to those that kept him company at that time; *My friends, I am much deceiued, but eyther A PICIUS or P. OCTAVIUS will buy this Barbell.* But there fell out farre more then he expected; for they set the Barbell to becried, and it was sold to him that offered most. *Ostianus* bare it away, and was highly praised amongst his adherents, because he had bought a Barbell which the Emperour had sold, and *Apicius* could not buy it for two hundred crowns, or thereabouts. It was a shame for *Ostianus* to disburse so much money, not for him that bought it to send it to *Tiberius*, although I would not excuse him. He admired the thing which he thought *Cesar* worthy of. A man sits by his friend that is sicke: I allow it; but if he doe it in hope to be his heire, he is a Vulture, he expecteth carrion. The same things are both honest and dishonest: but it importeth to know wherefore, or how. But all things will be done honestly, if we addict our selues thereunto, and iudge it with the dependances thereof, to be the onely good of humane life, the rest are good but for a short time. We must therefore imprint in our hearts a lesſon that extendeth it selfe to the whole life: this is that which I call a decree. Such as this perswasion is, such shall those things be which shall be eyther done or thought. And such as these shall be, such shall be the life. It is but a small matter for him that would rule the whole, to giue counsaile that it should be distributed into parts. *M. Brutus* in his booke he intituled *de iudiciis*, giueth many precepts both to father and mother, children and brothers, which no man shall performe as he ought, except he haue some rule whereunto he may haue relation. Let vs propose vnto our selues a scope or foueraigne good, at which we ayme, and to which we addresse al our thoughts and life, as the Marriners ought to shape their course vnder the aspect of some certaine starre. Life without a limit is extravagant: if this limit must be proposed, the rules that shew vs the limit, begin to be necessarie. Thou wilt confesse this, as I suppose, that there is nothing more shamefull, then to see a man that is doubtfull, irresolute, fearfull, that now sets forward, and then slides backward. This will befall vs in all things, if we doe not rent away that imprisoneth and restraineth our vnderstandings, and that hindereth them from stirring at their pleasure. It is a vsual thing to teach the manner how to serue the gods. We forbid men to light lamps on the Sabbath dayes, because the gods haue no want of light, and men take no pleasure in smooke. We forbid men from doing their reuerences and salutations in the morning, and permit no man to sit at the Temple gates; for humane ambition is baited and caught by these offices. He that knoweth God, serueth and honoureth him. We forbid men to bring sheets & bathing-combs

to *Iupiter*, or to hold a glasse before *Iuno*. God seeketh no Ministers. Why not? He ministereth to mankind. Each where is he ready and addressed to helpeall men. Although he heare, how he ought to behaue himselfe in sacrifices, and estrange himselfe from curious and trouble some superstitions; yet would all this bee nothing to his perfection, except hee haue conceived in his vnderstanding a god, such as he ought to apprehend him, namely, such a one as hath all things, that giueth all things, and bestoweth his benefits gracie. But who inciteth the gods to doe all these goods for men? Their nature. He erret, whosoever thinketh that they will doe hurt. They cannot, neither can they receiue or doe iniurie. For to hurt, and to be hurt, are things conioynt and haue relation the one vnto the other. That soueraigne and faire nature aboute all hath exempted those men from dangers, which are not dangerous. Moreover, the first seruice due vnto the gods, is to beleue that they are next to acknowledge their maiestic and bountie, without which their maiestic were nothing. To know that they are those that gouerne the world, who temper all things as their owne, who haue all men vnder their protection, and are sometimes curious of priuate men. These neither giue, nor haue euill, although they chastise, repress, and punish likewise some men at sometime, vnder appearance of euill. Wilt thou haue the gods fauourable vnto thee? Be a good man. He giueth them sufficiently that imitateth them. Heere followeth another question, how we ought to vfe and serue men. What doe we? What precepts giue we? To thed no humane bloud? How small a matter is it not to hurt him, whom thou oughtest to profit? Truly it is worthe much praise for one man to be kinde vnto another. Shall we command him to succour the shipwracked, to bring the wanderer into his way, to diuide his bread with the hungry? What need I to specifie all that which it behoueth him to doe or sife, when as in three words I will propose a forme of humane offices? All this world, in which all diuine and humane things are inclosed, is but one: we are the members and parcels of this great bodie. Nature hath created vs akin, in forming vs of the same elements, and in the same enclosure. She hath planted mutuall loue in our hearts, and made vs sociable. She it is that hath composed iustice and equity, and by her ordinance it is a more miserable thing to doe, then to suffer iniurie. By her command are his hands addressed, that helpe and comforteth another. Let vs haue this verse in our hearts, and in our mouths:

*I am a man, and thinke this true to be,
That nothing humane is estrang'd from mee.*

Let vs possesse this common good, that we are borne. Mans society resembleth a vault of stone, which would fall except the stones resisted one another: so that by this means it is sustained. After gods and men, let vs behold how we ought to vfe these things: vnprofitable should our precepts be, if first of all we knew not what opinion we ought to haue of euery thing, as of pouertie, riches, glory, ignominie, our country and banishment. Let vs esteeme euery one of them without respect of common apprehension, and let vs examine what they be, not what they are called. Let vs passe ouer to vertues. Some one would require that we should prize prudence, that we should respect valour, that we should loue temperance, and that (if it might be) we should ioyne our selues vnto iustice more strictly, then vnto the rest. But this would be to no purpose, if we be ignorant what vertue is, if there be one or many, if they be separated or vnited,

if

if he that possesseth one of them hath all, and how the one differeth from the other. It is not needfull now for a Smith to enquire what the beginning and vfe of his arte is, nor for a lester to examine what the arte of dancing is. All these occupations know themselves, they want nothing, because they appertaine not to the whole life. But Vertue is the science both of others and of her selfe, we must learne of her, to the end we may vnderstand what we ought to will. If the will be not good, the action which proceedeth from the same shall neuer be. Furthermore, the will shall be peruerse, if the habitude of the spirit be not vp-right, because that from that the will hath his being; and this habite of minde shall not be in the best state, if it comprehendeth not all the rules of life (considering the iudgement which a man ought to haue of euery thing) and shut them all within the circle of truth. The contentment of the spirit is a good that befalleth no man, except those that are endowed with a certaine and vn-moueable indgement. The rest of men slip, fall, and sometimes or other sife againe, and doe but float betwixt that which they haue omitted, and that which they desired. The cause of this toiling and shaking is, because hauing builded vpon common report, which is a wonderous and vncertaine manner of liuing, they are assured and confident in nothing. If thou wilt alwaies haue the same will, thou must will those things that are true. There is no way to attaine truth without Maximes, for they containe life, good and euill, honest and dishonest things, iust and vniust, pious and impious, vertue and the vices of vertue, the possession of things commodious, exultation and dignitie, health, force, forme, and sagacitie of the senses; all these require such a one as can iudge of them, and knoweth at what price they ought to be taxed. For thou abusest thy selfe, and thinkest that some things are of greater value then they be, and the more art thou deceived, in prising riches, credit, and power (as many other of thy ranke doe) which are not to be accounted worth anything. Thou shalt not know this, if thou respectest not rule, whereby these things are estimated amongst themselves. Euen as leaues cannot flourish by themselves, but require a bough wherunto they may cleaue, and from whence they may draw iuyce and nourishment: so these precepts decay and vanish, if they be alone, they will be affixed and grounded vpon Maximes. Besides, they vnderstand not who take away decrees, that they are confirmed by that very means, whereby they are extinguished? For what say they? that life is sufficiently addressed by precepts: and that the decrees and principall rules of wisdom are superfluous. But this which they say is a decree as true, as if I should now say that we ought to giue ouer precepts, and onely rely vpon Maximes, in denying the vfe of precepts, I should recommend the same by this precept of mine. Some things there are that content themselves with a simple admonition of Philosophie, other some that would be proued: and some there are, that are so confused, that hardly and without great search a man cannot vnderstand their true sence: if proofes be necessarie, so are decrees likewise, which gather the truth by arguments. Some matters are easie, other some are obscure. Those are easie and open, which are comprehended by sence and memorie, and those obscure which are not subiect thereunto. But Reason contenteth not her selfe with things that are manifest. The greatest and most beautifull part thereof, is grounded on that which is hidden. Those things that are hidden require proofe, proofe is not without decrees; decrees therefore are necessarie. The perswasion and apprehension of certaine things, without which all our thoughts are vncertaine and without stay, is that which perfecteth the common sence, and

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maketh

maketh it accomplished. Whence it followeth that decrees are necessary, which giue vnto the minde an inflexible iudgement. In brieft, when we exhort any man to esteeme his friend as much as himselfe, let him thinke that his enemy may be made his friend, that he encrease more and more the friendship he beareth vnto the one, and moderate his hatred towards the other; we adde thereunto that it is iust and honest. But this honestie and equitie is comprised, in the reason of our decrees or rules. It is therefore necessarie, without the which the other cannot be. But let vs ioyn the generall rules and precepts together, for both without the root the boughes are vnprofitable, and the rootes themselves are aided by those branches they haue produced. No man can be ignorant what profit the hands haue in them, for they manifestly helpe. That heart whereby the hands liue, from whence they take their forces, by which they are moued, lieth hidden. The same can I say of precepts; they are open, but the decrees of wisdom are hidden. As there are none but such as professe, that know the mysteries of sacred things: so like wife in Philologic, the secrets of the same are not discouered, but to such persons as are admitted and receiued into her sanctuary: but precepts and such other things, euen those that are prophane know the *Posidonius* iudgeth, that not only preception (for nothing prohibeth vs to vse this word) but also perswasion, consolation, & exhortation are necessary. To these he addeth the inquisition of causes, which why should we not be bound to call the character, as well as the Grammarians, who in their owne right terme themselves the maintainers and keepers of the Latine tongue I see no cause. He saith that the description of euery vertue will be necessary. This doth *Posidonius* call *Enologia*, the Grecians *negativus*, which expresseth the signes and notes of euery vertue and vice, whereby those things that are alike may be discerned the one from the other. This hath the same force as the proposition of precepts. For he that giueth precepts, saith, Thou shalt doe thus, if thou wilt be temperate. He who describeth, saith, The temperate man is he that doth these things, and abstaineth from those. Askest thou me what the difference is? The one giueth precepts of vertue, the other example. I confesse that these descriptions, and to vse the words of the Publicans, *enantiadis*, that is to say, markes proceed from vs. Let vs propose laudable things, and we shall finde such as will follow them. Thinkest thou that it is profitable to haue instructions giuen thee how to know a generous Horse, lest thou be deceived, and thou buy a sluggish and a Iade. How much more profitable is this, to know the markes of an excellent minde, whereby thou mayest be able to apply them to thy selfe.

*The goodly coult bred from a nobler race
Begins to grow amidst the spacious field,
And proudly oer hill and dale doth pace,
His force vnto no threatening torrent yeelds,
The seas vnknowne he swimmes and neuer feares,
The threatening brookes his force and courage proud,
To further kindes encrease is daily bent,
No sooner tempts his care the trumpet sound,
Or clattering armes some future warre present:
But straight he startles beating of the ground
With horny hoofe, his eares are prickt upright,
He shakes his ioynts, he doth coruet and bound,
He snortes and puffes, with some his bit is white.*

Our

Our *Virgil*, vnder the similitude of a horse, describeth a man of great minde. For mine owne part, I would not giue any other portraiture of a great perage. If I should represent *Cato* dreadlesse, and assured amongst the noices of ciuill warres, being the first that charged and skirmished with the companies alreadie approaching the Alpes, and running before the ruine of the Common-weale, I would assigne him no other countenance, no other habit. Truly no man could engage himselfe further then he, who at one time made head against *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and desied them both, and shewed that the Common-weale had some partakers. For it is a small matter to say of *Cato*,

Nosce te rursus false.

Why? because he cared not for euident and true conspiracies. Did he not in despite of ten Legions entertained and mustered from France, and from other forren troopes, intermixed with the Romans, speake freely, and exhort his Citizens to maintaine their libertie, and to trie all meanes, yea to hazard death it selfe, rather then to lose their libertie; it being more honest for them to fall into seruitude by constraint, then by their owne wills to go vnto it. How great vigor and spirit was there in him, what confidence, when the rest of the Common-weale was confused? He knoweth that the question is not of his estate, that it concerneth not him, that the question is not whether *Cato* be free, but whether he be amongst free-men. Thence groweth it that he disdaineth dangers and drawne swords. In admiration of the inuincible constancie of this person, confirmed in his constancie amidst the ruines of his Country, I will say in imitation of *Virgil*, that *Cato* had

It mightie minde, high, stout, and generous.

It shall doe well, not onely to expresse who they are, that haue beene accustomed to be good men, and to represent some counterfeite of them, but also to recount and particularly set downe that last and valourous wound of *Cato*, through the which libertie it selfe lost her life. Likewise the wildome of *Laelius*, and the good accord betwixt him and his friend *Scipio*. The brave actions both publike and particular of *Marcius Cato*, surnamed *Censor*, the Couches of *Tubero* made of plaine wood, set in open view, covered with Goats skins, and the vessels of earth wherein they were serued at the table, who banquetted before the Chappell of *Iupiter*: what other thing was this, but to consecrate pueritie before the Capitol? Had I no other action of *Tubero*, but this, to rapke him in the number of the *Catoes*. Thinke you this to be a small matter? This was no banquet, but a Censure. O how little knew these ambitious men what this censure is, and how it ought to be desired! In that day the Roman people beheld many rich and sumptuous mouebles, but admired none but the vessels of this one man. All their gold and silver hath bene broken and melted a thousand times, but *Tuberos* vessels of earth shall endure for euer.

Mm 3

EPIST.

EPIST. XCVI.

Against complainers, and that all things should come from Fate and God. Why therefore are we displeased? Let us obey them, or rather assent unto them.

Hence proceed these despights and plaints? Knowest thou not that in all the evils of this life, there is but one euill, which is when thou art displeased, and compleaine? If thou aske mine aduice, I thinke there is not any miserie in a man, except he thinke that there is something miserable in the nature of things. I endure not my selfe that day wherein I can suffer nothing. Am I sicke? it is a part of my destiny. Is my family afflicted with infirmities? Doth vsury offend me, my house cracke ouer me? Am I assaulted by dangers, wounds, trauailes, and feares? This happeneth ordinarily, this is a small matter, this should be done, these are not casual, they are decreed. If thou thinke me to be a true man, when I discouer freely vnto thee what I thinke, know that in all accidents which seeme aduerser and hard, I am so formed. I obey not God forcibly but freely, I follow him with a free heart, and not enforced. Nothing shall euer befall me; that I will entertaine sorrowfull or with sad countenance, I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. All those things which we grieue at, for which we feare, are the tributes of life: neither hope thou (my *Lucilius*) neither demand thou an exemption from the furie. A paine of the bladder hath tormented thee. This banquet hath little pleasure in it; these are continuall passions. I will come more neerer, thou hast bene put in feare of thy life. But knowest thou not that in desiring to be old, thou desirest such incommodities as are ordinarie in a long life; as in a long way we finde dust, dirt, and raine? But I would liue and feele no discommoditie, whatsoeuer. So effeminate a speech becommeth not a man. Consider how thou wilt entertaine this vow of mine, which I protest with a great and generous minde, neuer let the gods and goddesses permit, that prosperitie make thee a warriour. Aske thy selfe, if (by permission of any god) thou mightest haue thy choice which of these two thou wouldest accept, either to liue in a Shambles, or in an Armie. But our life (my *Lucilius*) is but a warfare. They therefore who are toiled, that mount and descend from rocks and high places, that execute dangerous commissions, ought to be reputed valiant men, and chieft in the Armie. But they, who whilst their companions trauaile, repose themselves at their pleasures in all delights, are effeminate and nothing worth, who liue at pleasure to doe wrong vnto other men, and to meet with it themselves one day.

EPIST.

EPIST. XCVII.

That both now and in times past were euill men, he deduceth example from the iudgement of CLODIUS, which he corrupted by bribes and adulteries. After this of the force of conscience, and that by her offences are condemned, and also punished by an internal whip and gnawe.

Thou abusest thy selfe, my *Lucilius*, if thou thinkest that dissolute-
ness, and neglect of good manners, and other vices which euery
man reproveth in the age wherein he liueth, are the imperfections
of our age. It is not the time but the men that are to be blamed
for this. No age hath bene free from vice; and if thou beginnest
to estimate the libertie and loosefesse of euery time I am ashamed to say it. Ne-
uer did the world offend more openly then before *Cato*. Can any man beleue,
that money was stirring in that iudgement, wherein *Clodius* was accused for that
adulterie which he had secretly committed with *Casars* wife, violating the cere-
monies of that sacrifice, which was said to be made for the people, from the
sight wherof all men are so much exempted (for onely women are admitted to
attend the same) that the very pictures of male beaues were couered likewise.
But money was giuen to the Iudges, and that which is more villainous then all
the rest) there were some that exacted in way of salary, the licence to violate
Matrons and young Noblemen. More sinne was there committed in absolving
then acting the crime. He that was guilty of adultery, diuided adulteries; ney-
ther was he secured of his life, before such time, as he had made his Iudges like
vnto himselfe. These things were done in that iudgement, wherein *Cato* (if
nought else) gaue in testimonie in the cause: I will set downe *Ciceros* very
words, because the thing exceedeth all beleeve; *See sent for those persons that*
were required at his hands, he promised, he interpreted, he gaue. But now O good Gods,
what wickednesse? Some of the Iudges in ouerplus of their paines, lay with and passed the
night with certain women, and young Noblemen that were brought vnto them.
I haue no minde to enquire how much money they received. There was more
in that which succeeded. Wilt thou haue the wife of that seuer fellow *Cato*?
or of such a one who is rich, that is to say *Crasus*? thou shalt lie with her. When
thou hast committed the adultery condemn the crime. That faire lisse which
thou desirest shall come vnto thee? I promise thee that she shall accompany
thee this night, neyther will I delay thee; I will perform my word within foure
and twenty houres. It is more to distribute adulteries, then to commit them.
That is to giue summons to all the Matrons, that to delude them. These Iudges
of *Clodius* required a guard at the Senates hands, wherof they had no neede
except in condemning the faultie, yet was it granted vnto them. By means
wherof, after they had absolved *Clodius* they were wittily scoffed at, by *CATULLVS*,
To what intent, said he, required you a garde at our hands? Was it for feare
lest your money should be taken from you? Yet amidst all these jests, and before the
sentence was giuen, the adulterer remained unpunished: during the processe
this baude maintained himselfe, committing (to the end he might warrantize
himselfe from punishment) a more greater wickednesse then the former, for
which he should haue bene condemned. Beleeuest thou, that any age was
more corrupted then that, wherein lust could neyther be repressed by pietie
nor by iustice? vnder which in the extraordinary inquiry made by decree of the

the Senate, there was more great villany committed, then that which was then in question. The inquiry was, whether after an adultery any man might live securely in Rome? And it appeared that he could not be secure without adultery. This was done between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, *Cicero* and *Cato*; that *Cato*, I meane, who sitting by to behold the games, the common people durst not demand that the common sports called *Florales* should be given them, wherein common and naked drummers were publickly presented. Thinkest thou that men haue beene more fere to behold, then to giue sentence? Such excesses haue and will be committed, and the libertie and licentiousnesse of Citties (neuer by it selfe) but by good lawes and sharpe punishments shall be extinguished. Thou art not therefore to beleue that in these dayes onely, the lawes haue little credite, and licentiousnesse much. The younger sort in this time are not so disordered as in times past, when he that was guilty denied the adultery before the Iudges, and the Iudges confessed the same before him that was faulty, when as in regard of the cause that was to be adiudged, whoredomes and villanies were committed, when *Clodius* being well befriended for those Palliardies that made him guilty for all allegations furnished with harlots to iustifie for him. Can any man beleue this? He that was condemned in one adulterie was absolved by many. Euery Iudge will afford vs such as *Clodius*, but not such as *Cato*. All of vs are pliable to the world, because therein we shall neyther want a guide or companion; and were it we should faile them, the matter of it selfe goeth ouer-forward without companion: the way vnto vices is not onely ready but headlong. But the greatest euill that I see, and that maketh men incurable is, that Artificers and such as are learned are ashamed if they happen to erre in the exercise of their Arts and professions, where contrariwise a wicked man taketh pleasure in his finnes. The Pilot reioyceth not if his Ship be overturned, the Physitian is sad if his Patient die, the Orator is pensive if for want of good pleading his client loose the cause; but contrariwise, all men take pleasure in their finnes. This man reioyceth in his adultery, especially when he hath compassed the same with great labour: another taketh pleasure in his deceit and theft, it is not the sin that displeaseth him, but the punishment he hath had for committing it. See here the fruit of euill custome: Otherwise to let thee know, that in consciences (yea, euen those that are most corrupted) there remaineth some sense of goodnes, and that shame consisteth not in the concealing, but the neglect of those that doe euill, there is not one that dissembleth and couereth it not: and if he chance to obtaine that which he pretendeth, yet would he not be called a whoremonger or thiefe, although he had both committed adulterie and theft. But a good conscience will appeare and be seene. Wickednesse is afraid of darkenesse it selfe. In my minde therefore *Epicurus* hath spoken very fitly: *A man that is guilty may hide himselfe; but he cannot beleue that he is hidden.* Or if thou thinkest that this sense may be better explicated by these meanes; *It therefore profiteth not those that sinne to lie hidden: for although they haue the meanes to hide themselves, yet haue they no assurance.* So it is, iniquities may be concealed, but not assured. I suppose that this is not repugnant to our sect if it be thus explicated. Why? Because the first and greatest punishment of wicked men, is that they haue committed wickednesse; neyther is there any hainous crime, though neuer so much bolstered out by humane prosperity, or countenanced and defended by fortune that remaines unpunished, because the punishment of wickednesse is in the wickednesse it selfe. Meane while, she and her punishment are seconded and attended by another chastisement.

ment, that is to say, with affright and continuall feare, accompanied with a distrust of his owne securitie. Why should I deliuer impietie from this punishment? Why should I not leaue her alwayes in suspence. Let vs dissent from *Epicurus* in this where he saith nothing is iust by nature, and that crimes are to be auoyded, because the feare may not be echeued. Herein let vs agree with him, that an euill conscience scourgeth these hainous faults, and that he is a terrible torture, being pressed and beaten continually with perpetual care; because he cannot put truit in those that would make her beleue that he is in repose. For this is the argument of *Epicurus*, that by nature we abhorre from wickednesse, because there is no man how much sooner he be secured that feareth not. Fortune deliuereth many men from punishment, no man from feare. Why? because there is a certaine hatred infixed in our hearts against that thing which nature condemneth. And therefore it is why those who hide themselves are neuer assured in their lurking places, because their conscience reprooueth them, and discloseth themselves to themselves. But the propertie of such as are guiltie, is to tremble. It would be ill for vs, because that diuers enormities escape the lawe and maiestrate, and the written punishments, if these naturall and grievous punishments did not instantly pay the wicked, and if feare had not taken place and succeeded repentance.

EPIST. XC VIII.

That we ought onely to trust internall goods, and that the rest com and go. That this is to be meditated vpon, and that all things ought to be considered and esteemed as transitory, The minde therefore is to be prepared to the losse of such things, and to be confirmed in patience. Why not? Other men haue suffered the like. Follow thou their example, may more, be thou the example thy selfe. Assuredly this is one amongst his good and profitable Epistles.

NEuer beleue thou that any man is happy, whose felicity is in suspence. He buildeth vpon vncertainties, that reioyceth in casualties; for the ioy that hath entred will quickly flee away. But that which proceedeth from it selfe is both faithfull and firme, and increaseth, and prosecuteth euen vnto the end. The rest, which the common sort admire, are good for a time. What then? May not they serue and giue pleasure? Who denyeth it? But so as they depend on vs, not we on them. All whatsoeuer fortune beholdeth became fruitfull and pleasant in this sort, if he that possesseth them be Master of himselfe likewise, and is not subiect to that which he hath. For they are deceived, my *Lucius*, that think that fortune giueth vs eyther any thing that is good or euill. He giueth vs the matter of goods and euils, and the beginnings of things, which shall either haue a happy or vnhappy issue with vs. For the minde is stronger then any fortune, he conducteth his affaires, eyther right or wrong, he is himselfe the cause of his contented or miserable life. An euill man conuerteth all things to the worst, yea, euen those things which happened with appearance of great good. An vpright and good conscience correcteth the infirmities of fortune, and mollifieth those things which are hard and vtoward by his knowledge how to suffer, and the same man most gratefully and modestly entertaineth prosperity, and constantly and courageously aduersitie, who although he be prudent, although

he doth all things with an exact iudgement, although he attempt nothing aboue his strength, yet that intire good which is setled and exempted from the threats of fortune doth not befall him, except he be assured against whatsoeuer is vncertaine. Whether it be thou wilt obserue others (for the iudgement is most free in other mens affaires) or whether leauing partiality a part, thou wilt beholde thy selfe, thou shalt both thinke and confesse this, that no one of these goods which are desired and prized is profitable, except thou arme thy selfe against lightnesse, and those things that depend on casualtie, except that oft and without complaint thou speakest in euery one of thy losses. *It is the pleasure of the gods that it should goe otherwise.* Or rather that I may report a speech more strong and iust, whereby thy minde may be more enabled, say thus when as any thing hath falne out otherwise then thou thoughtest: *The gods send better.* Being thus composed, nothing shall be casual: and so shall he be composed, if they shall but imagine what the variety of humane affairs may, before he feele it, if he so possess his children, his wife and patrimony, as if he should not alwaies haue them, and as if he should not be more miserable for this cause, if he should be forced to lose them. Wretched is that minde that is tormented with that which is to succeed, and before miseries is he miserable who is carefull, that those things wherein he taketh delight should continue with him to his end: for he shall neuer be in quiet, and in expectation of the future, he shall lose the present which he might enioy. But the griefe of the thing that is lost, and the feare of that which is to be lost, are both equall. Neyther therefore doe I command thee to be negligent. But decline thou from those things that are to be feared, and foresee all that which prudence may foresee: consider and prevent that thing which may offend thee long time before it happen. To this effect thy confidence will serue thee greatly, and thy certaine resolution to support all accidents. He can beware of fortune that can suffer fortune: vndoubtedly he neuer stormeth in his tranquillity. It is a misery and extreame folly to be alwaies in feare; what folly is this to goe before a mans euill? In briefe, to let thee know that in a word, which I think I will describe vnto thee, these bulie bodies, and commenters of themselves: they are as intemperate in their miseries as they were before them. He grieveth more then he needeth, that grieveth before he needeth; for by the same infirmity he estimateth not his griefe, when by he expecteth it not; with the same intemperance he saigneth to himselfe perpetuall felicity, he imagineth that all these things that haue befallen him, should not onely endure but increase and forgetting that all humane things are both tosed and changed, which is while he promiseth himselfe onely an assured estate in his casualties. I finde then that *Metrodorus* spake very fitly, when in a letter he sent vnto his sister to comfort her in the death of her sonne, which was a childe of great hope, he said that all the goods of mortall men are mortall. Of these goods speaketh he which men so much affect and flocke after; for the true good perisheth not, wisdom and vertue are certaine and eternall, these onely are the immortall goods that haue befallen mortall men. But men are so vnhappy, and so farre forgetfull whether they goe, whether euery day draweth them vnto, that they wonder if they lose any thing, being assured one day to lose all. Whatsoeuer it be that thou art called Master of, know that it is not thine, although thou possesse it. Thou art infirme and mortall, there is nothing then in this world that is firme and immortall for thee. It is as necessary our goods should perish as be lost, and if we take heed it is a great comfort to lose those goods with a setled and resolute minde, which must

must perish. What remedy then shall we finde out against these losses? This, that we may keepe in memorie such things as are lost, neither suffer the fruit of them, which we haue gotten by them, to perish with them. To haue may be taken from vs; to haue had, neuer. Most ingratefull is he, who whom he hath lost, oweth nothing for that he hath received. Casualty taketh our substance from vs, but leaueth the vse and fruit thereof with vs, which we lose by the iniquitie of our desire: Say vnto thy selfe, Of these things that seeme so terrible, nothing is inuincible. Many there are that haue overcome each one of them, *Antius* the fire, *Regulus* the crosse, *Socrates* poison, *Rutilius* banishment, *Cato* death enforced by his owne sword. Let vs likewise get some victorie: moreover, those things which allow & entice the common sort, vnder appearance of beauty & happines, haue by many & oftentimes bin condemned. *Fabritius* being chiefe of the army, reiected riches, and being Censor condemned them. *Tullius* iudged pouertie to be worthy both of himselfe & the Capitol, when as vsing earthen pots in his publicke supper, he shewed that man ought to content himselfe with that, wherewith the gods disdained not to be sometimes serued. *Sextius* the Patler, a man fit to gouerne the affaires of a Common-weale, refused all honourable Offices, and would not accept the dignitie of a Senator, which *Iulius Caesar* had presented him, knowing well that whatsoeuer may be giuen, may be taken away. Let vs likewise doe some of these things valiantly. Let vs ranke our selues as exemplar men among the rest. Why are we faint-hearted? Why despaire we? Whatsoeuer might be done, can be done. Let vs now purge our mindes; and follow Nature, for he that erreth and strayeth from her must of force, desire, and feare, and be a slaue to casualties. We may returne into the way, we haue libertie to recover our constancie. Let vs be restored, that we may endure griefes, in what manner soeuer they assaile our bodies; and say vnto Fortune, *Thou hast to deale with a man, search out some other, a man whom thou mayest overcome.* By these sayings and such like, the force of that vicer is appeased, wherof I desire either ease or recure, or strength to support and waxe old with the same. But I am secure of him; the question is of our losse, whereby a worthy old man is taken from vs. For he is full of life, who desireth that nothing should be added vnto him for his owne cause, but for theirs to whom he is profitable. He doth liberally, because he liueth. Another erethis had finished all these troubles: this man thinketh it as foule a thing to shunne death, as to seeke after death. What then, shall he not forsake it, if he be perswaded therunto? Why should he not forsake it? If no man now hath any further vse of him, if hee haue no businesse but to write vpon paine. This (my *Lucilline*) is to learne Philosophie in art, and to be exercised in the truth, to see what minde a prudent man hath against death, against dolor, when the one approacheth, the other presseth him. That which is to be done, is to be learned of him that doth it. Hitherto we haue debated by arguments, whether any man may resist paine, or death likewise may humble great mindes, when it assaileth them. What need many words? The thing discouereth it selfe, let vs trauell therunto: neither doth death make him more stronger against paine, neither paine confirme him against death. hee armeth him selfe against both; neither patiently greeneeth he in hope of death, neither dieth he willingly thorow the tediousnesse of paine; he endureth the one, hee respecteth the other.

EPIST. XCIX.

A consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of his sonne, undoubtedly both wise and eloquent.

Hauē sent thee that Epistle which I wrote vnto *Martius*, when as he had lost his little son, and was said to be ouerpassionate and grieved for his losse: wherein I haue not obserued my vsuall custom, neither thought I it fit to handle him gently, when as he was more worthy of reproofe then consolation. For to him that is afflicted and vnable to support a great wound, some little way must be giuen. Let him satisfie himselfe, or at least-wise vpon the first brunt powre out teares abundantly. They that giue libertie to themselves to sorrow and lament, let them forthwith be chastised, and taught, that there are some follies euen in teares. Dost thou expect consolations, receiue reproofes. Dost thou endure thy sonnes death so effeminately? What wouldst thou doe haddest thou lost thy friend. Thy yong infant of vncertaine hope, and very little, is departed: a handfull of time is lost. We seeke out occasions to lament, wee exclaime, although vniuſtly against Fortune, as though she would not afford vs iust causes of complaint. Truly in euerie case that thou wert alreadie as animated sufficient-ly against solide and great euils, and consequently against shadowes and appea- rances of miseries, for which men mourne for custome sake. Hadst thou lost thy friend, which is the greatest losse of all others, thou shouldst endeavour to reioyce more because thou hadst him, then to mourne for that thou hast lost him. But many there are that reckon not what courtesies they haue receiued & com- fort they haue conceiued by their friends. Amongst other miseries sorrow hath this, that it is not only superfluous, but vngrateful also. Hauing therefore enioied so good a friend, hast thou lost thy time? So many yeares, so great a vnitie, such familiar societie in studie: are all these vanished without effect? Dost thou burie thy friendship with thy friend? Wherefore mourest thou if his presence hath bene so profitable vnto thee? Beleeue, the greater part of those whom we haue loued remaineth with vs, although casualtie hath taken them from vs. The time alreadie passed is ours, neither is there any thing more securely lodged, then that which hath bene. We are vngrateful in regard of those things we haue receiued vnder hope of that to come; as if that which is to come (if so be it proue successfull vnto vs) should not quickly passe into that which is past. To straitly limitte hee the fruits of humane life, who onely reioyceth in those things that are present. Both those things that are to come, and those things that are past, doe delight the one with expectation, the other in memorie, but that which is to come is in suspense, and may not be done, as trou- ching that which is past, it is vnpossible but that it hath bene. What madnes is it then, to leaue that which is most certaine? Let vs content our selues with that wee haue, provided that wee haue not drawne with a hollow vnderstanding, which letteth that passe which hee hath already apprehended. There are infinite examples of those, who without teares haue interred their yong children, who vpon their returne from the funerals, haue entered the Se- nate house, or entertained some publike office, and suddenly occupied them- selves about some other businesse, and that vpon good occasion. For first of all it is lost time to grieve, if sorrow profit nothing. Secondly, it is an vniuſt thing

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to complaine of that which hath befallen one, and must befall all those that are to follow after. Moreouer, it is a folly to with, or to lament, when there is so little difference betwene death and him that lamenteth the same. For the which cause we ought to haue the more repose in our hearts, because we shall follow them whom we haue lost. Behold with what swiftnesse time pisseth a way: thinke vpon this short race whither we runne so swiftly. Consider this great company of mankind, which tendeth to the same end, conuerſing and li- uing together, distinguished by small spaces, euen then when they seeme most greatest. He whom thou thinkest dead, is but gone before. But what madnes is it to bewaile him that went before thee, when as thou thy selfe must trauell the same journey after him? Doth a man bewaile that thing which hee knew should happen? Or if he thought that man should not die, hee deceived him- selfe. Some man bewaileth a thing which he said could not chule but be done? Whoſoeuer bewaileth the death of any man, bewaileth that he was a man. All men are tied to one condition, he that happened to be borne, must die. By spaces we are distinguished, by death equalled. That which happeneth betwene our first and last day, is diuers and vncertaine. If thou estimate the troubles, it is ouer-long for a childe: if the swiftnesse, it is too short for an old man. There is nothing that is not incertaine and deceivable, and more light then the winde. All things are tossed, and are transferred into their contrary by the power of Fortune, and in so great inconstancie of humane affaires, there is nothing cer- taine to any man but his death. Yet all men complaine of that, wherein no man is deceived. But he died a childe. I say not yet, that he is better dealt withall that is dead. Let vs passe ouer to him that is old, how short is the time wherein he hath out-stripped an infant? Propose vnto thy selfe this great extent of yeares, and comprehend all the ages that are past, then make comparison with that which wee call mans life, with that infinite of yeares, and then shalt thou see how little a thing all that is which we desire, and extend. Consider how much teares, cares, death so oftentimes wished for, before it comes, sicknesses, feares, foolish infancie, wngton youth, and vnprofitable yeares do possesse, and deuour the portions of our life, we lose the halfe in sleeping. Let vs adde herunto tra- uels, sorrowes, and perils, and thou shalt see that in the most longest life which a man can obserue, that which is called liuing, is the smallest portion of the same. But who will not grant thee this, that hee is in better state that may quickly turne to dust; whose journey is at an end before he be wearie? Life is neither good nor euill, it is the place of good and euill. So hath he lost nothing but the eye which is more certaine to our harmes then good. He might haue become both modest and prudent, he might haue bene formed by thy care and inſtru- ction to be more vertuous, but (that which may most iustly be feared) he might haue bene made like to the most part of men. Marke me those yong Gentle- men of great houses, who by their intemperance are brought to that miserie that they are become fencers. Consider those others, who lewdly defile both their owne and others bodies, which ouerslip not a day wherein they are not drunke, or defamed for some other notable infamie. Then shalt thou see that there was more to be feared then hoped for. For which cause thou oughtest not summon to thy selfe these causes of sorrow, nor in vexing thy selfe heape vp incommodities, and of light and light ones, as they be, to make them vn- sufferable. I counsell thee to resist thy sorrow, and to vrge it, neither haue I so bad an opinion of thee, that thou wouldst call to aide all thy vertue against those difficulties which present themselves. This is no true griefe, but a light

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touching.

touching, thou makest it true griefe, vndoubtedly Philosophy hath done thee great service, if thou bewailest with a resolute heart a childe better known vnto his nourice then to his father. Well then, will I haue thee seized of a heart of iron? and is it my minde that thou shouldst looke vp cheereily in the funerals of thy sonne? and will I not suffer thee to let thy minde relent a little? By no means. For this were inhumanity, not vertue, to beholde the dead with the same eye that wee doe the liuing, and not to bee moued when as the one is thus seperated from the other. Beholde what it is which I forbid. There are things which in a manner are out of our power. Teares fall from the eyes of certaine men that would faine containe them, and these teares thus shed doe lighten the heart: what is there to bee done in such a case? Let vs suffer them to fall, but let vs not commaund them. Let them droppe as long as affection commaundeth them to flowe, but not as much as custome and other mens example doth require. But let vs adde nothing vnto sorrow, neyther let vs augment it by other mens examples. This ostentation of sorrow exacteth more then the sorrow it selfe. How few are sorrowfull to themselves? If they suppose that men heare them, they crie out more earnestly; but being by themselves, they are quiet, and as soone as any other saluteth them, then recommence they their sorrow, then beate they their head with their hands, which they might haue done more freely when no man forbid them; then will they themselves dead, then tosseth they vpon their pallets: when the beholder is gone, the sorrow ceaseth. In this affaie as in others, we are won by an euill custome, we follow the example of our neighbours, and compose our selues by their example, and not by that which best becommeth vs. We neglect nature, and addict our selues to the fashions of the common people, which are both ignorant and corrupt, and who in this as in all other things, is inconstant of inconstant. If they see any man confident in his calamitie, they call him impious and brutish: if they see another dismayed, that respecteth nothing but his body, they tearme him a weake and an effeminate man. All things therefore are to be reduced within the list of reason. But there is no one more greatly then to get fame by affected sadnesse, and to approue it by tears, which I consider in two kinds in regard of a wife-man, the one issuing of themselves, the others permitted to flow. I will shew thee what difference there is: As soone as we heare the newes of our deceased friend, when as we behold his body, ready to be transported to the fire from our embraces, naturall necessity extorteth teares, and the spirit being impelled by the stroke of sorrow, euen as it shaketh the whole body, so sucketh it, and expelleth from the eyes the tears that are at hand. These teares are extorted as they fall, and flow against our wills. Some other there are which we giue way to, when as any man maketh mention of those whom they haue lost. In this heauinesse there is found some sweetnesse, when we remember our selues of their pleasant discourse, of their agreeable conuersation, of their charitable pety, then doe our eyes open and poure forth teares, as it were in ioy. To these we giue allowance, by these we are ouercome. Refraine not therefore, neyther giue libertie to thy teares, by reason of those that assist thee, or attend vpon thee, be it that eyther they are dried vp, or drop downe, there is no shame in them, provided that they be not fained. Let them flow of themselves, and they may flow in men temperate and well composed. Oftentimes they haue flowed without any prejudice to a wife-mans authority, with so much temperance, that there neyther wanted humanity, or were disallowed in dignity. It is lawfull, say I, to obey nature without the blemish of gratitie.

uitie. I haue seene men that were venerable in the funerals of their children, in whose looks their loue was testified towards their dead children, without any vaine ostentation of grieving. There was not any thing which testified not a simple and naturall affection. There is a certaine *decorum*, euen in sorrow which ought to be obserued by a wife-man. And as in other things, so likewise in teares there is somewhat that is sufficient: vnto wise men, as in their ioyes, so keepe they no measure in their sorrowes. Accommodate thy selfe peaceably vnto necessitie. What incredible matter or nouelty hath silene out? How many men are there, whose funerals haue bene celebrated, whose bodies haue bene embalmed and embowelled, and who weepeth for them? As oftentimes as thou shalt remember that thy dead childe was an infant, thinke also that hee was a mortall creature, to whom nothing certaine was promised, whom fortune was not obliged to bring vp to olde age, but to forsake then when it best liked her. But speake of him oftentimes, and celebrate his memory as much as thou canst, which oftentimes will be refreshed in thee, if it may salute thee without bitterness. For no man willingly conuerseth with a sorrowfull man, much lesse with sorrow. If thou remember any speeches of his, if thou hast during his infancy, heard any jests of his to thy contentment, repeat them often, and constantly affirme that he might haue fulfilled those hopes which thy fatherly minde had conceiaed of him. It is the act of an vnaturall minde to forget a mans friends; and to bury their memories with their bodies, and to weep for them abundantly, and to remember them slenderly. So birds and beasts looe their young ones with a violent and enraged affection, but with the losse of them it is wholly extinguished. This becommeth not a wife-man: let him continue his remembrance, for beare his mourning. This doe I no wayes allow of, which *Metrodorus* saith that there is a certaine ioy that is allied to sorrow, and that this should be affected at this time. I haue set downe *Metrodorus* owne words, of which I doubt not what censure thou wilt yeeld; for what is more absurd then in sorrow to affect pleasure, nay more, by sorrow and teares to seeke that which may comfort? These are they that obiect against vs our too much rigour, and defame our precepts for their hardnesse, because wee say that sorrow is eyther not to be admitted into the minde, or quickly to be expelled out of it. But whether of these two is more incredible and inhumane, eyther not to feel any sorrow for the losse of our friend, or to search pleasure in sorrow? But that which we teach is honest, when as our affection hath powred forth any teares, and (if I may so speake it) hath skummed them, that we ought not abandon our selues wholly vnto sorrow. What sayest thou? That we mixe pleasure and sorrow together. So still we our children by giuing them bread, so pacifie we our infants by powring in milke. Touching thy selfe at such time as thy sonne burneth, or thy friend expireth thou canst not permit thy leasure to cease, but wilt tickle and flatter sorrow it selfe: whether of both is more sitting, eyther to brale the soule of all griefe, or to mixe griefe and ioy together, I say not onely to mixe, but to take occasion of pleasure out of his sorrow. So faire is it that sorrow is accompanied with any pleasure, as *Metrodorus* thinketh. This is lawfull for vs to say, but vnlawfull for you: you acknowledge but one good, which is pleasure, and one euill, which is paine. What alliance may there be betwene good and euill? But suppose there be; now especially must we finde the same, and now it is that we must see whether paine be enuironed with any ioy or pleasure. Certaine remedies there are which applied to some partes of the bodie are wholesome, but by reason of their loathsomnesse and indecency cannot

be applied to others, and that in one place may profite without touch of modestie, is dishonest in another part, where the wound must appeare. Art thou not ashamed to heale forrow with pleasure? This wound must be handled with more severity, rather proue that the dead can feele no euill; for if so it were, he should not be dead. Nothing, say I, hurteth him that is nothing. He liueth if he be hurt. Whether thinkest thou him to be in bad case who is no man, or him that as yet is some body? But in as much as he is not any more, there is not any torment that may offend him; for who can feele it that is not? neyther in as much as he is, can he be endamaged; for he is deliuered from the greatest danger, which is death, by being no more. This likewise let vs say to him that be-wareth and wanteth his childe, rauished from him in his young yeares. If thou make a comparison of the shortnesse of all mens liues, with the length of time which is past since the beginning of the world, both young and olde shall finde themselves equall. For both the one and the other of vs possesse as little as nothing of that length and extent of time. A little is yet something, but our life and nothing are almost al one, not withstanding we stretch it out as much as we may, such is our follies. I haue written these things to thee, not because thou shouldest attend from me a remedie, which cometh too late; for I suppose that thou hast tolde thy selfe all that which is contained in my letters. But that I might chastise that little delay, wherein thou hast departed from thy selfe, and in conclusion might exhort thee to arme thy selfe hereafter against aduersities, and to foresee all fortunes assaults, not as they might, but as they ought suddenly to afflict thee.

EPIST. C.

His iudgement of PAPIRVS FABIANVS the Philosopher, and of his writings.

THOU writest to me that thou hast very diligently read ouer those books of *Fabianus Papius*, intituled of things *Ciuill*, but that they answered not thine expectation. And afterwards, forgetting thy selfe that the question was of a Philosopher, thou accuset his composition. But put case it be so as thou sayest, that in stead of well conching his words, he saith all that cometh to memorie: first of all, this discourse hath his grace, and it the proper ornament of a stile, little faultie: for I think there is a great difference whether it escapeth or floweth. Now in this also which I am to speake, there is a great difference: *Fabianus* seemeth not to me to speake much, but to speake to the purpose. To speake truth his stile is fluent, but not enforced, although it be currant enough. He confesseth openly, and letteth vs see that it is not an affected and laboured stile, but such a one as a man may know it was *Fabianus* writings. He pretended not to confront his discourse, but to reforme manners: he laboured not to tickle the eare, but to teach & instruct the minde. Furthermore, at such time as he discoursed, thou shouldest not haue leasure to consider the parts of his discourse, so much would the summary of the whole rauish and detain thee. And ordinarily that which is pleasing to vs, being pronounced *Vnuoce* readily and presently, is not so pleasing vnto vs, being couched in writing. But this also is a great matter, to settle and occupie the light vpon a book, although a diligent contemplation might find out matter worthy reprehension. If thou ask my opinion, more great is he that rauisheth our iudgement then he that deserueth it. Such a one is more assured, and if I erre not, may

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more boldly promise his writings perpetuitie. A laboured discourse becomes not a Philosopher. What shall become of a generous and resolute heart? when shall hee make prooue of himselfe, if he be afraid of wordes? *Fabianus* was not negligent in his discourse, but secure. Thou shalt finde nothing in him that is base and impertinent. The wordes are chosen but not affected, neither couched according to the custome of this time, or disordered. They are words that haue their weight, that haue an honest and magnificent sense, although they be ordinary & vulgar, they are neither constrained nor doubtfull in a sentence; but graue & profound. We shall neither see any thing that is curtailed & shortened, nor any structure vnfit, nothing that is not polished, as the eloquence of this time requireth. Examine this discourse euery way, and when thou hast beheld it on euery side, thou shalt finde no straights empty. Although it haue no Marbles of diuers colours, nor diuiding or currents of waters running thorow chambers, nor little clossers of sparing and abstinence, nor whatsoever else disolutes, not contenting himselfe with a simple & convenient decency, hath inuented and mixed together, yet is the house well builded. Let vs now speake of structure and composition, for all men are not of accord herein. Some of harsh will haue it smooth, some are so much affected to rashnesse & austerity, that if a clauke do happily end in a pleasing cadence, they purposely dissipate the same, and interrupt the clauses expressely, lest they should be answerable to expectation. Read *Cicero*, his composition is one, he obserueth his foot, his speech is polished, smooth & not effeminate. Contrariwise, *Asinius Pollio's* discourse is vnquen and skipping, and such as will leave thee when thou least expectest it. To conclude, in *Cicero* all things end, in *Pollio* they fall, except a few which are tyed to one certaine kind of custome and example. Besides, in thine opinion thou sayest, that all things in his discourse are humble & scarce vpright, of which vice in my iudgement he is freed: for they are not humble but pleasing, and are formed in an equall and composed manner, not tied together but vnited, they want this rhetoricall vigour nor those points, and sudden darterd sentences. But examine the whole body, although it be not farded it is honest and well fashioned. His speech hath no grace: bring me one whom thou mayest prefer before *Fabianus*. If thou producest *Cicero*, who hath almost written as many books in Philosophy as *Fabianus*, I will giue place; yet is not that presently little that is lesse then the greatest. Say that it is *Asinius Pollio*, I will yeelde; but to returne thee an answer: To be after these two, is too very high when the question is of eloquence. Name me *Linus* beside these, for he also hath written Dialogues, which a man may as well call Philosophical as Historical: other books likewise, wherein he treateth expressely of Philosophie; to him likewise will I giue place, yet consider how many he exceedeth, who is overcome by three, & they the three most eloquent. But he performeth not all, his speech is not strong, although alate; it is not violent nor headlong, although abundant in words; it is not periphrastic but pure. Thou desirest a sharpe declamation against vices, a confident discourse against dangers; a bold speech against aduersitie, an inuictive against ambition. I will haue wickednesse chidden, lust traduced, impatience bridled. Let the termes of an Orator bee flinging, of a tragique Poet stately, of a Comick familiar and plaine. Wilt thou haue him countenance a small matter with wordes? He hath addicted himselfe to the gentleness of things, he drawes our eloquence, and makes it follow after him, as the shadow doth the bodie. Vndoubtedly all his words shall not be well placed and exactly couched together; neither in euery clause shall there bee a part that may quicken and a

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waken men. I dare promise that diuers periods shall escape him to no purpose, and that sometimes his discourse shall slip away without mouing, but in all places his wordes shall be agreeable, neyther shall there be any pause that will be displeasing. In a word, he will make thee know that he beleueed whatsoeuer he wrote. Thou shalt see that his intention was to make thee know what he approved, and not to flatter thee: he demandeth nothing but thy good, and searcheth for nought else but to see thee endowed with a good conscience. It is not applausse which he desireth. I doubt not but his writings are such, and though I remember not their intents in generall, yet haue I before mine eyes some passages of the same, not in that I haue read them ouer lately, but for that I haue seene them in times past, and long since. At such time as I heard him, his wordes in my iudgement were such, not solid but full and natural, which might allure a young and well disposed man to vertue, and giue him hope to attaine the true end; which manner of teaching in my opinion, is more effectual then any other, for that of another kind maketh the auditors to lose their hearts, and taketh away their hope, which impresteth no other desire in them, but to imitate and follow the same. In briefe, *Sebanus* abounded in wordes without the commendation of euery seuerall part; but all his discourse in generall was exquisite and magnificent.

EPIST. C I.

Of the sudden death of one of his acquaintance, and by occasion that we are to trust or promise nothing to our selues. That all things are vncertaine, and therefore good life is not to be deferred, neyther long life to be desired: in conclusion, he controulleth MECAENAS his absurd vov.

EVery day, euery houre sheweth vs how vaine and nought worth we be, and by some new argument admonisheth vs that are forgetfull of our frailty, when as it compelleth vs (who meditate vpon eternitie) to looke backe vnto death. Askest thou me what this induction meaneth? Thou knowest *Cornelius Seneca* a Roman Knight, a man both rich, liberrall, and courteous, who from a slender estate beginning, had raised his fortunes, and had attained the speedy meane ready to compasse the rest. For dignity doth more easily increase then begin. Many also maketh the longest stay about pouerty, whilst the creeperth out of it. This *Seneca* aspired vnto riches, whereunto there were two very effectuall meanes that conducted him, that is to say, the knowledge of getting, and the meanes of keeping, whereof the one is sufficient to make a man rich. This man being wonderfully frugal, no lesse careful of his patrimony then of his bodie, when as according to his custome he had sene me in the morning, when as from morning to night he had sitten by his friend that was grievously sicke, and lay desperate without hope, after he had supped merrily, was seized with a sudden sicknesse, that is to say, with the *Squinancy*, which strangled him, and set his soule at libertie. He departed therefore within a few houres after he had performed all the offices of an able and healthfull man. He that traded with his money both by Sea and Land, that had publique profits also, and left no kinde of profit vsought after, in the very height of his successfull fortunes, when as money rained on euery side into his coffers, was taken out of this life.

Now

*Now MECAENAS graft thy peeres againe,
And plant thy vines vpon the pleasant plaine.*

How fond a thing it is to promise our selues long life, whereas we are scarcely Lords and Masters of to morrow. O how mad are they that feede on fained hopes, and long enterprises? I will buy, I will build, I will lend, I will recouer my debts, I will haue such and such estates, and then when I am fully satisfied, I will passe my full and weary age in repose and quiet. But trust me, all things are vncertaine, yea euen vnto those that thinke themselves most assured. No man ought to promise himselfe any thing of that which is to come. That also which we haue surest hold-fast of, slippeth thorow our fingers, and casualtie cuts that very cord in sunder whereon we haue greatest hold-fast. There is a prefixed ordinance in the reuolutions of the world, although they are maruellously obscured. But what concerneth it me, whether that be certaine to nature, which is vncertaine to me? We purpose & intend great voyages by Sea, wherein we shall see many forraine parts, & resolve not to return again into our country of a long time: we must to the warres, and be richly recompensed after we haue passed thorow all the degrees of armes, & haue had commissions & honorable charges; more and more, the one after the other, when as in the meane while death standeth by our sides, and because we neuer cast our eyes on that which is ours, but only vpon that which is anothers, from time to time the examples of our frailty appeare vnto vs, whereon we neuer thinke, but at such time as they stay before our eyes. But what is more foolish then to wonder to see that done in any day, which may be done in euery day. It is a thing most assured, that the scope of our life is limited by the inexorable necessitie of destinie, but no man knoweth how neere it is. Let vs therefore so dispose our mindes, as if this present time were our last houre. Let vs deferre nothing. Let vs daily make euen with life. It is the greatest error in life, that it is alwayes imperfect, and that some part thereof likewise is deferred. Hee that hath euery day laid the last hand on his life, needeth not time. But from this indigence proceedeth feare, and a desire of the future deuouring and eating our mindes. There is nothing more miserable then the doubt of things to come, why they happen. The soule that debateth what it is that remaineth, or of what kind is agitated with an inexplicable feare. How shall we auoid this perplexitie? By this one, if we prolong not our life in vaine discourse, but gather it into it selfe. For he to whom the present time is vnprofitable, cannot haue any repose, in regard of the future. But whereas whatsoever is due by me vnto my selfe, is restored to my selfe, whereas the confirmed minde knoweth that there is no difference betwene a day and an age: the beholdeth, as it were, from an high tower, all the dayes and affaires that hereafter are to come, and with much laughter thinketh on the sequelle of times. For what should the varietie and mutabilitie of fortunes trouble thee, if thou be assured against incertainties? Make hast therefore (my *Lucillus*) to liue, and thinke euery seuerall day, a seuerall life. Whosoever ordereth himselfe thus, he that maketh euery day his whole life, is secure. They that liue in hope, haue neuer any time of rest, they are alwayes desiring and couding: and the apprehension of death a thing most miserable, and which maketh all things most miserable neuer forsaketh them. From thence proceeded that dishonest wish of *Mecenas*, who contented himselfe to be weake, deformed, and tormented with grievous and sharpe sicknesse, provided he might prolong his life amidst the masse of these miseries.

Make

*Make me weak in thigh and hand,
Make my feet infirme to stand,
Shake my teeth, and make them cracke,
Stoope my shoulders, bend my backe;
So my life enaine, I care not,
Threaten torture, come and spare not.*

This is to with an extreame misery, if it should haue happened, and the length of the punishment is desired, as if it were some life. I should repute him a contemptible fellow, if he would liue vntill such time as hee were tied to the galloes. Yet this man saith, weaken me, provided that my soule may remaine in my crased and vnprofitable bodie: disfigure mee, if this counterfeite and monstrous bodie of mine may lengthen my life some dayes. Torture and crucifie me, if so be by that meanes I may liue. It is a strange matter in him to hide his wounds thus, and to be content to remaine hanged and stretched vpon a gibbet, vpon condition that death, which is the end of all punishment, and the soveraigne remedie against all euils, should be deferred in his behalfe. See heere a wondrous thing, I would haue a soule to die without dying. What wouldst thou with for, O *Macenas*, but that the gods should haue pitie on thee? Where to tendeth the villany of this verse, proceeding from an effeminate mind? What meaneth this coucnant inuented by senselesse and madde feare? And to what purpose is this shamefull begging of loathsome life. Thinke you that *Virgile* recited this verse vnto him,

To leaue this life, is it a thing so wretched?

He wisheth the worst of euils, and those things that are most grieuous to be suffered, hee desireth to be grieuously tortured and hanged vp: and why, or for what recompence, for sooth, for a longer life. But what is this mans life? to die long. Is there any man found, who had rather parch himselfe vp amidst tortures, and to lose one member after another, and to die so oftentimes amidst defluxions, as to die at one time? Was there euer any man that had rather with to lie couched all at his length vpon a miserable bed languishing, deformed, crooked both before and behind, that besides his violent sicknesses, had other more mortall, that desireth to retaine a soule being tortured and rent in peeces by so many torments? Say now that the necessitie of death is not a great gift of Nature. Many as yet are readie to vow farre worse, yea euen to betray their friends that they may liue longer, and to deliuer their children to be deflowed with their owne hands, that they might prolong their life, being guiltie of so much wickednesse. We must shake off this desire of life, and learne this, that it skils not when thou sufferest any thing, which thou must suffer sometimes: that all in all is to liue well, without taking care how long, and that oftentimes also this well liuing consisteth in a life which is not long.

Epist.

Epist. CII.

He speaketh somewhat of the immortalitie of the soule, and then annexeth a question, Whether renouue doth vs any good after death. Firsi he disputeth slenderly and Scholastically, then about the end more effectually, and leadeth our mindes to God and celestiall things. He approueth that this our bodie is our burthen and couer, that it ought to be despised and shaken off, when God and time summon vs thereunto.

Even as he is troublesome that awakeneth another man, that is scized with some pleasant dreames, although it be fained, for he taketh away the pleasure, yea such notwithstanding as hath the effect of truth. So thy Epistle hath done me iniurie, for it hath recalled me from a thought and meditation, into which I was sufficiently entered to the purpose, and had engaged my selfe further, had I not by this meanes bene disturbed. I tooke pleasure to debate vpon the eternitie of soules, nay more, I was fully resolved therein. For I easily beleued the opinions of great men, rather promising then approuing fo gratefull a matter. I gave my selfe ouer to this so great hope, and now grow hatefull vnto my selfe, and now condemned the reliques of my broken yeares, being readie to be transferred into that immeasurable time, and possession of that infinite eternitie, when as suddenly I was awakened by thy letter, which made me dismisse so sweete a dreame, which hereafter I will reuiue and redeme againe, as soone as I have satisfied thy expectation. Thou sayest that in my former letter I did not sufficiently answer that question, wherein I laboured to proue that which they of our sect doe approue, that the praise which a man obtaineth after death is a great good. That I haue not answered that question which is opposed against vs. Of goods that are distant (say they) there is none good; but this is a thing distant and farre off. That which thou proposeth (my *Lucilius*) is a part of the question, yet such a part as ought to be debated vpon in another place: and therefore I neither would touch that, neither other things that were dependent thereupon. For some Morall questions as thou knowest are intermixed with the Naturall. And therefore I entreated onely of that part which wholly concerneth manners. That is to say, whether it be a foolish and superfluous thing to transport our thoughts beyond the latter end of this life; whether our goods perish with vs, and nothing remaineth of his, who is nothing; whether we shall feele any fruit of that which shall be (what fouer it may be) before we may enioy it. But all these questions pertaine vnto manners, and therefore are they ranked in their proper place. But those things which are spoken by the Logicians against this opinion, are to be seuered, and therefore are they set apart. But now, since thou requirest at this time a reason of all, I will examine that which they say, and afterwards answer their obiections. If I propound something first, a man cannot vnderstand the refutations. What is it that I would foretell? That there are some continued bodies, as a man: some compound, as a ship, a house, and all other things whose diuers parts are vnitd together in one. Some likewise that consist of distant parts, whose members are as yet separate, as an Armie, a People, a Senate. For they of whom this bodie is composed, are vnitd together either by law or duetie, but by nature they are distinct, and each one feuerall. What is it likewise that now I will foretell? That we suppose that nothing is good, which is composed of things distant. For one good

good must be maintained and governed by one spirit, and that there is but one principall of one good. This is approved by it selfe, if thou requirest it to be proued, and in the mean while it was to be set downe, to the end it might be the ground of our discourse. Thou wilt say, you other Stoicks maintaine that no good is composed of things distant. But this glorie whereof wee entreate, is a laudable opinion of good men. For as a good fame is not one mans words, neither infamie one mans mis-report: so is it not praise to please one good man, many famous and worthy men must consent herein to make it glorie. But this consisteth in diuers mens iudgements, and namely those that are distant, therefore it is not good, glory (saith he) is a commendation giuen by good men to a good man: commendation is a speech, a speech is a voice that significeth something. But the voice, although it be a good mans voice, is not goodnesse. For whatsoever a good man doth, is not alwayes good. For he clappeth his hands and hilleth. But neither will any man say that his clapping or hilling is good, although he applaud and admire all whatsoever is his, no more then he will do his sneezing or coughing. Therefore glory is not good. In a word, tell vs whether this good concerneth the praiser, or him that is praised? If the praiser, it is as much as if thou shouldst say, that another mans good health is mine, but to praise those that are worthy is an honest action, therefore this good concerneth the praiser, from whom this action commeth not from vs that are praised. But this is that which is in question. I answer briefly to these objections. First the question is at this day, whether any good may be composed of those things that are distant; and both parties haue their reasons. Secondly, praise desireth not many suffrages: for it may be contented with one good mans iudgement, who onely is a competent Iudge, to say that all they who resemble him are good. What then (saith he) shal fame depend vpon the estimate of one man, and infamie tied to the mis-report of another man? Glory also (saith he) as I vnderstand, is spread more largely. For it requireth the consent of many men. The condition of these, and of this are different. Why? Because if a good man haue a good opinion of me, I am in the same estate that I should be, when as all good men should haue like thought of me. For if all of them knew me, they would iumpe in the opinion of this one man. They haue but one and the same iudgement, and they that cannot differ, doe necessarily agree in their opinions. Therefore, that which one thinketh importeth as much, as if all of them had spoken because they cannot be of any other opinion. The opinion of one man (saith he) sufficeth not to giue glory and renowne vnto another. To this I answer, that herein the opinion of one auaileth as much as of all, for if euery one of them be demanded, they will answer alike. In this place the iudgements of those that disagree are diuers, the affections different. Thou shalt finde all things in this world doubtfull, light, and suspected. Thinkest thou that all mens mindes are alike? Vndoubtedly the same man is not of the same opinion alwayes. Truth is pleasing to the good, and this truth neither changeth his vigor or colour. Amongst the wicked there are falsities wherein they accord, but there is nothing but inconstancie, repugnancie and discord in a lie. But praise (saith he) is but a voice spread in the aire, and that a word meriteth not the name of good; when as they say that praise is the commendation of good men, deliuered by good men; now referre it not to the words but to the sentence. For although a good man hold his peace, yet iudgeth any man worthy of commendation, by this hee commended. Besides, there is a difference betwixt these two words, *Praise*, and *Praising*, which requireth explication. Deliuering a

funerall

funerall Oration, we vse not this word praise but praying, which consisteth in words. But saying that some one is worthy of praise, we vnderstand by this word the iust iudgements of men, rather then their speeches. So then praise shall be the right opinion of him who without speaking, prisseth in himselfe any good man. Furthermore as I haue said, praise hath relation to the thought, not vnto the words, which expresse the praise which is conceiued inwardly, and vnto the knowledge of many men. He praiseth who iudgeth that he ought to praise, when as the Tragique Poet saith, *That it is a magnificent thing to be praised by a praise-worthy man*: he meaneth that this praise-worthy man is worthy of praise. And when another Poet of the same time saith that praise honourlieth arts, he speaketh not of a flatterie which corrupteth arts. For there is nothing that hath so much soiled eloquence, and all other studies addicted to the eare, as the applause of the people. Fame would be published and bruited, praise would not, for she respecteth not words, but contenteth her selfe with iudgement; she is accomplished, not onely amongst those that are silent, but likewise amongst those that oppose themselves against her. Now will I declare what difference there is betwene praise and glorie, Glory consisteth on many mens iudgements, Praise on good mens. To whom returneth the good of praise (saith he) eyther to him that is praised, or to the praiser? Both to the one & to the other. It is a great good for me to be praised, for nature hath created me a louer of all men: I reioyce that I haue done well, & one of my contentments is to haue met with men which take pleasure in those virtuous acts which I might haue done. That many are thus disposed is a good which they enioy, but I haue my part in it also, being of that mind that I think other mens good be mine, especially those men to whom I am the cause of this good which proceeds from vertue. But euery occasion of vertue is good, which they could not enioy if I were not virtuous. So then a true praise is a common good, both to him that praiseth, and him that is praised, as certainly as a iust sentence is the good and honour both of the Iudge and the partie who obtaineth profit by the cause. Doubtest thou that iustice is not a good both to the debtor and creditor? It is iustice and equity to praise a man that meriteth praise, and consequently it is a common good, both to him that praiseth, and him that is praised: we haue sufficiently answered these cauilers. But this should not be our purpose to sow subtilties, and to draw Philosophie from her maiestie into these straights: how farre better is it to goe the open and direct way, then to finde out by pathes and loose our selves therein, and be constrained to returne backe, to our great trouble and prejudice. For these disputations are nought else but the pastimes of men that would cunningly beguile one another. Rather tell mee how naturall a thing it is to extend the minde to infinitie. A great and generous thing is mans mind, it endureth not to be circumscribed by any limits, but those which are common to him with God. First of all, he acknowledgeth not himselfe to be naturally bred in any region or land whatsoever, as in *Ephesus* or *Alexandria*, or in any other countrey of the greatest extent, or most peopled. All whatsoever is inuironed by the continent of heauen is his countrey, that is to say, his round, composed of Seas and Lands mixed together, within which the extent of the ayre separateth and vniteth things celestiall and terrestriall, in which so many gods disposed in due order are intente to execute their commissions: Secondly, he endureth not to be circumscribed by yeares: all yeares (saith he) are mine, no age is locked vp to great wits, there is no time thorow which humane thought hath not pierced. When that day which must make a separation betwixt

betwixt

twixt the bodie and soule thus vnited, as you see I will leaue this body, where I found it, and will restore my selfe vnto the gods; neyther am I now without them, but in such sort, as I feele my selfe detained in this heauie and earthly prison. By these delays of mortall life we make an entrance to that better and longer life. Euen as our mothers wombe containeth vs nine monethes, and prepareth vs not to remaine therein alwaies, but for another place for which it seemeth we strue both hand and foot, as soone as we are readie to breathe and lue in the aire; so by the meanes of this space of time, which is betwixt our infancy and age, we aspire vnto another birth of nature. Another originall, another estate of things attendeth vs. We cannot as yet suffer the heauen, but by meanes of this great extent which is betweene them and vs: for which cause beholde thou with a setled eye that determined houre which is not the last vnto the soule, but onely to the body. Whatsoeuer goods of this world thou beholdest about thee, look on them as if they were the baggage and mouables of an Inne. We must passe further; nature leaueth vs as naked at the issue of this world, as we were vpon the entry: thou hast brought nothing with thee, neyther shalt thou carry away any thing with thee; nay more, thou must leaue in the world a great part of that which thou hast brought with thee. Thou shalt be spoyled of that skin that inclosed thee, and the last cloth that couered thee; thou shalt leaue thy flesh and bloud, which is disperfed thorow thy whole body; thy bones and nerues shall be taken from thee, which were the supporters of so many fraile and fleeting things. This day which thou fearest so much, and which thou callest thy last, is the birth day of an eternitie. Lay aside thy burthen. Why delayest thou? Is it so long since that thou forsookest a body, that is to say thy mothers womb where thou wert hidden, to enter into this world? Why strickest thou, and dalliest thou? Thy mother when thou wert borne laboured hardly to be deliuered of thee. Thou sighest, thou weepest, and this is that which the infant doth as soone as he is borne. But then wert thou to be pardoned, because as then thou wert but new born, and without the knowledge of any thing. Being issued from this hote and soft couch of thy mothers entrailes, thou hast breathed a more freer aire; then feeling thy selfe touched with a hand somewhat more hard, thou that wert soft and tender, couldest not endure it without crying: and it is not to be wondered at that thou remaindest astonishd and daunted amongst so many things, which were vnseene before, considering that thou neither haddest knowledge nor apprehension of any thing. Let it not be a new thing now vnto thee to be seperated from that, where of before time thou hast bene some portion: acquit thy selfe willingly of these members which are now superfluous, and lay aside this body, wherein thou hast inhabited so long time. It shall be cut in pieces, denoured and brought to nothing. Why art thou agriued? So goes the world. The caules which infolde the infants in their mothers wombe shall be broken and rotten. Why louest thou earthly goods, as if they were thine? These are but the foulds that wrap thee in. A day will come that will vnfold them, and will draw thee out of the company of this villenous and stinking wombe. Fly now out of this world with a forward courage, estrange thy selfe from all things, yea, of those things that be necessarie. That done, meditate on somewhat more high and sublime. One day the secretes of nature shall be discovered vnto thee, this obfcuritie shall be cleared, and a shining light shall reflect vpon thee on euery side. Think with thy selfe how great this brightnesse is of so many celestiall bodies, which mixe their lights together. So faire a cleere shall neuer be obscured by any

any darkenesse: the heauen shall be as glorious in one part as in another. Day and night are the reuolutions of the regions of the ayre. Thou wilt confesse that thou hast liued in darknesse, when as thou shalt freely see the whole light, which now thou beholdest obscurely thorow these narrow circles of thine eyes, and from a farre, yet not without astonishment. What wilt thou say of the diuine light, when thou shalt see it in his place? Such a thought as this will not suffer our soules to gather rust or dirt, it hindereth vs cyther from humbling our hearts too low, or raising them too high. Shee maintaineth that the gods are witnesses of all things, and will that we be approued by them, that we depend on their will, that we haue the day of eternitie alwaies before our eyes. Whofoeuer hath any apprehension hereof in his soule, he hath no feare of Armies, the Trumpet amazeth him nothing, there is no threat that may make him feare. He that expecteth death, can he be without feare? whereas the other (who esteemeth that the soule remaineth and subsisteth during his aboad in the prison of the bodie, in departing from which he is dissipate) ceaseth not to demean himselfe in such sort, that after his death he pretendeth to serue those that suruiue in som other sort: for althogh he be taken from our sight, yet

*The mans great vertue, and his countrie's glorie,
And wondrous value come to memorie.*

Thinke how much good examples profite vs, and thou shalt finde that the memorie of worthy personages is no lesse profitable for vs then their presence.

EPIST. CIII.

The malice and treasons of men amongst themselves, yet doe not thou so, but lay them apart; and be thou courteous and willing to doe good vnto all men.



Hy regardst thou on euery side those things that may befall thee, and happily may not chance vnto thee? I meane fire or ruine, and other inconueniences which happen vnto vs, but lay not in waite for vs. Rather consider and auoyde thou the dangers which attend and surprise vs. These casualties are rare, although they be grievous, to suffer ship-wrack, to be ouerturned out of a Coach. But from a man daily a man expecteth the most danger, prepare thy selfe against this euill, and contemplate it with open eyes. For there is no euill more frequent, more obdinate, neyther any one more flattering. The tempest threatneth before it riseth: the houses cracke before they fall: the smoke foretellet that the fire is a kindling. But the mischief that a man doth is sudden, and the neerer the euill is, the more secretly it is hidden. Thou art deceiued if thou trust their looks that meete thee: they haue the faces of men, but the hearts of fange beasts, but that the first assault of beasts is most violent, which they cannot auoyde: for nothing but necessitie moueth them to hurt; either by hunger or feare they are enforced to fight, but a man taketh pleasure to destroy a man. But thinke thou so that the danger is by a man, to the end thou mayest thinke what the office of a man is. Consider the one, to the end thou be not offended; and the other, to the end thou offend not. Reioyce at euery mans profite, and be sorie for their harmes, and bethinke thy selfe what thou oughtest to performe, and what to auoyde.

void. By living thus, what gettest thou? Thou mayest alwayes avoide that men doe thee no outrage, but thou canst not chuse but be deceived by them. Especially endeavour thy selfe to take thy retreat to Philosophie, thee will defend thee in her bosome. In her Sanctuarie either shalt thou be safe, or safer. Men iostle not one another, except they walke in the same way. But of all things beware to boast of thy Philosophie. Many men by too proudly boasting, and vainly vaunting thereof, haue perished. Let it suffice thee that thee spoileth thee of thy vices, that she reprocheth not other men of theirs, that she abhorreth not from publick manners, that she behaue her selfe modestly, without causing men thinke of her, that she condemneth all that which shee doth not her selfe. A man may be wife without making shew thereof, and without enuying any man.

EPIST. CIIII.

Of his sicknesse and the cure, and the charitie his wife had of him. That he had changed his abode for recreation sake, and hereupon an excellent discourse vpon tranale. That it is not profitable of it selfe, except it be made so by the minde. Let that be amended, and the affections cut off, and that then euery station and estate will be pleasing. That there is likewise another kinde of tranale, to haue recouerse vnto ancient and great men, to behold them in our thoughts, and to imitate them. This rooteth out vices, that planteth vertues, and to this inuiceth he LVCILLIVS.

Fled into my Grangeat Momentanum: but why thinkest thou to shun the Citie? No, the feur which began to seaze vpon me. And now alreadie she had laid hold on me. Forthwith therefore I commanded my Coach to be made readie, although my wife *Paulina* were against it: My Physitian having touched my pulse, and finding the arterie beating uncertainly and contrary to nature, said that it was the beginning of a feur. Yet notwithstanding I resolued my selfe to set forward; remembering me of a speech of *Gallio*, my Lord and Master, who being in Achaia, and feeling himselfe surprised with a feur, forthwith embarked himselfe, crying out that this sicknesse of his proceeded from the aire of the Country, and not from his bodie. This I could I to my *Paulina*, who recommended my health vnto me. For whereas I know that her soule is translated and liueth in mine, for her content sake I begin to haue a care of my health. But although that old age hath fortified me against diuers difficulties, yet at this present begin I to lose this benefit of age. I thought that in this old man there was a yong man, that was our much tendered. So then, because I cannot require that my wife should loue me more entirely then she doth, she hath begged so much at my hands, that now I cherish my selfe more tenderly then I otherwife did. For we must giue way vnto honest affections, and sometimes also, if vrgent causes require it, our soule in honor of our friends is to be recalled, though it be to our torment, and retained betwixt our teeth, because a vertuous man is bound to liue, not as long as he liketh, but as long as he must. He that without respect of his wife and friends, laboureth for nought else but to end his life, but demandeth death is ouer delicate. Let the soule haue this commandment ouer her selfe, (when the profit of those, to whom she is obliged, requireth the same) to thinne death, not onely for her owne cause, but likewise when she is

vpon

vpon the point to dislodge and leaue the bodie, to reenter againe, to the end he may be enabled to doe her friends seruice. It is the argument of a great minde to returne vnto life for another mans good, as diuers great personages haue many times done. And this also esteeme I to be a great humanitie, to maintaine old age more intently, (the fairest fruit wherof consisteth in maintenance of her health, and in liuing more orderly then he was accustomed,) if thou knew that to be a thing either pleasant, profitable, or wished for of any of thy friends. Moreouer, there is a great ioy and profit therein. For what greater contentment may there be, then to be so dearly beloued by a mans wife, that for that cause thou shouldst become more louing to thy selfe? My *Paulina* therefore cannot only impute her feare vnto me, but mine also. Demandest thou therefore what successe my determination had in going into the country? As soone as I had gotten out of the foggie aire of Rome, and from the stinck of the smooke chimneys thereof, which being stirred, power forth whatsoeuer pestilent vapours they held inclosed in them, I felt an alteration of my disposition. How much, thinkest thou, was my strength encreased when I came vnto my Grange? No sooner entered I the meads, but I beganne to rull vpon my meate with a strong appetite. Thus therefore for the present haue I recouered my selfe, this leanneesse of bodie which hath no securitie of health, and which beginneth to decline, is vanished from me, and I beginne to studie diligently. The place yields little furtherance thereunto, if the minde be not assitant to it selfe, for he list amidst all affaires and troubles he may haue a place of retirement. But he that maketh choice of the place, and idly it vainly, (shall euery where finde a nooke wherein to retrain himselfe. For it is reported that *Socrates* (hearing a certaine man complaine that he had lost his time in traouling here and there) returned this answere: not without cause hath this befallen thee, for thou trauestledst with thy selfe. O how happie would diuers men be, if they could wander from themselves. But they are the first that sollicite, corrupt, and terrifie themselves. What auaileth it to passe the seas, and to change Cities? If thou wilt flie these things wherewith thou art vrged, thou needst not be in another place, but become another man. Put case thou wert come to Athens, or to Rhodes; chuse what Citie thou pleasest. What skilleth it what manners they haue? Thou shalt carry thither thine owne. Thinkest thou that riches make men happie? Pouertie (yea the appearance and presumption thereof, which is a lamentable opinion) shall incessantly torture thee. For although thou possessest much, yet because another man hath more, thou shalt seeme vnto thy selfe by so much the poorer, by how much the other is more rich. Supposest thou that honours are good? It shall grieue thee that such a man is made Consul, and that such a one hath twice enjoyed the Office, it shall vex thee when thou shalt finde in the public registers any mans name oftener then thine owne. So great shall the furie of thy ambition be, that if any one shall outstrip thee, thou wilt not thinke that any marcheth behind thee. Wilt thou suppose death to be an extreame euill? When as there is nothing cuill in it, but the feare which is before it, not only the dangers, but the suspicions will terrifie thee. Thou shalt incessantly be tormented with dreames and shadowes. For what shall it profit thee that thou hast escaped so many Cities of Greece, and made thy way by flight thorow the midst of thine enemies? Peace is selfe shall affright thee. Thou shalt no wayes trust those things that are most assured, as soone as thy minde shall be shaken. For as soone as he hath gotten a custome to entertaine improuident feare, thou art no more disposed to entertaine any repose

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repose or contentment in thy selfe. For shee shunneth nor, but flieth from the stroke, but if we turne our backs to afflictions, they haue greater holdfast on vs. Thou wilt iudge it a grieuous euill to lose any of those friends thou hast loued, whereas meane while it is as great folly to bewaile them, as to weepe, because the leaues of thy faire shadowing trees, which adorne thy house, are fallen and shaken to the ground. As much flourisheth the one, as the other which delighteth thee. Death will shake downe the one to day, the other to morrow. But as wee suffer patiently the fall and losse of the leaues of our trees, because they will spring againe: so oughtest thou to endure the losse of thy friends, whom thou conceitest to be the ioyes of thy life, because they shall be restored, although they be not now borne. But they shall not be such as they were whilst they remained in this world. Neither shalt thou thy selfe be the same. Every day, every houre changeth thee, but in others the nourishment appeareth more easily, heere it lieth hidden, because it is not done openly. Some are carried away; but wee our selues are secretly stolne away. Wilt thou thinke of none of these things. Wilt thou apply no remedies to these wounds, but send vnto thy selfe the causes of thy cares, by hoping something and despairing other? If thou best wile, mixe the one with the other, neither hope thou without desperation, neither despair without hope. What can trauell profit any man of it selfe? It tempereth not pleasures, it bridleth not desires, it pacifieth not displeasures, it breaketh not the vtamed assaults of loue. To conclude, it disburtheneth the minde of no euill, neither giueth iudgement, nor shaketh off error, but detaineth the minde for a short time, and entertaineth it with noelic of things, as wee see children stand at gaze, when they behold anything which they haue not seene. To conclude, this going and coming doth no more but make the inconstant thought more light and stirring, which in the height of this euill, prouoketh and altereth it selfe in such sort, that they who most earnestly trauelled into any countrey, depart from thence more hastily, and after the manner of skipping birds, flie thence more swiftly, then they came thither. Trauell will giue thee knowledge of Nations, will shew thee the new formes of Mountaines, the spacious and vnaccustomed plaines, the Valleys watered vvith running Riuers, some floud that hath a certaine notable propertie, as Nilus, vvich encreaseth in Sommer, or Tygris, vvich loofe a it selfe, then hauing made a long circuit vnder the earth reentereth his channell, and reneweth his swift and spacious course as before, or hovv *Meander* (the exercise and play of all Poets) maketh an infinite windlas of turnes and retures, that oftentimes discharging her selfe from her owne channell streameth along the bedde of her neighbour flouds, and so returneth. But such voyages will neither make thee more healthie, or more vvise. We must conuerse amongst studies, and amongst the authors of wisdom, that wee may learne that which wee desire to know, and seeke out that which is as yet vnfound. By this meanes must the minde bee redeemed from miserable seruitude, and set at libertie. As long as thou shalt bee ignorant of that vvich thou shouldest flie or follow, of that vvich is necessarie and superfluous, of that vvich is iust and honest, this may not bee said a straille, but an error. This turne of vvill comfort thee nothing, for thou wanderest accompanied by thy afflictions, and thy evils follow thee. Would to God they might follow thee, and were further off from thee: now thou bearest them on thy back, thou leadest them not. For which cause they euery way weigh thee downe, and feare thee with equall incommodities. The sicke man

must

must seeke out for a good medicine, not for a new country. Hath any one broken his leg, or put a member out of ioynt? He gets not to his coach, he embarks not in his ship, but calleth for a Physitian, to the end he may vrite that which was broken, and set the ioynt in his place that was dislocated. To what end then thinkest thou, that by changing thy countrey, thou mayest heale thy bruised and broken minde in so many places? This euill is more great then to be cured by being carried hither and thither. Trauell neither maketh a Physitian nor an Orator. There is neither art nor science that is learned by changing place in this sort. What then, is not wisdom which is the greatest treasure of all others learned in trauels? Trust mee, there is no iourney that may retire thee apart from thy desires, thy displeasures, and thy feares, or if there were any, all mankind by troopes would trauell and flocke thither. So long will these evils presse thee and macerate thee whilst thou wanderest by land and sea; as long as thou bearest the causes of thine evils in thee. Wonderest thou at this, that thy flight profiteth thee nothing. Why man, the things thou fliest are with thee. Mend thy selfe therefore, shake off thy burthens, and at least wile containe thy desires within compasse. Roote all wickednesse out of thy minde, if thou wilt haue thy trauels delightfull, heale thy companion. Auarice will cling vnto thee as long as thou liuest with a couetous and base companion. Pride will cleauv into thee, as long as thou conuersest with a proud man. Thou wilt neuer lay aside thy crueltie in a Hang-mans company. The fellowship of adulterers will enkindle thy lusts. If thou wilt be discharged of vices, thou must retire thy selfe a farre off from all euill examples. Auarice, dissolution, crueltie, fraud (such enemies that approching thee, will wound thee grievously) are within thee. Acquaint thy selfe with the better sort, liue with such as *Cato*, *Laelius*, and *Tullius* were: and if thou take a liking to liue among the Grecians, conuerse with *Socrates* and with *Zeno*: The one will teach thee how to die, if it be needfull, the other how to die before it be needfull. Liue with *Chrysippus* and *Poisonius*: These will teach thee the knowledge of diuine and humane things. These will command thee to put in practise that which thou hast learned, and not to content thy selfe with a polished tongue, which tickleth the eares of the hearers, but to fortifie thy heart, and to confirme it to confront casualtie. For the onely port of this troubled and turbulent life is to contemne those things that may happen, to remaine resolute to oppose a nakedosome against all the darts of aduersitie, without playing the coward, or seeking starting holes. Nature hath created vs valiant, and as to some creatures she hath giuen a ferece, to some a subtil, to other some a fearefull: so hath she giuen vs glorious and high spirit, that seeketh where he may liue most honestly, not most securely: resembling the world, which in as much as humane abilitie will giue him leane, hee followeth and counterfeitteth. He seeketh nothing but praise, and desireth to be seene. He is the loue of all things, and aboue all things. Hee therefore submitteth himselfe to nothing, nothing seemeth heauie vnto him, nothing that may make a man stoop.

Trauaile and death are ugly to behold.

Nothing so, if a man might behold them clearly, and breake thorow the darkness. Many things that haue bene esteemed dreadfull by night, haue proued trifles and iesting sports by day.

Tranquillity and death are ugly to behold.

Worthily wrote our *Virgil*, he saith that they were not terrible indeed, but in semblance, that is, they seeme so to be, but are not. What is there, say I, in these so dreadfull as fame hath reported them? What is there I pray thee (my *Lucilius*) that a man should feare either labour or death? Yet meete I with those men, that thinke all that impossible which they cannot doe, and say that wee speake greater matters then humane nature may sustaine or effect. But how farre better opinion haue I of them? They also can doe these things, but they will not. To conclude, whom haue euer these precepts failed that haue dained to make vse of them, who found them not more ealie in action then in instruction? It is not because they are difficult, that we dare not; but because we dare not, they are difficult. Yet if you require an example, behold *Socrates*, that most patient man, toiled in so many dangers; inuincible in pouertie, which his domestique burthens made more grieuous and cumbersome, inuincible in those labours he suffered in warre, and wherewith at home he was daily exercised: whether you respect his wife fierce in manners, and froward in tongues, or his rebellious and disobedient children, more like their mother then their father. So for the most part he either was in warre, or in tyrannie, or in libertie, more truell then warres or tyrannies. Seuen and twentie yeares he bare armes, and hauing laid them aside, he saw his Citie enthralled vnder thirtie Tyrants, of which the most part of them were his enemies. The last of these is his condemnation vrged against him for most hainous crimes. The violating of Religion is objected against him, and the corruption of youth, which he was said to enforce against the gods, against parents, and his Common-weale. After all this, his prison and poison. So farre were these things from mouing *Socrates* minde, that they neuer moued his countenance. He maintained that his wonderfull and singular praise vntill his dying day. No man saw *Socrates* either more merrie or more sad, he continued equall in so great inequality of fortune. Wilt thou haue another example? Take me that *Cato* of Utica, with whom Fortune dealt more cruelly, and more obstinately. Against which, whilest in all places he had made head; and last of all in his death: yet approved he that a confident and valiant man may liue and die in spite of Fortune. All his life-time was spent in ciuill warre. And although thou say that this man, no lesse then *Socrates*, spent his life in seruitude: except a man may happily thinke that *Cornelius Pompey*, and *Caesar*, and *Craesus*, were confederates to maintaine libertie. There was no man that euer saw *Cato* changed in a Common-weale so oftentimes changed, in all occurrences he shewed himselfe once. In his Pretorship, in his repulse, in his accusation, in his prouince, in his speeches in the Armie, in his death; finally, in that garboyle of the Common-weale, when as on the one side *Caesar* had trusted his fortunes to ten valiant legions, on that side to the forces of so many forren Nations, and *Pompey* to his owne forces; when some enclined vnto *Caesar*, other some vnto *Pompey*, *Cato* onely maintained leuiad armes for common libertie. If thou wouldest imagine in thy mind the Image of that time, thou shalt see on the one side the people with listening eare, harkening after nothing but noueltie; on the other side the Senators and Knights and whatsoever was either holy and chosen in the Citie: two onely left in the midst, the Common-weale and *Cato*. Thou wilt wonder, say I, if thou shalt obserue.

ATRAIDES

*ATRAIDES grave, and PRAXIUS the olde,
And Troians greatest feare, ACHILLES bold.*

For he condemneth both, and disarmeth both; and this is his opinion of both: he saith, that if *Caesar* preuaile, he will die: if *Pompey*, he will be banished; what had he to feare which had decreed that against himselfe, eyther if he hapned to be eyther conquerour or conquered, which might haue bene decreed by his most bitter enemies; he died therefore by his owne decree. Seest thou that men can suffer labours? He led his armie on foote thorow the midst of the deserts of Africa. Seest thou that they may endure thirst? Leading the remainder of his conquered Armie along the desert hills, without any baggage, he suffered the want of drink, being foulered in his armor, and as often as occasion offered him water he was the last that drunke. Seest thou that honour and authority may be contemned? The same day he was repulsed from the office he stood for, the same day played he at the ball in the market-place. Seest thou that great mens power may not be feared? He opposed himselfe against *Pompey* and *Caesar* at one time; the one of which no man durst offe id, except it were to win the fauour of the other. Seest thou that death may be as well contemned as banishment? He both pronounced exile and death against himselfe, & in the Interim warre. We may then haue the same resolution against all accidents, provided, that we take a pleasure to discharge our necks of the yoke: First of all therefore pleasures are to be despised, for they weaken, disable, and demand much, and much is to be required at fortunes hands. After these riches are to be despised, which are the recompences of seruitude. Let golde and siluer, and what else fouer loadeth happie houses be left: libertie is not bought for nothing, if thou highly price her, thou must misprice and neglect all the rest.

EPIST. CV.

Short and profitable precepts, tending to securitie. Reade them, and make vse of them.

THOU shalt know of me what those things are which thou art to obserue, to the end thou mayest liue more secure: yet so heare these precepts I aduise thee, as if I should counsaile thee how to maintaine thy good health in the bad aire of *Adulterium*. Consider what things they be that prouoke one man to seeke another mans ruine, and thou shalt finde that they are hope, enuy, hatred, feare, and contempt; of all these contempt is the lightest, in so much as many haue lien hidden therein for the safeguard of their liues. Whom soeuer a man contemneth, he kicketh at him, but passeth by him. No man purposely hurteth a contemned person, no man diligently. Euen he that is prostrate on the earth in a conflict, is overlipped where he standeth assaulted. Thou shalt frustrate the hope of the wicked if thou hast nothing that may prouoke another mans wicked desire, if thou possesse nothing that is worthy the hauing. For those things that are of the greatest price, are most desired although they be least knowne. So therefore shalt thou flee enuy if thou makest no shew, if thou boast not of thy fortunes, if thou knowest how to enioy them to thy selfe. But as touching

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt auoide it thus: by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath bene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The meanes not to be feared shall be to liue in a mean and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such a one, whom they may offend without perill. Let thy reconciliation be both easie and certaine. But to be feared is as dangerous at home as abroad, by thy seruants as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would, not because he ought. The incommoditie here of both good Arts doe discause, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mightie man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profite thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome and flattereth, and no other wise then drunkennesse or loue betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Eucry one hath a friend to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with one mans eares, and to set a watch before his lips, he shall address himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengefull men leade a confused and troublesome life: they feare as much as they hurt; neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themselves. Whosoeuer expecteth the stroke is chastised enough, and whosoeuer hath deserved punishment expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh that although he be not discovered, he may be discovered, and midst his dreams he is moued; and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, he thinketh of his owne, he thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced or fully couered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

EPIST. CVI.

An idle question, taken out of CHRYSIPPVS, Whether good be a body. In the conclusion somewhat against subtilities.



Little too late I answered thy Letters, not because I am troubled with much businesse, for beware thou except not this excuse; I am at leisure, and all they that will are at leisure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke businesse to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cause that I did not presently write backe vnto thee, and answer thy question? It was a matter incident to my discourse; for thou knowest that I am determined to intreate of morall Philoso-

Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another, and if any shall occurre of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science thereof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question. Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it addeeth. That which addeeth is a body; good agitateth the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body: it must needs be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie: I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is cholor, loue, and sadness; (lest in this question I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou maketh no question) if thou doubtest, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not paleness: what then? I thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the minde, such as are auarice and cruelty, such as are obduracy and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good, first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour severitie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie, as the Poet Lucretius saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pulseth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restrain vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and restrain? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadness dismay? To conclude, whatsoeuer we doe, we doe it eyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou wilt thou wilt I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plainnesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as we do all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Even as we are traauiled with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

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Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should detere thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humane to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another, and if any shall occur of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science thereof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question, Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it acteth: That which acteth is a body; good agitath the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body: it must needs be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is cholour, loue, and sadnesse; (left in this place I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question) if thou doubtst, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not palenesse: what then? I thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the minde, such as are auarice and crueltie, such as are obstinate and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good, first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour severitie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie, as the Poet Lucretius saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pulseth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restraine vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bidde and restraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, whatsoeuer we doe, we doe it cyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou wilt lead me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plainnesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as we do all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Euen as we are traauiled with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt auoide it thus: by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath bene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The meanes not to be feared shall be to liue in a mean and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such a one, whom they may offend without perill. Let thy reconciliation be both easie and certaine. But to be feared is as dangerous at home as abroad, by thy seruants as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would, not because he ought. The incommodie here, of both good Arts doe discusse, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mightie man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profite thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome and flattereth, and no other wise then drunkennesse or loue betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with one mans eares, and to set a watch before his lips, he shall adresse himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholerike and reuengefull men leade a confused and troublesome life: they feare as much as they hurt; neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft times to looke backe vnto themselves. Whosoeuer expecteth the stroke is chastised enough, and whosoeuer hath deserved punishment expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh that although he be not discouered, he may be discouered, and midst his dreams he is moued; and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, he thinketh of his owne, he thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced or fully couered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

EPIST. CVI.

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Philoso-

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EPIST.

EPIST. CVIII.

He comforteth LVCILIUS, and animateth him upon the flight of his seruants. That these and such like are incident vnto life, and therefore not to be reputed as sudden. Suffer that therefore which thou dost not mend. A good and wise Epistle.



What is become of thy wisdome? Where is thy subtiltie in conceiuing things? Where is thy magnanimitie? Art thou travelled with such trifles? Thy seruants thought that thy occupations were the occasions of thy flight. If thy friends should deceiue thee (for let them haue that name which *Epicurus* gaue vnto them & be so called, what damage shouldst thou receiue? Thou waneit them who both interrupted thy good actions, and made thee troublesome vnto others. There is no noueltie or vnespected euent herein. It is as ridiculous a thing to be offended herat, as to complaine that thou art eyther wet with water, or sprinkled with dirt as thou walkest in the streets. The same is our condition in this life, as if we were in a bath, amongst a multitude of people, or in a great high-way, some things will be intermitted, some things will befall. It is no delicate thing to liue. Thou art entered into a long way, wherein perforce thou must slip, thou must iustle, thou must fall, thou must be wearied, and thou must exclaime, O death I that is, thou liest. In one place thou shalt leaue thy companion, in another thou shalt burie him, in another thou shalt feare him; with such like inconueniences wee must perforce and tread this troublesome iourney. Will he haue medie? Let our mindes be prepared against all accidents, let them know that they are come hether,

*Where sorrowes and reuengefull cares doe sleepe,
Where sicknesse pale and weary age doe keepe.*

In the company of these must life be led; thou canst not escape these, thou mayest contemne them. And thou shalt contemne them, if thou oftentimes betwixt thee on that which is to come, and suppose it present. Whosoever hath of a long time prepared himselfe vnto any thing, he performeth the same with greater courage; and if he hath premeditated any aduersities, he maketh head against them afterwards. Contrariwise, the man which is vnprepared starteth backe for feare vpon the least danger that presenteth it selfe. Let vs take order that nothing may befall vs, which may moue vs to say, I had not thought it. And because that nouelties are most distastfull, such continuall thought will bring to passe, that thou shalt not be apprentice to any aduersitie. Haue thy seruants forsaken thee? They haue robbed one, accused another, killed this man, betrayed that, trampled vnder their feete and poisoned that man, and borne false witness against another. All those mischiefs which thou canst call to memorie haue befallne diuers, and will hereafter happen. The arrowes that are shot against vs are diuers and great in number. Some are sticking in vs, other some are darted at vs, and approach vs neerely, and other some there are which are shot at our neighbours, which doe no lesse grieue vs then if they were leuelled against our selues. Let vs not wonder at any accident whatsoeuer, we are borne thereunto, there is no man that hath occasion to complaine himselfe, because that all men haue their parts, yea their equall portion, for if any man hath escaped from

an inconuenience, he might haue felt it. But an ordinance is equall vnto all those to whom it is propofed, although all men make not vse thereof. Let vs command our soule to continue in her entire, and let vs pay those tributes which we owe vnto Nature without murmure. The Winter bringeth on frosts, wee be cold, the Sommer bringeth heats with her, we shall sweat for heate, the intemperature of the ayre trieth our bodies; we shall be sicke. We shall meete in one place with a sauage beast, or a roarer worse then all beastes whatsoeuer. The one shall be drowned, the other brought to ashes. We cannot alter this condition of things. That which we may is to haue a resolute heart, and worthy of a good man, by means whereof we endure all accidents constantly, and content our selues with the order of Nature, which in this present government causeth those reuolutions which thou now obseruest. After raine comes faire weather, after stormes and tempests succedeth calmes and faire seasons. The winds blow the one after the other. We see one part of the heauens, and the other is hidden from vs. The world is composed of contrary elements. Let vs apply our soules vnto this law, let her follow and obey the same: let him thinke that all that which happeneth must happen, let her beware in any sort to taske Nature: it is good for thee to endure that which thou canst not amend, and to follow that great God without murmure or complaint, by whose providence all things come to passe. The Souldier is not good that vnwillingly followeth his Captaine. And therefore let vs obey her readily and willingly, without intercepting the course of so faire a life, as mans life is, in which is interlaced, all the euill which we suffer: and in conclusion, let vs speake vnto God, by whose ordinance and direction all this round orbe is gouerned in the same termes, as our *Cleanthes* doth in elegant verse, which I will presume to translate into our tongue in imitation of *Cicero*, that thrice eloquent Orator. If they please thee, it shall content me; if they distaste thee, know that herein I am conformable vnto *Cicero*. Heare then that which *Cleanthes* saith;

*O Soueraigne Father, and eternall Lord
Of highest heauens, conduct me at thy pleasure,
Vnto thy powerfull will I straight accord,
Make me not will, yet mourning without measure.
Ile waite vpon thee, and in being bad
Suffer all that, which if my minde were iust,
I might endure with all the strength I had,
Whither thou wilt, O God, I will and must:
I sue delays, both heart and feete are willing,
The Fate-windust, the forward draw the willing.*

Let vs liue thus, let vs speake thus, let the destinies finde vs alwayes addressed and willing. This courage that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greatest in all kinds. Contrariwise, that man is both faint and recreant that starteth backe, that complaineth him of the government of the world, and that had rather censure the gods then himselfe.

EPIST. CVIII.

How are the Philosophers either to be read or heard with iudgement, and those things in especial are to be chosen out of them, and put to memorie, which animate vs to good life. They that seeke delights studie in vaine; studie thou thy amendment. Neither is this hard to be done, for Nature her self inciteth vs vnto honestie, for the seeds and incitements thereof are in our mindes, they grow and encrease, when a learned teacher and animator doth aide. This prometh he by his owne example, when he was ATTALVS his scholar. Afterwards he sheweth that we come with diuers ends and mindes to reade Authors, and that we Philosophers should doe the like. Let vs obey him: both reade and heare you that are lovers of learning.

THat whereof thou enquirest, is of the number of those things which it behoueth thee only to know, to the end that a man may say that thou knowest it; yet notwithstanding, since it is pertinent for thee to know it, and thou predest mee so instantly, and wilt not attend those books which I will shortly finish, that containe in good order all the part of Morall Philosophie, I will presently resolve thee, yet first of all will I write vnto thee how this desire of learning, wherewith I see thee thus transported, should be gouerned, for feare lest it hinder it selfe. Thou must neither ouer-runne, nor greedily invade all Sciences; by parts we attaine the whole. The burthen must be fitted to the strength, neither ought we to embrace more then we are able to containe. Draw not as much as thou wilt, but as much thou mayest hold. Only haue thou a good courage, and thou shalt comprehend as much as thou pleasest. The more the minde receiueth, the more it is enlarged and greatned. These things, as I remember, our Master ATTALVS taught vs, when as we belieged his Schoole, and came first, and departed last, and prouoked him, whilest he walked, to some disputes; not only addressed to informe those that learned of him, but to meete with them vnprouoked. He that teacheth (saith he) and he that learneth should haue one and the same intention, the one to instruct, the other to profit. He that commeth vnto the Philosophers Schooles, must daily carrie away some good thing with him; either returne more wise vnto his home, or better disposed to wisdom. But he shall returne: for such is the power of Philosophie, that thee not only helpeth those that studie the same, but those also which frequent her. He that commeth into the Sunne, shall be Sunne-burnt, although he came not to that end. They that sit downe in a perfumers shop, and haue stayed a while therein, beare away with them the odour of such a place; and they that haue conuersed with a Philosopher, must needs draw somewhat, that might profit euen those that are negligent: marke what I say, negligent, but not repugnant. What then? Know we not some men that for many yeares haue conuersed and frequented with a Philosopher, without receiuing any tincture thereof? Why should I not know them? yea and such as were most industrious and diligent, whom I rather call the hostes, then the disciples of Philosophers. Some come to heare, not to learne, as we are drawne into the Theater for our pleasures sake, to delight our eares with Orations, Musick, or Comedies. Thou shalt see a great part of the auditors that make the Philosophers Schoole the Inne of their idleness. Their intention is not in that place to dispossesse themselves of some vices, or to receive some instruction, or rule of life, whereby they might reforme their manners.

manners, but to enioy some delight that tickleth their eares. Some other there are that come to their tables, not to coate downe matter, but words, which they learne as well without other mens profit, as they heard them without their owne. Some rowle them selues when they heare any magnificent speeches, and are affectioned no lesse then the speakers themselves, cheerfull both in looks and minde: neither are they otherwise moued, then those effeminate French are wont to be, that hand and foote it according to the Phrygian straine; these men are rauished and prouoked by the beautie of things, not by the sound of vaine words. If any thing be spoken bitterly against death, it ought be vrged proudly against Fortune, thou art forthwith addressed to doe that which thou hearest. They are affected, and let them be such as they are commanded, if that forme remaine in the minde, and if the people, which disswadeth all honest things, doe not forthwith extinguish this worthy forwardnesse. Few are they that could bring home with them that minde they had conceived. It is an easie matter to stirre vp a hearer to the desire of that which is right. For Nature hath giuen vnto all men the foundations and seeds of vertue, all of vs are borne vnto all these things, when as a prouoker inciteth our mindes, then are those goods of the minde, which were in a manner laid asleepe, awakened and reuiued. Seest thou not how the Theaters ring as often as some things are repeated, which we publicly acknowledge, and refuse to be true by consent.

Robertus wanteth many things, amaret all things;

The covetous man is good to no man; and worst to himselfe.

The basest Broaker will applaud these vices, and is glad to heare his owne vices blamed. How much greater waight should these things haue, being spoken by a Philosopher, when as verses are interlaced with holisome counsels: thinkest thou not that they will more effectually worke in the minds of the vnlettered. For as Cleanthes said euen as our breath yeldeth a more cleare sound, when as the trumpet, after it hath driuen the same thorow the straits of a long pipe, doth at last giue him a larger vent at the end thereof, so the strict necessity of a vice maketh our senses more cleare. Those things are heard more negligently, and perswade lesse powerfully, as long as they are deliuered in prose and ordinary discourse, but when as they are shut vp in numbers and good sense, be inclosed in certaine feet and cadences, that very sentence is darted and deliuered as it were an arrow from a strong arme. Many things are spoken in contempt of money, and in long orations we are taught this; that men should thinke that their riches are in their mindes, and not in their patrimonies, and that he is rich who stretch himselfe to his pouertie, and maketh himselfe rich of a little. Yet are our mindes more moued, when such like things are spoken in verse.

When we heare these or such like things, we are constrained to acknowledge the truth. For they to whom nothing is enough, admire, applaud, and publish their hatred to many. When as thou seest this affection of theirs vrged the same, presse and prosecute this laying aside all ambiguity, syllogismes, cautes, and other vaine subtilties of a fruitlesse brains, speake against auarice, inough against dissolutenesse, and when thou perceivest that thou hast profited, and moued

the hearts of thine auditors, prosecute it with vehemencie. It is impossible that such a discourse, tending vnto remedie, and intirely intended for the good of the assembly, should be other then profitable. For those minds that are not as yet obdurate may be easily induced to loue right and vertue. If truth finde a fit and conuenient aduocate, he easily seizeth on those that are willing to learne, and lesse peruered. For mine owne part, when as I heard *Attalus* declaim against vices, errors, and the mischiefs of this life, I oftentimes deplored the miseries of mankind, and haue beleued that he was exalted and raised aboue all other men. He said likewise that he was a King, but I thought him somewhat more, by reason that it was lawfull for him to censure Kings. But when he began to praise pouertie, and to shewe that all that which exceedeth necessary vs is a superfluous burthen, and grievous to him that beareth the same, I oftentimes wished to depart poore out of his schoole. When he began to traduce our pleasures, to praise a chaste bodie, a sober table, a pure mind, not onely exempted from vnlawful pleasures, but also superfluous, I required no more but to temper my appetite, and gouerne my belly. From thence I gathered some good instructions my *Lucilius*: for with earnest affection I attempted all things, and being afterwards drawne vnto a Citizens life, I haue conserued some few of those faire and good beginnings. From thence it came that for all my life time I renounced eie-fores & mulhoms: for these are no meates, but entertain the appetite, and constraineth those that are full to eate more, which is very pleasing to those that are gluttons, who desire no more but to fill their panches with such things which easily enter, & are as easily vttered. I haue abstained also euer since from oynments and perfumes, because the best odour in our bodie is none at all. Thereupon haue I refrained wine, and during all my life time fled from bathing, supposing it to be an vnprofitable and nice custome to scethe the body and consume it with sweating. These other customes in life, which I had giuen ouer, are brought in request, yet so, that I keepe a measure in these from which I had abstained, and vs them very little and with difficulty, because there are certaine things more easie to cut off wholly, then to gouerne well. Because I haue begun to declare vnto thee with how much more greater courage I came to Philosophie being a young man, then now when I am olde, I will not be ashamed to confesse vnto thee what loue *Sotion* ingrafted in me in regard of *Pithagoras*; he taught me why he and *Sextius* after him abstained from eating flesh. Each one of thes had a different cause, but both of them were magnificent. The one supposed that man had sufficiency to feede vpon without blood, and that a custome of crueltie began, when tearing of flesh was drawne to be a pleasure. Hereunto he added, that the matter of dissolution should be contracted and gathered, that multiplicity of meates were contrary to mans health, and nothing healthfull to our bodies. But *Pithagoras* held that there was a communion and consanguinitie of all things, with the one and the other, and that the one is changed into the other, in such sort that (if a man will beleue him) no soule perisheth neither ceaseth, but for a small time whilst it is infused into another bodie. We shall see by what reuolutions of seasons, and after how many abodes in diuers bodies, the soule shall reenter into a man, meane while this opinion hath made men fearful, for they haue beene afraid to become murderers and paricides because that in eating of a beast they might as well seize on their fathers soule, and with knife or tooth offend a thing wherein the soule of any one of their kindred might be lodged. *Sotion* hauing propoed and confirmed this by his arguments, added hereunto, Dooft thou not beleue, saith he,

that

that soules are distributed from one body to another, and that which we call death is no other thing but a passage from one body into another? Dooft thou not beleue that in these tame or sauage beasts eyther killed or drowned, there surueth sometimes the soule of a man? wilt thou denie that nothing perisheth in the world, but doth but onely change ayre and countrey, and that not onely the heavens turne, but that liuing creatures and soules likewise haue their reuolutions? Diuers great personages haue beleued these things, and therefore holde thou thine opinion in suspense, yet keepe thou all things intire vnto thy selfe. If these things be true it is innocencie to abstaine from liuing creatures: if they be false it is frugalitie; what damage receiueth thy crueltie hereby? I take from thee the meate of Lions and Vultures. Perswaded thus by these arguments, I began to abstaine from flesh, and ere a yeare was finished, the custome was not onely easie vnto me but pleasing. I thought my spirit more free then it was before; neyther can I at this time iustifie vnto thee whether it were so or no. Dooft thou aske me how I haue discontinued this manner of life? It was in my younger dayes, at such time as *Tiberius* was Emperour, when as the Religions of strangers were banished out of Rome, and to proue the superstitions of the same, they alledged that they abstained from touching the flesh of some creatures. So then vpon my fathers request who feared not reproach, but hated Philosophie I returned to my former custome: neyther was it a hard matter for him to perswade me to begin to sup better. *Attalus* was wont to praise a hard bed, and such as resisteth the body: such a one vs I now in mine olde dayes, wherein you cannot discouer any print where I haue lien. These things haue I related vnto thee, to let thee know how vehement the first apprehensions of yong children be, & how inclined vnto all good things, if any man exhort them or egge them forward. But in some kinde the teachers are deficient, who teach vs to disparte, and not to liue: in some sort the learners who bring vnto their Masters a purpose not to rectifie their iudgments, but polish their tongues, so that which was Philosophie is made Philologie. But it is very pertinent to the matter to examin with what purpose thou addressst thy selfe to any thing. He that examineth *Virgil* to that intent he may become a Grammarian: he readeth not with this intent that worthy verse of his,

Time flies and neuer is to be recald againe.

You must watch: except we make hast we are forsaken. The day that swiftly flietheth from vs, driueth vs forward and is driven away. We are rauished before we know it. We dispose of all things as if we were to liue long time, and midst so many dangers we are sluggards. But to obserue that as often as *Virgil* writeth of the swiftnesse of time, he vseth this word *fiyeth*,

*The better dayes of wretched mortall life;
First flie then sicknesse,aignes, and irksome age,
And tedious labour, rules and waxeth rise,
And lastly death sweepes all with mortall rage.*

He that truly addieth himselfe vnto Philosophie, applieth such sentences as besitteth him: neuer, saith he, that the dayes goe, but that they flie, which is the best swiftest kinde of running, and that the better times are rauished from vs first. Why therefore cease we to spur on our idleness, to the end we might outstrip the time which flietheth away so swiftly. The better dayes flie away,

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the

the worſe ſucceede. Euen as out of a veſſell the pureſt floweth out firſt, and that which is moſt heavy and troubled ſetteth in the bottome, ſo that which is firſt in our life is the beſt. We rather ſuffer others to draw out the pureſt, to the intent to reſerue the dregges vnto our ſelues. Let this ſentence be imprinted in our mindes, and pleaſe vs as much as if it were an Oracle ſent from heauen,

The beſt daies of wretched mortall life,

fly ſir ſir

Why the beſt? Becauſe that which remaineth is vncertaine. Why the beſt? Becauſe being young we may learne, and conuert, and addiſt our tender mindes, and pliable to the better, vnto the beſt: becauſe this time is fit for labour, fit to exerciſe our wits in ſtudie, and our bodies with labour: That which remaineth is more ſlowe and faultie, and neerer to the end. Let vs therefore wholly apply our ſelues thereunto, and laying aſide all theſe ſpeculations, whereby we haue bene ſeduced, let vs apply our ſelues to one onely thing, for ſoone leaſt laſt we learne ouer-late our conſuſion, that it is impoſſible to ſtay, and recouer the time that ſleeth away ſo faſt, without hope of returne. Let euery firſt day pleaſe vs as if it were the beſt, and let vs reckon it properly ours, and let vs preuent that which enſueth. This doth not he thinke that readeth this verſe with a Grammarians eye; that therefore euery firſt day is the beſt, becauſe ſickneſſes ſucceed, olde age preſſeth and reacheth ouer the head of thoſe, who as yet thinke themſelues young; but ſaith, that *Virgil* alwayes vnited ſickneſſes and olde age together, and in truth not without cauſe, for olde age is an incurable diſeaſe. Beſides, ſaith he, the Poet ſirnamed olde age, ikt ſome:

Then ſickneſſe ſeignes, and ikt ſome age.

Wonder not that from the ſame matter euery man gathered that which is agreeable to his conceit. In the ſame field the Ox ſeeketh his graſſe, the Dog his Hare, and the Storke his Lizard: when thoſe bookes which *Cicero* wrote of a Common-weale, fall into the hands of him that would know all things, and of a Common-mann, & of a Philoſopher, euery one of theſe three hath his proper and peculiar election & thought. The Philoſopher wondereth that ſo many things may be ſpoken againſt iuſtice. When this loue-prattle comes to the ſame reading, he noteth this, that there are Romane Kings, whereof the one had no father, and the other no mother: for each man doubteth which was *Seruius* mother, and *Annius* father, who was reputed *Numas* Nephew, iſt not to be found. Beſides, he obſerueth that he whom we call *Diaſtor*, and is ſo intituled in Hiſtories, was by thoſe in former times called the Maſter of the people, as it manifeſtly appeareth at this day in the bookes of the Augurs, and that he whom we call the maſter of the knights, hath taken his name from thence. He noteth likewiſe that *Romulus* died during the Eclipſis of the Sun, that there was an appeale from the Kings vnto the people, as alſo *Feniceſtella* holdeth that it is contained in the Registers of the Biſhops. When a Grammarian explicateth the ſame bookes, he firſt of all noteth in his Commentarie that *Cicero* vſed this word *Reſpe* for *Reſpeſa*, that is to ſay, indeed, and *ſepe* likewiſe for *ſeipſe*, that is to ſay, himſelfe. Then paſſeth he ouer to thoſe things which the cuſtom of the age hath changed, ſuch are thoſe which *Cicero* vſed, becauſe we are recalled by his importunity from the caſe herof, that is, ſir the end of the courſe: for that which now we call limits, thoſe in times

times paſt called *Calcem*, that is to ſay, the heele or end of the foote. After this he gathereth *Ennius* verſes, and eſpecially thoſe which were written by *Scipio* the African,

*To whom no friend or enemy in field,
Could lend that helpe which he to them did yeeld.*

Hereby he ſaith that he meaneth that this word *opera*, that is to ſay labour in times paſt ſignified *Auxilium*, that is to ſay, ayde and ſuccour: for he ſaith that there was not one eyther Citizen or enemy could render *Scipio* the reward of his labour. Furthermore, he eſteemeth himſelfe happie to haue found out this why it pleaſed *Virgil* to ſay,

Ore whom the mightie gate of heauen did thunder.

He ſaith that *Ennius* ſtole this from *Homer*, and *Virgil* from *Ennius*. We read in the ſame bookes of *Cicero* this Epigram of *Ennius*,

*If it be free for any one i' aſcend the beaueuly throne,
The greateſt gate of higheſt heauen is ope to me alone.*

But for ſeaſe leaſt I my ſelfe in thinking on other matters ſhould my ſelfe become a humaniſt or *Pedant*, I ſay vnto thee that we ought to referre that which we heare ſpoken by the Philoſophers, and that which we read in their bookes to this end, that we become vertuous, and not to affect olde and fained words, nor to affect extrauagant and vnaccuſtomed manners of ſpeaking, but let vs ſearch out thoſe precepts, which may profit vs, and ſuch magnificent and many ſentences, which may be ſuddenly effected. So let vs apply theſe things, that thoſe things which were wordes may be workes. But I thinke that no man doe worſe deſerue of mortall men, then they who haue learned Philoſophy as it were ſome mercinarie occupation, who liue otherwiſe then they inſtruit other men to liue: for they themſelues carrie about themſelues, as examples of vnprofitable doctrine, being otherwiſe ſlaves to euery fort of vice which poſſeſſeth them. Such a Maſter can as little profite me as a Pilot that is Sea-ſicke in the midde of a tempeſt: when the billowes are increaſed the helme muſt be ſteered; we muſt ſtrive with the Sea, and ſtrike and hale in ſail: what can a Maſter of a Ship helpe me that is aſtoniſhed and vomiteth? With how more greater tempeſt thinkeſt thou is humane life toſſed more then any ſhip? We are not to ſpeake, but to gouerne. All that which they ſay, all that which they boaſt of before the common ſort is to no purpoſe. *Plato*, *Zeno*, *Chryſippus*, *Poſidonius*, and an armie of ſuch Philoſophers haue laid and reſaid it often. I will ſhew thee how they may approve theſe things to be their owne; let them act that which they ſaid. Becauſe I haue ſpoken thoſe things which I would haue carried vnto thee, I will now ſatiſſie thy deſire, and I will referre the whole of that which thou requireſt at my hands to another Epistle, leſt hauing thy head wearied, thou bend thy attentue and curious eare to heare a difficult matter.

EPIST. CIX.

A short question: Whether a wife-man may profite a wife-man, and how? The cause of doubt is, because that all things are high in a wife-man; neither may any thing be added to him: yet answereth he that he doth profite, and distinctly approueth it. In the end he detecteth vnpromisable subtilities.

THou desirest to know whether a wife-man may be profitable to a wife-man: we say that a wiseman is replenished with all goodnesse, and hath attained to the fulnesse of perfection. The question is how a man may profite him that hath attained the chiefeest good. Good men profite one another; for they exercise vertue and containe wisdom in her estate, both of these require some man with whom he may confesse, with whom he may debate; vse exerciseth those who are cunning in wratling, and warneth the Musitian who hath learned vnions. A wife-man like wife hath neede to haue his vertues stirred, so that euen as hee moueth himselfe, so is he moued by another wife-man. What can a wife-man profite a wife-man? He will animate him, and shew him occasions of honest actions. Besides these, he will discouer some of his own thoughts, and will teach those things which he hath inuented. For there will be alwayes somewhat remaining for a wife-man to finde out, and whereon his minde may be employed and occupied. An euill man hurteth an euill man, he maketh him worse by inciting wrath or feare, by assenting to sadnesse, by praising pleasures; and euen then are euill men most trauailed and troubled, when they haue made a mixture of many vices, and wickednesse becommeth compleate. Therefore on the contrary side, a good man may profite a good man. But how sayest thou? He will bring him ioy, he will confirme his confidence, and both of their ioyes shall encrease by beholding their mutuall tranquillitie. Besides, he shall deliuer him the notice of some things: for a wife-man knoweth not all things; and although he knew them, yet may some man inuent more compendious wayes in things, and teach the same by which more easily the whole worke is compassed. A wife-man shall be profitable to a wife-man, not onely in regard of his owne forces, but in respect of his also whom he helpeth. And he himselfe like wife being left vnto himselfe can expresse his owne parts. Let him make vse of his owne swiftnesse, yet notwithstanding he helpeth him also that encourageth him that runneth. A wife-man is not onely profitable to a wife-man but to himselfe. To this thou wilt object, Take from him his proper forces, and he doth nothing. In this sort thou mayst say that there is no sweetnesse in honey: for he that eateth the same must be apt both in tong and pallat to entertain this taste, that he may be delighted and not offended with the fauor thereof: for some there are to whom honey seemeth bitter in regard of their sickenesse. Both of them must be such, that both the one may teach, and the other be disposed to receiue instructions. It were in vaine, saith he, to warme him more that hath benee hote to the extremitie, and as vaine is it to better him that hath attained the fulnesse of goodnes. Doth a husbandman that is his crafts-master in tillage, seeke instructions from another? Doth a souldier that is sufficiently armed to enter the field desire any further defence? Therefore not a wiseman; for he is sufficiently instructed and armed for life. He that is in the height of heat, had no need of heat to warme him: further, heat it selfe, saith he, containeth it selfe; To this I answer, first

first of all, there is a great difference betwixt these things which thou comparest. For heat is one, but to profit is diuers. Again, heat is not encreased in heat by the adiection of heat. A wife-man cannot stand in the habit of his minde, except hee admit some friends like himselfe, with whom he may communicate his vertues. Furthermore, adde herunto that there is a certaine friendship betwene all vertues. He therefore profiteth that loueth any mans vertues that are equall with his, and giueth order also that his may be beloued: Those things that are alike doe delight, especially if they be honest, and know how to approue and to be approued. It is true, no other man but a wife-man can cunningly moue a wife-mans minde; euen as no man may reasonably moue a man, except he be a man. Euen as therefore there needeth reason to helpe reason, so to moue perfect reason, there needeth perfect reason. They are said to profit vs that giue vs means, as money, grace, health, and other things which are necessarie and deere to the vse of humane life, in these euen a foole shall be said to profit a wife-man. But to profit and aide another is to moue his thought by his vertue, and according to Nature, or by the vertue of him that shall be moued. And this also cannot be done without his good that profiteth; for in excelling another mans vertue, hee must needs exercise his owne. But that thou mayst remoue these things, which either are the chiefeest goods, or the efficientes of the chiefeest: yet notwithstanding wife-men may profit amongst themselves. For it is a thing that of it selfe meriteth to be desired by a wife-man, to meete with another wife man, because that naturally a good thing is desired of his like; and a vertuous man acquainteth himselfe with another vertuous man, as willingly as with himselfe. I must needs for argument sake passe ouer from this question to another. For it is demanded whether a wife-man will deliberate, or demand counsaile of another man, which is necessarie for him to do, when he will entreat of ciuill or domestical matters, or to speak more rightly, of mortall things. In this case he hath need of anothers counsaile, as of a Phisitian, a master of a ship, an aduocate & proctor. A wife-man sometimes may be profitable to a wiseman, for he will perswade him. But in those great and diuine things also; as we haue said, he shall be profitable by ordinarily intreating of honest things, and by intermixing both their minds and thoughts. Besides, it is according to Nature, both to embrace friends, and to conceiue as much ioy of a friends good action, as of his owne. For if we doe not thus, vertue shall not remaine in vs, which in exercising her selfe taketh lustre by vse. But vertue perswadeth vs to dispose well of the present, to berinke on that which is to come, to deliberate and intend the minde, and more easily shall he intend and explicate the same, who taketh and entertaineth another vnto him. He seeketh therefore either a perfect man, or one that profiteth, or is neere vnto perfection. But that perfect man will profite, if by common prudenice the one helpeth the others counsaile. They say that men see more in other mens businesse then in their owne, and this befalleth those men whom selfe-loue blindeth, and to those also, whom feare of danger driueth from all consideration of profit. The man that is assured and deliuered from feare, will recouer his courage and become wise. Yet notwithstanding there are somethings, which euen they who are the wisest doe more diligently discouer in others then in themselves. Moreover, that which is most sweetest and honestest, a wife-man will procure a wife-man to will and nill the same which hee doth. They shall beare together a worthy charge; I haue performed that which thou requiredst at my hands, although it were touch'd in the order of those things, which we haue comprised in our bookes of morall Philo.

Philosophie. Bethinke thee of that which I haue tould thee often, that we doe but exercise and whet our wits vpon these questions: for oftentimes returne I thither. What doth this thing profit me? will it make mee stronger, iustier, or more temperate? I haue yet no leasure to exercise my selfe, I stand in need of a Physitian. Why teachest thou me an vnprofitable Science? Thou hast promised me great matter, but I see little. Thou saidst I should be dreadlesse, yea although swords glittered about me, although the point were ready to pierce my throat: thou saidst I should be secure, although I saw fires flaming about me, although a sudden whirle-winde should rauish and beare away my Barke thorow the whole Ocean. Doe thou thus much for me, that I may contemne pleasure and glorie, then shalt thou afterwards teach me how to resolute difficulties, distinguish ambiguities, and prie into those things that are obscure, now teach me those things that are necessarie.

EPIST. CX.

That each one of vs haue our GENIUS, which he hath fauourable vnto him, whoseuer hath a good minde. That the vices and iudgements of those men are wicked, who estimate not things according to their value. That vaine things are wished for, and vaine things feared, and that the remedie of both is from Philosophie, wherein he summoneth vs, having shaken off superfluities. In conclusion, he discourseth excesses, and reproveth it by ATTALVS worthe speech.

I Salute thee from my house at Nomentanum, and will thee to haue a good minde, that is, all the gods propitious vnto thee, who are fauourable and well affected towards him, whoseuer is reconciled vnto himselfe. Lay apart for this present, the opinions of some men, that every one of vs hath giuen him a Pedagogue or God, not of the ordinary, but those of the inferiour note, and of the number of those whom *Ouid* nameth popular gods. Yet so would I haue thee lay these things apart, that thou remember thy selfe that our predecessors, who haue beleued these things, were Stoicks, for they attributed vnto euery one his *Genius*, and goddesse *Iuno*. Hereafter we will examine whether the gods haue so much leasure to procure and provide for particular mens affaires. In the meane while know thou this, that whether we are resigned to a funerall *Genius*, or else neglected and giuen ouer vnto Fortune, that thou canst with no man a greater mischiefe, then if thou shouldst desire that hee may bee his owne enemy. Neither needest thou with any man, whom thou thinkest worthy punishment, to haue the gods displeased with him; for I tell thee they are averse, although his life seemeth to prosper and flourish vnder their care and fauour. Consider and examine thou diligently what humane affaires be, not what they are called, and thou shalt know that more euils befall vs by our felices, then through the hand of casualty. For how oftentimes hath that which is called calamitie bene the cause and beginning of our felicity. How oftentimes hath a thing entertained with great applause, builded it selfe a degree from whence it may fall head-long, and hath raised some one high, that was already eminent, as if he should as yet continue in this place, from whence he might safely fall; yet that falling, if thou consider the end, beyond which Nature directeth no man, hath not any euill in it selfe. The end of all things is at hand, it is at hand I say.

as well that from whence a happie man is driven by violence, as that from whence a miserable man is happily deliuered. Both these enlarge we, and make them long by feare and hope. But if thou beest wise, measure all things by humane condition, and restrain the occasions that may make thee ioy, or make thee feare. It were better haue no ioy that endureth long, and not to haue a feare likewise that endureth long. But why do I thus restrain this euill? I thinke not that there is any thing that thou shouldst feare. These are but vaine things which moue and altonish vs, none of vs hath as yet examined the truth thereof, but each one hath taught the other to feare. No man hath dared to approach that which procured his feare, or know the nature and good of his owne affliction. And therefore it is, that a thing so fallacious and vaine is yet redoubled, because no man disproueth or discourseth the same. Let vs onely bethinke our felices to open our eyes, and it shall presently appeare how short, incertaine, and secure things are feared. Such is the confusion of our mindes, as *Lucretius* describeth it.

*For euen as in the blinde and darkest night,
Yong children quake for feare, and shake with fright,
So feare we likewise in the clearest light.*

What then? are not we more foolish then children that feare at noone dayes? But this is false, *Lucretius*, wee feare not in the light, wee haue made all things darknesse to our felices: we see nothing, neither that which hurteth vs, nor that which helpeth vs; all our life-time we runne, and wander heere and there, yet for all this we neuer make stop, nor consider at any time where we fix our feete. And yet thou seest how furious a thing it is to run head-long in the darke, yet vndoubtedly we doe thus, to the end we may be recalled from a further off, and whereas we are ignorant whither we are carried, yet perseuere we to run swiftly thither, whither we intended. But if we wil that the day may breake, yet but after one manner, that is, if a man receiue the knowledge of these humane and diuine things, if instead of merely sprinkling himself therewith, he taketh the tincture thereof, if although he know the same, he often debateth thereupon, and releteth it oftentimes to himselfe. If he haue sought what things are good and euill, and what things doe vnworthily challenge this title, if hee enquire what things are honest or dishonest, and what is providence: neither within these bounds is the quicknesse of humane vnderstanding circumscribed. She taketh pleasure to cast her eye beyond the world, to examine whither it is carried, whence it came, to what period so great a swiftnesse of things halleneth. From this so high contemplation haue we drawne our mindes into the consideration of fordid and base things, for to be slauess to avarice, so as ouer-slipping the earth and the bounds thereof, and the gods which gouerne and dispose all things, we haue employed the same in consideration of embowelling the earth, and not content with the goods which were offered, to search out what euill might be diggen out of it. Whatsoeuer is for our good, our good God and Father hath laid by vs. He expected not our inquisition, he gaue it freely, and buried those things that were hurtfull for vs in the bowels of the earth. Wee haue cause to complaine of none other but our felices. We in spite of Nature, and when she had closely hidden them, haue brought those things to light, which are the instruments of our ruine. We haue dedicated our mindes vnto pleasures, the entertainment and allowance whereof is the beginning of all our mischiefes. We

haue giuen it ouer to ambition and fame, and other things as vaine and fruitlesse as these. What therefore now doe I exhort thee to doe? No new thing, for we seek no remedies for new evils, but this, especially to consider in thy selfe, what thing is necessarie, and what superfluous. That which is necessarie, thou shalt finde euery where before thee, but as touching those that are superfluous, thou shalt mult alwaies runne after them, and thou shalt hardly finde them. Neither hast thou cause to praise thy selfe too much, if thou contemnest golden beds, and household-stuffe garnished with precious stones. For what vertue is it to contemne superfluities? Then admire thou thy selfe, when thou contemnest necessarie things. Thou dost no great thing, when as thou canst liue without Kingly entertainment, when thou desirest not wilde boares of a thousand pounds waight, nor the tongues of Phenicopteres, nor such other monstres of gluttonie, which this day taketh no delight in whole beasts, but desireth and longeth after the leg of one, and the wing of another, and such and such members of another. Then shall I admire thee when thou contemnest not the brownest bread: if thou perswade thy selfe that herbes when necessitie requireth, do not only grow for the vse of beasts, but for the nourishment of man. If thou knowest that the buds of trees are sufficient to fill the belly, into which we gather so many precious things, as if it were a store-house to conferue them in, we must fill the same without loathing. For what skilleth it what it receiue, since it must lose whatsoeuer it hath received. Thou takest pleasure to see a ranke of platters charged with fowle and fish. There are meates which please thine appetite, because they are yong and tender: contrariwise there are others lesse fauourie vnto thee, if they be not so thicke and fat as they melt in their grease. The very artificiall smell of these delighteth thee. But vndoubtedly these meates so carefully sought out, and so cunningly sauced, being swallowed downe into the belly, conuert themselves into ordure of the same colour, and stinke. Wilt thou contemne the voluptuousnesse of meates, looke vpon them in thy close-stool. I remember that ATTALVS, not without the admiration of all men, was wont to say this: Riches, said he, haue oftentimes deceived me, when I saw any peece of them shine heere or there, I stood in admiration to behold them. I thought that those which were hidden, were like those which were shown. But in a certaine Circensian show I saw all the riches of the Citie embolished with gold and silver, and those things which exceeded either gold or silver in price, exquisite colours, and garments that were brought not onely from our vttermost territories, but beyond the furthest confines of our enemies. On this side the troopes of children, seemely both in their habit and forme: on that side of women, and other things, which the fortune of the greatest Empire hauing fought out her greatest riches, had brought forth. What other thing is this (said he) then to irritate the lusts and desires of men that are too forward of themselves? What meaneth this pompe of money? We are assembled together to learne auarice. But vndoubtedly I carrie hence lesse couetousnesse then I brought with me. I contemned riches, not by reason they were superfluous, but because they were things of a small value. Seest thou not in how small a time this so mightie show passed ouer, although they marched but slowly, and were rancked orderly? Shall this which could not fill the space of an houre, occupie our whole life? He likewise added this. They seemed vnto me as superfluous to those that had them, as those that beheld them. I therefore say thus to my selfe, as oftentimes as any such thing encountereth mine eyes, as often as I see a rich and sumptuous house, a rich guard of seruants, a Litter

carried

carried by goodly Lackeys. Why, wonderest thou? why art thou amazed? it is but pompe. These things are shewne, not possessed; and whilst they please they passe by. Rather conuert thy selfe vnto true riches, learne to be content with a little, and with a great and manly minde exclaime thus; *Let vs haue water, let vs haue barley steeped in water, and let vs contend with I vertax himselfe for felicitie.* Let vs, I pray thee, doe thus although these things be wanting. It is a bacheling to build a blessed life, eyther on golde or silver, and as base to found it on water and steeped barley; what shall I therefore do if these things be missing? Dost thou aske me what remedie there is against need? hunger endeth hunger, otherwife what importeth it if the things that make thee a slave be great or little? What matters it how much it be that fortune may denie thee? This very water and steeped barley is at another mans command, but hee ouer whom she hath no power at all. It is so. Thou must desire nothing if thou wilt prouoke Iupiter that desireth nothing. These things spake ATTALVS vnto vs, but nature crieth it in all mens eares, which if thou wilt oftentimes thinke vpon, thou shalt make thy selfe really, not seemingly, happie, and in effect seeme such vnto thy selfe and not vnto others.

EPIST. CXI.

He proueth that cauels are but a vaine and base kinde of Philosophie; and that that part which concerneth manners is true, firme, and sublimed. Conuulsing vs to retire to that studie.

THOU hast enquired of me what those things are called in Latine, which the Grecians call *Sophismata*; many men haue endeouored to expresse the same, but no man hath performed it; and the reason is, because the thing it selfe was not received by vs; neyther had in vs, and therefore likewise was the name of no account; yet that in my iudgement was the most fittest which *Cicero* vsed; who called them *Caualitates*, that is to say Cauels; to which whosoeuer addiceth himselfe; he forgeth subtile questions, yet doe they profite him nothing vnto life, neyther is he made the stronger, more temperate, or more lifted vp. But he that hath exercised Philosophie for his owne remedie sake is made mighty in mind, full of confidence inuincible, and more great the nearer he approacheth the same. That which filleth out in the greatest mountains, whose height appears kait to those that behold them from a farre, and the nearer you approach them, the more manifestly appeareth it what their immeasurable height is: such, my *Zenillus*, is a true and no counterfeited Philosopher; he standeth in a high place, admirable, vp-right, and truly great. He raiseth not himselfe on his feete, neyther walketh on his tiptoes, after the manner of those that helpe their height by shift, and would seeme longer then they be; he contenteth himselfe with his greatnesse. Why should he not content himselfe, since he is growne so tall, as fortune reacheth not her hand vnto him, and therefore is he about all humane things. He is as wayes like himselfe in all things that may happen, whether the Navigation of his life floateth vnder a prosperous winde; or be tossed by storms and aduerser dangers. This constancy these cauels (of which I haue spoken a little before) cannot affect. The minde dallieth with these, but profiteth not: he casteth

eth Philosophy from her throne, and bringeth her vnto the plaine; neyther would I forbid thee to practise these things sometimes, yet let it be then when thou wouldest doe nothing, yet haue they this one cursed qualitie in them, they leaue a certaine rough of delight behinde them, and possesse and arrest the mind that is induced by the appearance of subtiltie; mean while, infinite and important affaires remaine behinde, and scarcely may our whole life suffice to learne this one thing, which is how to contemne life. What to gouerne it sayest thou? This is the second worke: for no man euer well ruled it except hee contemned it.

EPIST. CXII.

He desireth the reformation of his friend, olde in years and vices.

N Doubtedly I desire that thy friend according to thy wish should be both formed and instructed; but he is held ouer-hard, or rather (which is more troublesome) he is held ouer tender, and broken by euill and daily customes. I will yeeld thee an example out of the husbandry I profess: It is not euery Vine that is fit for grafting; if it be olde and worme-eaten, if it be weake and slender, eyther it receiueh not the young plant, or nourisheth it not, or it will not ioine with it, neyther wil communicate his qualitie and nature to the same. We therefore are accustomed to cut it about the ground, to the end that if it faile, a man may assay another experiment, and set him once more into the earth. This man of whom thou writest, and whom thou recommendest, hath no forces. He hath bene in such sort addicted vnto vices, that he is both dried and indurate. He cannot receiue or nourish reason, yet is he desirous. Belicue him not: I say not that he lieth vnto thee, he thinketh he desireth. He is angry with the excess he hath made, yet will he shortly fall in league with it againe. But he saith that he is offended with his life: I will not denie it; for who is not offended? men both loue and hate their liues. Then therefore will we giue our iudgement of him, when he hath approued vnto vs that his excess is hateful vnto him; but now they are greatly at odds.

EPIST. CXIII.

He questioneth whether vertues be liuing creatures. He soicially affirmeth that the vices and affections are no lesse. Then preferred he a dispute, that were ridiculous in those dayes. He dissuadeth vs from such like, and summoneth vs to those things that are profitable to life.



How desirest me to write vnto thee what I thinke of this question so much canuassed amongst Stoicks, whether iustice, fortitude, prudence, and the rest of the vertues are liuing creatures. By this subtilty, my dearest *Lucretius*, we giue occasion to some to thinke that we wber our wits about vnprofitable things, and that we lose our time in such disputes as serue to no purpose. Yet will I do that which thou desirest, and expresse vnto thee what the opinion of our Stoicks is; yet protest

I that I am of another opinion. I thinke there are some things that becomee those that weare the hat and cloke amongst the Grecians; I will therefore tell thee what the reasons were which moued antiquities. It appeareth that the soule is a liuing creature, considering the is the efficient cause whereby we are animated; and for that liuing creatures haue deriued this name from tier. But vertue is nought else then a soule possessing her selfe in some sort, it is therefore an animal. Again, vertue doth something, but nothing can be done without motion; if she haue motion, which none hath except it be a liuing creature, she is a liuing creature; and if she be a liuing creature, then vertue containeth vertue in her selfe, why not? she hath her selfe. Euen as a wise man doth all things by the assistance of vertue, so doth vertue by her selfe. Therefore saith he, all Arts, and all those things which we thinke, and whatsoever we comprehend in our mindes are animals. It followeth therefore that in those narrow breasts of ours there inhabiteth diuers thousands of animals, and that euery one of vs are many animals, or containe many animals in our selues. Askest thou me what is answered hereunto? Each one of these things shall be an animal, and not diuers. The reason? I will tell it thee, if thou wilt heare me patiently & attentively. All animals ought to haue each of them a proper substance: all animals haue one soule; they cannot therefore subsist euery one, neyther can they be diuers. I am an animal, and a man; thou wilt not therefore say that I am two. Why? To make them two, they ought to be seuered the one from the other. Euery one of diuers sorts hath but one nature, and therefore is but one. My soule is an animal, and I my selfe am one also; yet for all this are we not two. Why? By reason that my soule is a part of me. Then shall any thing be humbled by it selfe, when it consisteth by it selfe, but when it is a part and member of another, it cannot seeme to be another thing. And why? I will tell thee. Because that which is another must be his own, and properly his owne; and wholly his owne, and absolute within it selfe. I haue declared that I was of another opinion: for not only shall vertues be animals if this be admitted, but those vices and affections which are opposite vnto them likewise; such as are wrath, feare, sorrow and suspition. And yet this thing shall proceed further, all sentences, all thoughts shall be animals, which must in no sort be admitted. For euery thing that a man doth is not a man; what is iustice, saith he? A soule that possesseth her selfe in some sort: if therefore the soule be an animal, iustice is an animal. Nothing so: for this is a habite and certain power of the soule. The same soule is conuerted into diuers figures, and yet is not the soule an animal, so oftentimes as it changeth thus; neither is that which the soule doth an animal, if iustice, magnanimity and those other vertues be animals. I demand of thee if sometimes they cease to be, or if they begin againe, or if they be alwayes? Vertues cannot cease to be vertues, therefore many liuing creatures are animals, nay, more innumerable animals are in this soule. There are not many (saith he) but this is but one soule assembled of diuers, which are the members and parts of one. By this reckoning we represent vnto our selues such a forme as the Hydra, which hath diuers heads, each one of which fighteth and hurteb by it selfe. But none of those heads is an animal but the head of an animal, yet is she but one animal. No man said that in Chimera the Lion was an animal, or the Dragon; these are the parts of him, but the partes are not animals. Where doest thou gather that iustice is an animal? It acteth, saith he, somewhat and profiteth. But that which doth somewhat and profiteth, and hath force and motion, *Ergo*, that which hath force and motion is an animal. True it is, if it haue his

owne force and motion, but it hath not his owne force and motion, but that of the soule. Every Animal vntill it die is that which it began to be. A man vntill he die is a man, so likewise a horse and a dogge, for they cannot passe into another forme and substance. Iustice that is the soule which possesseth it selfe in any sort, is an Animal. Let vs beleeeue jr. Moreover, Magnanimitie, that is to say, the soule in any sort mistress of her selfe, is an Animal. What soule is that? That which euen now was Iustice, is inclosed in the first Animal, and cannot passe into another Animal, but must remaine in him where she began to be. Furthermore, one soule cannot be in two liuing creatures together, much lesse in many. If Iustice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and those other vertues be Animals. How can they haue but one soule, it must needs fall out that every one hath his own, else cannot they be Animals. One body cannot be the body of diuers Animals. What is, saith he, the bodie of Iustice, the soule, and of magnanimitie also; but one bodie cannot be the bodie of two Animals. But some one will say, that one and the same soule hath taken the habitude of Iustice, magnanimitie and tem-

creature, and vertue be a good thing, euery good thing is a liuing creature. The Stoickes auow this. It is a good thing for a man to saue his fathers life, to speake materially and to the purpose, his opinion in publique assembly, to giue a sentence according to the lawes, by this reckoning to saue a mans father, shall be a liuing creature, and to thinke and debate well, another. In briefe, this Paradox will seeme so great in the end, that a man cannot containe himselfe from laughter. To know how to hold a mans peace in time and place, to sup well is a good thing, and therefore to hold a mans peace, and to sup well, are liuing creatures. I will not cease to tickle my selfe, and make me pleasure by these follies. Truly if Iustice and Magnanimitie be liuing creatures, they are terrestriall, euery terrestriall liuing creature suffereth cold, hunger and thirst. So Iustice hath a cold, Magnanimitie is hungry, and Clemencie drie. Moreover, I would willingly aske of these Doctors, if these liuing creatures haue the figure of a man, of a horse, or of a sauage beast. If they attribute vnto them a round forme, as they doe vnto God, I would aske of them, whether couetousnesse, riot, and folly are round? For these likewise are Animals if they be round. I would desire them further

magnanimous, except he be resolute against all accidents, if in his thought he hath not overcome all adversities before he felt them. Magnanimitie is the inpregnable fortress of humane infirmities, whosoever is inclosed therein, he remaineth assured in this beleaguering of life. For he useth his owne strength and his owne weapons. In this place I will set downe vnto thee the notable saying of the Stoick POSIDONIUS, *Neuer thinke thy selfe assured with the armes of Fortune, combat against her with thine owne. Casualties doe not arme vs.* They therefore that are armed against their enemies, are disarmed against aduersitie, Alexander spoiled and put to flight the Persians, the Hircanians, the Indians, and all those Nations that inhabit the extent of the East Countries vnto the sea. Notwithstanding he himselfe hauing slaine one friend and lost another, lay groueling in a darke chamber detesting his wickednesse, deploring his losse, and this conquerour of so many Kings and Nations, was overcome by choler and sorrow. For all his endeuours were aimed to this end, to master all other things except himselfe. O how blinde are men, who desire to make their Scepters passe beyond the seas, who thinke themselves happy if they conquer diuers countries and Prouinces by their souldiers, and ioyned new to the old, not knowing that the greatest Empire, and that which is wholly conquered, is to command a mans selfe. Let them teach mee how sacred a thing Iustice is, that is a vertue that is careful of another mans good; that seeketh not commodities or aduantages to her selfe. That she hath no alliance with ambition and waineglorie, but pleaseth her selfe. Before all things let euery one perswade himselfe this. It behoueth me to be a good man, without hope or desire of recompence. This is a small matter, let him adde more: I am commanded to employ my selfe wholly and freely in the studie of vertue, in such sort as all my thoughts as much as in me lieth, to be driuen from the consideration of my priuate profit. Studie thou not whether the reward of vertue, is more great then vertue it selfe. Fix thou that likewise in thy minde, which I haue touched heretofore, it skilleth not whether thy vertue be knowne to few men, or to many. He that wil haue his vertue published, laboureth not for vertue, but for glory. Wilt thou not be iust without glory? But vndoubtedly thou must be iust with infamie, and then, if thou art wise, an euill opinion well gotten doth delight.

EPIST. CXIII.

He teacheth that eloquence is otherwise different, and pleasing, even as publike manners are seuer, dissolute and broken. He proueth that they take that colour from the mind, and that by MACENAS example, and therefore that that is to be cured and formed, from whence proceedeth sense, and consequently direct words. By the way he argueth against dissolutenesse.

How askest mee why and whence it cometh to passe, that the speech is corrupted in some times, and why mens minds are inclined to certaine vices, so as sometimes a swelling discourse was applauded, some other times foundling & deliuered after the manner of a song. Why other whiles men tooke pleasure in long & continued periods, other whiles in abrupt sentences & suspitious, in which more is to be understood then heard. Why then was some age that immodestly vsed a figurative discourse. The reason is this which thou hast commonly heard, and the Greekes haue made their prouerb, of such is mens speech as is their life. But as euery mans actio is answerable to his speech, so sometimes the kind of discourse

imitateth

imitateth publike manners. If the discipline of the Common-wealth hath beene depriued, the effeminate manner of language is an argument of the dissolution of all estates: I speake of that language which is vsuall amongst all men, and not of that which some one or two vse. The soule and vnderstanding cannot be of two colours. If the soule be whole, composed, graue, and well tempered, the vnderstanding also is sober and moderate. If the one be corrupted, the other is affected. Seest thou not, that if the mind languish, the members are weakened, and the feet hardly moued? And if it be effeminate, how the infirmities thereof appeareth euery in the walking? How if it be watchfull and forward, the body doubtleth his pace, and if it be furious, or (that which is next to furie) be angry, how all the body trembleth, and how they go not, but are transported? How much more befalleth the vnderstanding thinkest thou, which is wholly intermixed with the soule, which formeth the same, bringeth it in action, and giueth it a law? In what sort *Mecenas* liued, it is better knowne, then that it needed to be exprest at this time, how he walked, how daintie he was, how desirous to be seene, how vnwilling that his vices should be vndiscovered. What then, was not his discourse as dissolute as his life? Had he not as much affectation and vanitie in his speech, as in his equipage, then in his traine, then in his house, then in his wife? He was a man of great vnderstanding, had he not tracted a worse way, had he not affected obscuritie, had he not ouerflowed in his discourse. Thou shalt therefore see the eloquence of a drunken man enfolded, extravagant and full of libertie. Behold *Mecenas* in his manner of speech. *Quid turpius amne fluit, q. riuus comantibus? Vide ut alium litribus arent, verosq. valoremittant hortos. Quid si quis semina cirro crispata & laboris columbatur? Incipitq. suffragans ut ceruicelaxa seriat. Nemo tiranni irremediabilia factio rimantur, epulis lagant, tentant domos & sepe mortem exigunt. Genium seiso vix suo testem tenuis cereisila & crepacem molant. Iocum mater & vxor inueitunt.* Wilt thou not suddenly remember, as soone as thou readest this, that this is the speech of such a man, who alwayes trauesed Rome streets in his loose-gowne. For euery then when in *Caesar* absence he executed his office, hee deliuered the watch-word in this habit. Think that it is the same man, that in the Pallace, in the Tribunal during the time of Orations, in all assemblies of these people alwaies presented himselfe, hauing his face mufted in his cloake, without discovering any thing but his cares, as they are accustomed to doe, who slee and will not be knowne, according as they are represented in Comedies. Hee it is that in the greatest height of ciuill warres, at such time as Rome was in armes and in feare, marched thorow the streets, attended by two Eunuchs, yet more men then himselfe. Hee it is that hath had but one wife, and notwithstanding hath been married a thousand times. These words aboue written so badly builded, so negligently disposed, so repugnant to the manner of all mens writings, shew that his manners were no lesse new, then particular and depraued. Hee hath beene highly prised for the sweetnesse of his nature, in that he neuer bare armes, or euer tooke pleasure in shedding blood, or did any thing, except that which the libertie of the time or his credit might permit him. But all this good reputation of his hath beene soyled by the affectations of this his monstrous manner of language: for in this it manifestly appeareth that hee was rather a milke-soppe then mercifull. These obscurities in his composition, these ouerthwart words, these conceits oftentimes: loffie, but without pith, discouer vnto him that will obserue the same, that too much felicitie had troubled his head, a vice which is sometimes found in the man, sometimes in the

time. When as repose and felicitie produceth and soweth dissolution on enery side. First of all, a man beginneth more carefully to dresse and adorne his bodie. Afterwards his studie is to haue rich mouables; consequently he beincketh him selfe of stately buildings, to make them more large, to enrich the walls with Marbles fetched from beyond seas, to embolish the roofes with gold, that the beautie of the paucement be answerable to the richnesse of many beames. Then transferreth he his daintinesse to the magnificence of his table, and there searcheth he glorie in noueltie, and changing the accustomed fashions amongst our predecessors, so that those things which were wont to bee served in last at supper, are brought in first, and those things that were presented to those that entered to the feast, are giuen to those that depart from it. After that mans minde was accustomed to loath that which was in vse, and things that are ordinarie were accounted contemptible: he goes and seekes out a new language, reuiuing and reuiuing vnusall and forgotten words, then forgoeth he new, and regreteth the vnknowne: that which is but newly found out is reputed elegant, and figuratiue translations are audacious and frequent. Some thinke to credit themselves by speaking to the halles, and abbreviating their speech in such sort, as he that heareth knoweth not what to thinke. Other there are that delate and draw them out, some there are that draw not vnto the vice (for he must needs, that vnder taketh any great thing to doe the same) yet such as loue the fame. Wherefoeuer therefore thou seest that men take delight in an obscure and corrupt speech, hold thy selfe assured that their manners are depraued. Euen as excellent banquets and superfluous rayments are witnesses that the Commonweale is sicke, so this libertie in coining new tearmes and words (if so be the custome be continued) sheweth that the spirits of those that speake thus, are entangled and lost. Wonder thou not in any sort, that this corruption is as pleasing to the mightiest, as to the meaner sort, for the greatest and the poorest differ not in iudgements, but in their pompe and estate. Rather wonder thou that men praise the effects of vices, and the vices themselves. For this hath bene alwaies done: there was no pleasing wit that had not his pardon. Giue me whatsoeuer man thou wilt of greatest name, and I will tell thee wherein the age wherein he liued pardoned him, and what they willingly dissembled in him. I will reckon thee vp many, whose vices harmed them not, and some, whose errors profited them. I will, I say, let thee see some of great renowne, and reputed most excellent men, whom if a man will censure, he confoundeth them. For so are their vertues intermixed with their vices, that the one do necessarily draw the other after them. Adde hereunto that language hath no certaine rule. The publike custome which changeth it incessantly, altereth it from yeare to yeare. Some men borrow words from another age. They vse the stile of the Lawes written in the twelue tables. *Gracchus, Crassus, and Curio* are ouer new for they returne as farre as *Appius and Cornucanus*. Some other contrariwise, that will haue nothing which is not vulgar and triuiall, speake very barelie. Both of them are corrupted in a diuers manner so much certainlie, as if they would vse pompous wel-sounding and poeticall words, and stie those that are necessarie and in vse: I will say that as well the one as the other doth amisse. The one esteemeth the felices more then is necessary, the other mispriset the felices ouer much; the one pull the haire frō their legs, the other not from their arme pits. Let vs passe ouer to cōposition, how many defaults may I discouer to thee? The one allow of a crabbed and harsh discourse, they disturbe a smooth and pleasing stile: no period is pleasing to them, if it be not harsh and rough: they

they repute that manly and strong which affecteth the eare with inequalitye. The other in stead of speaking, seeme to ling, so battering and so fluent is the structure of their wordes. What wilt thou say of that where the words are deferred, and after we haue attended them long time, hardly returne they vnto their clauses? What shall I say of that which in the stile is moderate (as is that of *Cicero*) and falling and ending afterwards sweetly, and answerable to the fashion, and hath his ending answerable to the manner and look. There is not only an error in the kind of sentences, if eyther they are too weak and childlike, and more proude and bolde then modestie will permit, but they are too flourishing and sweet, if they be delivered in vaine and without any effect, they doe no more but sound. These vices some one man bringeth in, whose eloquence in that time is applauded, the rest doe imitate him, and the one deliuereth it to the other. So when *Salust* was in request, the sentences were curtailed, and wordes had their vnexpected cadence; and obscure brevities with the rest were reputed elegancie. *Aruncius* a man of rare frugalitie, who wrote the Historie of the Carthaginian warres, was a *Salustian*, and an excellent man in that kinde. There is in *Salust*, *Exercitus argenti fuit*: that is to say, he made an armie with siluer; that is, he assembled an armie with money. This did *Aruncius*, he planted it in euery place: he saith in a certaine place, *Fugam nostri fecere*, that is to say, our men made a flight: and in another place *Hiero King of Syracusam bellum facit*, maketh warre: and likewise in another place, *Quauidita Panormitanus dedere Romanis fecere*, that is to say, which things being heard, they made that the Inhabitants of Panormus rendered themselves to the Romanes. I thought good to giue thee a little taste. All this whole booke is composed of wordes. Those wordes that were rare in *Salust* are vsall in him, and almost continued: and not without cause; for the one lighted on them by chance, the other sought for them. But thou seest what followeth him that taketh an error for an example; *Salust* said, *Aquas hiemantibus*, whilst the waters wintered: *Aruncius* in his first booke of the Carthaginian warre, saith, *Reperite hiemantem pelias*, that is to say, the tempest suddenly wintered. And in another place, when he would say that the yeare was colde, he saith, *Totus hiemant annus*, that is, the whole yeare wintered. And in another place, *Inde sexaginta onerariis leues praeter militem, & necessarios nautarum hiemante aquilone misit*, that is, whilst the *Aquilone* wintered, he sent from that place fixtie ships of small burthen, besides the Souldiers and necessarie Marriners. He neuer giueth ouer in all places to soile in this word. In a certaine place *Salust* saith, *Inter arma ciuilia equi boni famas petiit*, that is, amidst ciuill armes he sought the renowne of a man good and iust. *Aruncius* tempered not himselfe, but presently in his first booke he inserted this, *Ingentes esse famas de Reo vltio*, that is, that the renownes of *Regulus* were great. This therefore and such like vices, which imitation hath imprinted into any tokens of dissolution, or a corrupt minde. For they must be proper and concubed by the vnderstanding, by which thou oughtest to estimate any mans effects. The speech of a cholericke man is hastic, and violent of a man that is moued to much stirring, of a delicate and ciuill man smooth and pleasant, which thou seest those men follow that eyther pull and trim their beards, that cause their mustachios to be cut short, that haue their vpper lips very neere, and suffer the rest to be as long as is possible, that weare their cloakes of an euill colour, and gownes of pure stuffe, who will doe nothing but that which is scene publicly, although they offend and displease the whole world. But they care not to be reproued, provided, that they be beheld. Such is *Meccan* discourse and all

all others else, which erre not casually but willingly. This error proceedeth from an euill conscience. Euen as in drunkenness the tongue faltereth not, except reason be obscured or betrayed; so this manner of speech (which is a mere drunkenness of the spirit) is tedious to no man, except the vnderstanding of him that speaketh be shaken. Therefore we ought to heare the same, for from it the discourse, the words, the countenance, the regard, the marching is deriued; if it be whole and strong. The language is robust, strong and manly; contrariwise, if it be dejected all the rest grow to wracke.

*The King in health then all mens minde is gouerned,
The King once lost then all mens faith is gouerned.*

Our minde is our King if it be safe, the rest continue in their ductie, they obey and are gouerned, if he be neuer so little shaken, they droope with him. But when he giueth place to pleasure, his Arts and his actions also doe decay, and all his forces are feeble and fraile. Because I haue vsed this similitude I will perseuer. Our minde is now a King, now a Tyrant: a King when he beholdeth and aimeth at honestie, maintaineth the health of the bodie committed to his charge, and commandeth no filthy or fordid thing; but when he is cholerike, couetous and delicate, he assumeth a detestable and direfull name, and is called Tyrant. Then doe impotent affections lay holde of him, and sollicite him incessantly, and in the beginning of those that most presse him seeme to yeelde him pleasure; such as the people is accustomed to reioyce at when a tyrant maketh them any larges to intrap them: but this abundance is vaine vnto the vnderstanding, which manageth that which he cannot disgest, when the sickness hath consumed his vigor more and more, and delights haue stolne into his nerues and marrow, the vnderstanding being ioyfull to behold these things (the vse whereof is vnprofitable to him, because he hath ouer-earnestly desired them) for the satisfaction of his delights, he enioyeth the sight of this or that, he is witnesse and vnderferuant of other mens iuits, being deprived of all delights of the same, because he is ouer-plunged therein: in briebe, the abundance of worldly pleasures in stead of conceiting him consumeth him, when he sees himselfe deprived of the meanes to let downe by his throat into his belly all the pleasant moricels he beholdeth, and to tumble himselfe basely amidst the troop of baudes and harlots, he wonderfullly grieueth because he is faine from the greatest part of his felicitie, hauing so straight receipt in a bodie so little. Is not this a true furie, my *Lucilius*, that none of vs thinketh that he is mortall? That we are insensible euery way of our infirmity? yea, that each one supposeth himselfe to be more then onc. Behold our Kitchens, and our Cookes trauesering from one fire to another; wouldest thou thinke that for the refectiō of one onely belly so much sturre should be made? Behold our Caues and Cellers replenished with the vintages of many ages; thinkest thou that it is for one belly that the wines of so many Consuls and Countries are stored vp? Behold in how many places the earth is turned vp, how many thousands of husbandmen plough and digge the same; thinkest thou that it may seeme to be for one belly that Sicily and Africa are sowed? We shall be healthfull and desire little, if euery one of vs numbrell himselfe, and measure his body likewise, and know that it neyther can receiue much, nor containe it long; yet is there nothing that will teach thee better to keepe a measure in all things, then an ordinarie meditation of the thornes and vncertainty of this life, whensoever thou doost look backe vnto death.

EPIST.

EPIST. CXV.

Hearke not against those that are too curious in their discourse and stile, and saith it is a token of a weakke minde; alleging that we ought to speake and write confidently without affectation of ornament, and rather expresse in our minde: O what a one is he when vertues haue adorned him? He will draw all men into admiration of him, if he might be seene. But this external beautie is eyther false or nothing worth: as likewise golde and money are, which wee so much admire. These make not men happy or secure, may rather miserable and to be pittied.

I Will not haue thee too curious, eyther in thy wordes or composition, my *Lucilius*, I haue greater matters for thee to care for, and thinke vpon. Seeke what thou shouldest write, and not how; and in stead of busying thy selfe about wordes, cause thy selfe to haue a feeling of the substance thereof in thy heart, to the end thou mayest apply the same more and more, and as it were seale it in thy selfe. Whomsoever thou feelest that vseth an affected and laboured kinde of speech, thinke that he hath his spirit occupied about vaine things. A vertuous man speaketh more remissly, but more securely: whatsoeuer he saith, hath more confidence in it then curioisitie. Thou knowest diuers young men well barbed and frizeled, who seeme as if they newly came out of a boxe; expect thou nothing eyther firme or generous from such kinde of men. The speech is the Image of the minde: if a man mince it, diguise and polih it ouer curiously, it is a signe that he which speaketh it, is an hypocrite, and little worth. It is no manly ornament to speake affectedly. If it were lawfull for vs to prie into the soule of a good man, O the faire, O the holy, O the magnificent, gratiours, and shining face which we should beholde! their iustice, their fortitude, their temperance, their prudence giue lustre on euery side. Furthermore, frugalitie, continence, patience, libertie and courtesie, and that rare, and as it were incredible ornament in a man, that is to say humanity, would reflect their light vpon them. Furthermore, how much grace, grauity, authority, discretion and magnanimitie (which is the highest of all other vertues) would annex themselves vnto the rest. No man would count him amiable that would not terme him venerable, if any one had seene this face more heavenly and replendent then mortal eyes are accustomed to behold, would he not step backe, being stroken with astonishment, as if he had met with some God? Would he not pray in his heart that he might contemplate the same? Then approaching more nere, allured by the sweetness of his eyes, would he not humbly kneele downe before her. And hauing aduisedly considered it, how faire more excellent it were and incomparable above ours, with a gratiours regard, yet sparkling and filled with liuing light, wholly rauished with zeale and amaze, would he not crie out with *Virgil*,

*O by what stile faire Virgin shall I strue
To fet thee forth? for thine unequal eyes
Are more then mortall, and thy words reuiue
Farre more then humane eloquence implies,
Loue happy, and wouche safe vs of thy grace,
And end those toyles which haue our life in chase.*

Shee will alift and comfort vs, if we will honour her, but she is not honoured or serued

serued by the offerings of fat slaughtered and sacrificed Bulls, nor by golde, or silver hung vp in the Temple, or by presents cast into her treasure; but by a right and holy affection. There is not any man, as I haue said, that would not be inflamed with her loue, if we could attaine to see her. For now there are manie things that hinder and dim our eyes, and dull them by their brightnesse, or detain them in obscuritie. But euen as certaine medicines doe cleane and sharpen the sight; so likewise if we will take away those impediments that darken the eyes of our soules, we may behold vertue, although couered with a body, although poueritie, base condition, and infamie be as many couerts to conceale her from vs; although this beautie be clouded by an obscure thing, yet shall we espie it. Contrariwise, we shall discouer from a farre the malice and stupiditie of a miserable soule, although that riches doe abundantly shine and muster about her, and that in regarding her we haue our eyes dazeled with the false light of power and honours. Then may wee learne that which wee admire is contemptible in all sorts, and that we resemble little children, that thinke every trifle of great value; for they preferre their little bracelets, scarce worth a peny, before their fathers, mothers, or brothers. What difference then is there betwixt vs and them, saith *Ariston*, but that we are madding after pictures and statues more costly foolish? They are delighted with little partie coloured stones, that haue some varietie in them, which are found vpon the Sea shore, and we with pillars of Iaspe and Porphyre, brought from the lands of Egypt, or the deserts of Africa, to sustaine some porch or some dyning chamber to seat the Commons in. We wonder at the walls that are couered with thin marble, and yet we know what that is which is hidden, and we couen our owne eyes. And when we guild all the roofs of our houses, what other thing reioice we in but in counterfeite? For we know that worme-eaten wood lyeth hidden vnder that golde: neyther is it onely on our walls and house-beames that we bestow this light ornament, but remember thy selfe also that the felicitie of all these great men whom thou seest march so proudly, is but a felicitie guilded on the out-side, and a simple lease. Obserue and thou shalt see, that vnder this thin skin of humane greatnesse, there is abundance of miserie and filthinesse. Those riches which at this day raise men to greatest magistracy & place of iustice, haue bewitched the hearts and senses of the same men; and since money hath growne in request, the true honour of things is made no reckoning of: and being become buyers and sellers both at once, we aske no more what this is, but of what worth this is? In this traffique we are sometimes good, and sometimes euill. As long as there is any hope of profite about vertue wee follow her: if vice promise vs better advantage we runne after it, and are for those will giue vs most. Our fathers and mothers haue made vs admire golde and silver; this couetousnesse being fowled in our tender soules, hath taken deepe roote, and is growne with vs. Again, all men that in all other things are of different opinions, accord in this point of auarice, every one embraceth the same, desireth that his may haue a part, & pretending to shew himselfe gratefull to the gods, hee presenteth them with silver and golde, as the most excellent thing in the world. Finally, mans life is brought to that passe, that poueritie is held for a hatefull thing, and full of contempt, neglected by the rich, hatefull to the poore. Then haue the Poets annexed their inuentions, which are as it were matches to kindle our affections in praying riches as the onely honour and ornament of this life, and that the immortal gods seeme to haue nothing better, neyther can giue any thing more exquisite. One of them speaking of the Pallace of the Sunne, saith

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*The Pallace of the Sunne, most seemly to behold,
Was raised on pillars of the purest gold.*

Behold how he describes his Chariot.

*The axeltree, the beame, the outward bends,
That arme the wheels, were all of burnisht gold,
The spokes of silver.*

To conclude, they call that the golden age, which they would haue reputed for the best. Amongst the Tragique Poets, there are some that preferre profite before innocence, health, and good opinion.

*Let me haue wealth and riches to be giuing,
Account thou me the wretched if miserie liuing;
All men enquire, if he be rich or no,
But no man learns what goodnesse he doth owe.
They aske not why, or whence, but what thou hast,
And onely that, so each man is reputed
As he is landed, monied, and sited.
Ask it thou me what is loathsome to possesse,
Nothing; for getting doth disgrace redresse.
I either wish to liue in rich estate,
Or die in poueritie, contempt, and hate:
Full well dies he, that dying getteth gaines;
Many the greatest good of humane straine:
The mothers comfort, and the infants pleasure,
The sacred parents are but toys to pleasure,
In VENUS face nothing so sweetly shines
As many doth, nothing her power confines;
The gods themselves are by her presents mou'd;
And mortall men her sight haue euer lou'd.*

When these last verses of *Euripides* Tragédie were pronounced, all the people arose with great tumult, to sing out both the Actor and the Author, till *Euripides* himselfe stepped forth into the midst of them, beseeching them to haue patience, and they should see what end he had that so much admired gold. In this Tragédie *Deiophan* receiued the chastisement, which every one receiue in himselfe. For no auarice is without punishment, although thee her selfe be punishment enough of her selfe. O how many teares and toyles exacteth thee at their hands that serue her; how miserable thee is both to those that gape after her, and to those that haue got her. Adde hereunto the continual cares which torment every man, according to the measure of that he hath: money is posselt with greater torment then sought. What bitter sighes are vented from the hearts of couetous men, if they haue any losses, which sometimes are great, and seeme also to be greater. Finally, although Fortune take nothing from them, yet all that which escapeth their fingers, is as much as lost vnto them. But men say such a one is happie and rich, and desire to haue as much goods as hee. I confesse it. What then? Thinkest thou that any are in worse case then those which

which haue both miserie and enuie. I could wish that they who desire riches, should consult and take counsell of rich men. I could wish that they who affect honors, should confer with ambitious men, and such as haue gotten the height of dignitie, they should vndoubtedly change their voves, which they doe also making new wilhes, and consequently condemning their former wilhes. For there is no one man that contenteth himselfe with his felicitie, although those

cannot liue, if of it selfe it come not, it is dissolutenesse. Let vs therefore make head against affections which enter: because, as I said, they are not entertained so easily as they depart. Permit me in such a measure to be sorrowfull, in such a measure to feare: but that measure betcommeth without meane, and endeth not there where thou wilt. It is safetie for a wise-man not to keepe himselfe o-

dath, it is a bodie. They say that wisedome is good, it followeth then of necessity that it is corporall. But they thinke that to be wise is not of the same condition. It is a thing incorporeall and accidentall vnto wisedome, and therefore it cannot produce any action, neyther profite any wayes. But say we not it is good to be wise? We say so in relation to that whereon it dependeth, that is to say, to wisedome it selfe. Before I begin to retire my selfe, and to vnite my selfe with the contrary parties, heare that which some Stoicks answered vnto the rest. After this manner say they it is no good thing to liue happily: will they, nill they, they must answer that a blessed life is good, and that to liue blessedly is a good thing. Morcouer, it is opposed against those of our sect, Will you be wise? Therefore it is a thing to be desired to be wise: if it be a thing to be desired it is good. The Stoicks are constrained to wrest wordes, and to require the interposition of one syllable, which our speech permitteth not to be inserted, I will if thou wilt suffer me annex the same: That, say they, is to be desired which is good to be desired, which is contingent vnto good, which good when wee haue attained it, is not required as good, but is an accession to the good that is required. I am not of this opinion, and I iudge that the Stoicks agree with mee herein, because the first point bridleth them, and they cannot lawfully change the manner of speech: wee are wont to attribute much to the common and vniuersall opinion of men. Amongst vs it is a testimonie of truth, if it be alleged that all men beleue that which is in question. As for prooffe that there are goddes, wee alleage that the beleefe that there are gods is ingrafted and planted in all mens minds; neyther is there any Nation how brutish fouer, that beleueth not that there are gods? When we dispute of the eternitie of soules, the conceit of men eyther fearing hell, or reuerencing the same, hath no small moment and authority. I vse this publique perswasion, thou shalt finde no man who thinketh not that both wisedome and to be wise is good. I will not doe as they are accustomed that are ouercome, who seeing themselves in danger to lose their liues, appeale vnto the people, we will begin to fight with our owne weapons, whether is that which happeneth vnto any man without or within him to whom it happeneth? If it be in him to whom it happeneth, it is as well a bodie as that to which it happeneth: for nothing can happen without touch, and that which toucheth is a bodie. If it be without after it hath happened it departeth: that which retireth his selfe hath motion, and what fouer hath motion is a bodie. Thou hopest that I will say, that the course is not one thing, and running another; neyther heate one thing, and to be hote another; neither light one thing, and to shine another. I graunt that there is a diuersitie in these things, but I say that the one are not of a different condition from the other. If health be a thing indifferent, to be in health is a thing indifferent: likewise, if beautie be indifferent, to be beautifull is indifferent: if iustice be good, to be iust is good: if villaineie be euill, to be a villaine is euill. As much assuredly as if lippitude be euill, to haue purblind eyes is euill. That thou mayest know this, can the one be without the other? To be wise is wisedome, and it is wisedome to be wise. So farre is it from breeding doubt, that the one resembleth the other, that some men suppose that they are one and the same thing. But I would willingly aske this question, Since all things are eyther good, or euill, or indifferent, in what ranke To be wise, shall be placed? They denie that it is good, and euill it is not; it followeth then that it is indifferent: but that repute we to be meane and indifferent that may as well befall an euill as a good man, as money, beauty, and abilitie. But to

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be wise cannot befall any but a wise-man, and therefore it is not indifferent. An euill it is not that cannot befall an euill man, & therefore it is good: it is, saith he, the accident of wisedome. This therefore which thou termest To be wise, whether maketh it wisedome or suffereth it? Whether it doth make it or suffer it, in both kindes it is a bodie; for both that which is made and that which maketh is a bodie: if it be a body it is good. For this one thing was deficient in it, and detained it from being good, which was, because it had no bodie. The Peripatetiques holde that there is no difference betwixt wisedome and to be wise, when as the one is comprehended in the other. For thinkest thou that any man is wise except he that hath wisedome? And thinkest thou that wisedome accompanieth him that is wise? The ancient Logicians distinguished these things, and from them this diuision came vnto the Stoicks. What this is I will tell thee: The field is one thing, and to haue possession of the same another. Why not, when as to haue the possession of the field appertaineth to him that hath the field, and not vnto the field? So wisedome is one thing, and to be wise another. I thinke thou wilt graunt me this, that these are two; that which is had, and hee that hath the same: wisedome is had, he that is wise hath it. Wisedome is a perfect minde, or that which attaineth the fullnesse of perfection; for she is the act of life. What is to be wise? I cannot say a perfect minde, but that which becometh him that hath a perfect minde. So the one is a good minde, the other as it were to haue a good minde. There are, saith he, diuers natures of the body: as for example; this is a man, that a horse: these natures likewise are followed by the motions of the minde, which make shew of the body. These motions haue something proper and considered apart from the bodies, as I see *Cato* walking; this doth the sense shew, the minde beleue. It is a bodie that I see, on which I haue fixed both mine eye and my mind. I say afterwards *Cato* walketh, I speake not now of his bodie, but of something denounced of the body, that is to say, of his motion, which some call pronounced, some signified, other some denounced. So when we say wisedome we vnderstand some thing that is bodiless: when we say he is wise, we speake of the body. But there is a great difference whether thou speakest this or of that: for the present, let vs put the case that wisedome and to be wise are two things; for as yet I publish not my opinion, what hindereth both the one and the other to be good? Thou saidst a little before that the field was one thing, & to possess the field was another. Why not? for he that possesseth the same is in one nature, and that which is possessed is another, the one is a man, the other is a field. But in this whereof we now make question, wisedome and to be wise are things of the same nature. Furthermore, the field that is possessed is one thing, and the man that possesseth the same another; but wisedome and to be wise are found in one and the same man. The possession of the field comes by right, that of wisedome comes by nature. A man may alien the field, and giue it vnto another man, wisedome neuer departeth from him that possesseth the same: we must not therefore compare things that are vnlike. I began to say that both these may be two, and yet both of them good. Wisedome and a wise-man are two, and by thy confession both of them are good. But euen as nothing hindereth but that wisedome is a good thing, and hee that hath wisedome is good, so nothing hindereth but that wisedome is good, and to haue wisedome, this is to be wise and good. I will be a wise-man to this end that I may be wise. What therefore? Is not that good without the which the other is not good? Vndoubtedly, you say that wisedom if it be without vs is to be esteemed as nothing. And what is the vse of wisedome?

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dome? To be wife. This is that which is most precious in her, which being taken from her she is but meere illusion: if torments be euill, it is euill to be tortured, yea in such sort that if a man were neuer tormented, he should neuer consequently haue any torments. Wisedome is a habitude of a perfect vnderstanding; to be wife the vse of a perfect mind: how can the vse thereof be good, which without vse is not good? I aske thee whether wisdome is to be desired? Thou confisist it. I aske thee whether the vse of wisdome is to be desired? Thou confisist it, protesting likewise not to receiue the same if a man will barre thee of the vse thereof: that which is to be desired is good, so be wife is the vse of wisdom, as the vse of eloquence is to speak, the vse of the eye to see; but the vse of wisdome is to be desired, Ergo, to be wife is a thing to be desired, and if it be to be desired it is good. I condemne my selfe for times past, for following those whom I accuse, and for implying arguments in a thing that is manifest. For who can doubt but that extreme heat is euill, and to be extremely hote is euill; and that it colde be euill it is an euill thing to be colde? If life be good, that to liue is good? All these things that are about wisdome are not in the same, but we are to stay our selues vpon her, and if we will discourse she hath ample and spacious retreats to conuerse in. Let vs enquire of the nature of the gods, of the nourishments and diuers motion of the Planets, whether our bodies be disposed according to their reuolutions, or whether their influences haue a hand in all mens bodies and mindes: whether those things which are called casual are tyed together in a certaine order, and if nothing be done in this world without some speciall providence. But these things haue no relation to the present reformation of manners, yet mount they the minde, and raise the same to the greatnesse of those things they intreate of. But those disputes whereof I spoke a litle before, doe diminish and depresse the same, neyther as thou thinkest doe they whet but dull the same. But why, I beseech you, employ wee so necessary a care reserved for greater and better things, in a thing if not meere ly false, yet truely vnprofitable? What shall it profite me whether wisdome be one thing, and to be wife be another? What shall it auaille mee to know whether this be good, or that be badde? At all aduentures see what I desire; I with thee wisdome, and my selfe that I may be wife, so shall wee be both equal. Rather doe this that thou mayest shewe mee the way how I may attaine vnto these. Tell mee what I must eschue, and what I should desire, by what studies I may confirme my infirme minde; how I may drue farre from mee those vices that carrie and transport mee from the right; how I may surmount so many euils; how I may remove those calamities that haue broken in vpon mee, and how I may thwart those, in which I haue engaged my selfe. Teach mee how I may endure afflictions without grieving, sollicitie without other mens enuie or distaste, how I may not expect the last and necessarie tearme of life, but of my selfe when I shall so thinke good, speedily seeke it out and flie vnto it. Nothing in my iudgement is more absurd and dishonest then to wish for death. For if thou wilt liue, why wilt thou die? If thou wilt not, to what intent importunest thou the gods for that which they giue thee when thou wert borne? For euenas it is decreed that thou must die one day whether thou wilt or no, so when thou wilt is in thine owne power: the one is of necessitie, the other of will. Some few dayes past I haue read a shamefull Preface of a certaine man, otherwise learned and eloquent, where these wordes are: *So I may die* (sayeth hee) *incontinently*. O fond man, thou desirest that which is thine owne; *So may I die*

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incontinently. It may be that in speaking these wordes thou art become olde. Otherwise what stayeth thee? No man holdes thee, escape when thou wilt, chuse such a part of the instruments of nature, as seemeth good vnto thee, and command the same to giue thee ill: for these are the elements whereby this inferiour world is maintained; water, earth and ayre; all these are both the causes of life, and the high-ways to death. *So may I die incontinently*: but when wilt thou die? What day wilt thou aligne to thine incontinent? It may come sooner then thou wilt. These are the wordes of a weake minde, and of such a one who by this protestation would obtaine mercie and lengthning of his life: he will not die that wilheth for death. Beseech the gods to giue thee life and health: if thou hast a minde to die, this is the fruite of death, to giue ouer wishing. Let vs speake of these things my *Lucilius*; and by them forme our vnderstandings wisdome, and to be wife consisteth in this, not to debate in impertinent questions of vnprofitable disputes. So many questions hath fortune propofed vnto thee, yet hast thou not satisfied her in them: now thou caullest. How fond a thing is it to stand flourishing thy sword in the ayre, when the signall is giuen thee to begin the skirmish? Giue ouer these armes of disport, thou art to fight at sharpe. Tell me by what means no fadnes or feare may trouble the minde? by what means I may disburden my selfe of this troublefom weight of secret desires? Let (somewhat be done. Wisdom is good, to be wife is not good: be it so. Let vs denie that to be wife is a good thing, to the end we may draw all that studie into contempt, which is employed in superfluous matters. What if thou knewest likewise that this is in question, whether future wisdome be good? For what doubt is there, I pray you, whether the barnes doe already feele the haruest that is at hand, neyther child hood vnderstand his future youth, being destitute of force and vigor? The health that is to come is nothing profitable to him that is sick, no more then rest doth which ought to follow the course and wrestling, comforteth not a man as long as he is running or wrestling. Who knoweth not that that which is to come is not good for this onely cause, because it is yet to come? For that which is good profiteth and serueth without delay. No things can be profitable but such as are present: if a thing profit not, truly it is not good; if it profite it is presently good. I shall be wife, this shall be good when I shall be so; but in the meane while it is not. First must a thing be, and afterwards it must be such or such. But tell mee, I pray thee, how may that which as yet is nothing, be perfectly good? For how wilt thou haue me better proue it vnto thee that a thing is not, then if I shall say it is to come: for it is manifest that it is not yet come that is coming. The Spring must follow. I know now that it is Winter, the Sommer shall succede: I knowe that it is not Sommer-time. The greatest argument I haue that a thing is not as yet present, is that it is to come. I hope I shall be wife, yet in the meane space I am not wife. If I had that good, I should presently want this euill. It may bee hereafter that I shall be wife, although by this thou vnderstandest that I am not yet wife, I cannot at one time bee in that good and this euill. These two things doe not agree but are disioynted; neyther are at once in the same good and euill. Let vs passe ouer speedily these ingenious trifles, and hasten our selues to attaine those things which may giue vs any help. There is no man that carefully seeketh for a mid-wife to come vnto his daughter that is in labour, that readeth vnto her the ordinance and disposition of the publicke Playes. There is no man that hastily runneth to quench the fire that hath seized his house, hath not the leasure

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to

to study how to saue his man, that in a game at Chiefts is hemmed in on euery side. But thou knowest that from all parts, there commeth newes vnto thee both of the burning of thy house and the death of thy children, of the siege of thy Citie, of the pillage of thy goods. Adde hereunto, shipwracks, earthquakes, and all other dreadfull accidents. Being in the midst of so many troubles, hast thou no other businesse but to giue thy selfe to pleasure? Thou inquirest what difference there is betwixt wisdom and to be wise. Thou knittest and loosest knots, hauing so great a mountaine of miseries hanging ouer thy head. Nature hath not giuen vs so fauourable and liberall benefit of time, that we should haue leisure to lose any part thereof; consider also how much they lose who are most diligent. The sicknesse of our selues and of our friends carrieth away one part of vs, and necessarie and publique affaires another. Sleepe robbeth from vs the halfe of our life. Of this time so short, so swift, and that carrieth vs away, to what purpose is it to consume the greater part thereof in vain? Adde hereunto now that the minde is accustomed rather to delight then heale it selfe, and that Philosophie which should be the remedie of euils, serueth nothing but for pastime. I know not what difference there is betwixt wisdom and being wise, yet know I well that it profiteth me nothing, whether I know these things or know them not. Tell me when I haue learned the difference betwixt wisdom and being wise, if I shall be wise? Why rather detainest thou me amongst the words then the workes of wisdom? Make me stronger, make me securer, make me equall with fortune, make me superiour: but I may be superiour if I doe all that which I learne.

EPIST. CXVIII.

That he will write no vaine Epistles, but rather such as are full of profitable lessons. He persuadeth to handle our private not forraigne busineses, to require nothing of fortune, neither to depend vpon her. That the true good is to be sought, and the definition what it is: and likewise what it differeth from honestie. That euery good is according to nature, neither yet is euery thing good which is according to nature.

THOU requirdest me to write vnto thee oftentimes, if we enter into account thou canst not sufficiently satisfie me. It was agreed between vs that thou shouldest write first, and that I should answer thee, I will not be behinde hand with thee, I know that there is nothing lost that is lent thee. I will pay thee therefore before thy day: neither will I doe that which eloquent *Cicero* was wont to counsell *Atticus* to doe, that is, to write what fouer came into his minde, although he had no matter wherupon to write. I can neuer want matter to write vnto thee, although I omit all that discourse wherewith *Cicero* stuffeth his Epistles, to wit, who it is that laboreth for offices, who fighteth with his own or forraigne forces, who laboreth for the Consular, eithervnder *Cæsars* or *Pompeys* fauour, or of himselfe. How hard a vsurer *Cicilius* is, from whom his neighbours cannot wrest a pennie, but a hundredth vpon a hundredth. It were better for a man to speake of his owne miseries then of another mans, to examine himselfe, and to consider how many things a man laboreth for, and obtaineth not one. This my *Lucilius*, is a worthy thing, this a secure and free thing to demand and purchase nothing, and to let fortune possesse her estates, without bribing after any

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of the. How pleasant a thing is it, thinkest thou, when the people are assembled, when such as pretend offices giue court to their well-wishers, & the one publickly protesteth the mony he will giue, the other solliciteth by his flatteries & priuate friends, when one man weareth and waiteth another mans hands with kisses. Where had he attained what he desireth, he would loath they should touch him, when all men are astonied, & expect the voice of the Crier, to stand idle & expect those saïres, neither buying nor selling any thing? How great ioy enioyeth this man, who beholdeth these assemblies, where choyce is made of Pretors and Consuls, and those great estates, where the one demandeth yearly honours, others perpetuall power: the one happie successe in battels and triumphes, the other riches: the one marriages and children, the other long and happie life for themselves and their parents. O how great a minde is it to demand nothing, to make supplication to no man, and that saith vnto Fortune, I haue nothing to doe with thee, I am not at thy commandement. I know that with thee *Cato* is repelled, and *Valerianus* aduanced. I demand nothing at thy hands. This is to reduce Fortune into order. For this cause therefore ought we to entertaine one another, and to entreat continually on this subiect in our letters, beholding on euery side of vs so many thousands of men in trouble, who to cast themselves headlong into some morall ruine, traueise one mischiefe to finde out another, and seeke those things, which they incontinently flie as soone as they haue found them, or wherewith they should be likewise disgusted. For who is he that hath contented himselfe with that which was giuen him, or that supposed any thing ouer great, when he wished the same? Felicitie is not vnsatisfiable, as men belecue, but it is weake and small, and therefore satisfieth no man. Thou beleuest that these things are great, because thou art estranged from them, but to him that hath gotten them they are but base: I lie if such a one seeke not to mount higher. That which thou accountest highest, is but a degree. But the ignorance of truth is the cause that men erre thus, and they runne vnto that which hath but the appearance of good, being deceived by common opinion. Afterwards hauing by much trauell obtained that which they pretended, they see that those things are euill, vaine, and lesse then they expected, and the most part of them admireth at one time or another, these false lustre of such vanities. In brieue, the common sort esteeme those things for good, which are greatest. But lest wee fall into this error, let vs enquire that which is good. The interpretation thereof hath bene diuers: some haue defined the same in one sort, other some in another. Some define it thus. Good is that which inuitheth our mindes, and that calleth vs vnto him. Hereunto is most pleasantly obiect: But what if such a good inuite a man vnto his ruine? Thou knowest how many euils there are that are attractive. Truth, and that which seemeth true differ thus. That which is good is annexed vnto truth, for it is not good except it be true. But that which inuitheth to it selfe, and attracteth by his appearance, hath a resemblance of truth: it insinuateth, it solliciteth, it draweth. Some haue defined it thus. Good is that which moueth a desire of it selfe, or that inciteth the motion of the minde, that tendereth thereunto. And to this it is opposed in the same sort. For many things incite the motions of the minde, which are desired to their confusion that desire them. Better haue they done who haue defined it thus. That is good which draweth vnto it selfe according to nature, that motion of the soule, for that we ought to desire it then, when it is worthy to be desired. Let vs adde hereunto that this good is honest and vertuous, for we ought not to purchase an vnperfect good. This place admonisheth

monisheth me to teach thee the difference that there is betwixt that which is good, and that which is honest. Somethings they haue mixed, and inseparable betweene them: neither can that be good which hath not some honestie in it; neither that honest which is not good. What difference therefore is betwixt them both. Honestie is a perfect good, wherein a blessed life is accomplished, by whose attouchment other things are made good also. That which I say is thus. There are some things which are neither good nor euill; as Warres, Embassage, and Iurisdiction. These things when they are honestly administered, begin to be good, and become so, whereas before time they were indifferent. Good by the societie of honestie is made good, and honestie by it selfe is good. Good floweth from honestie, honestie is of it selfe. That which is good might haue bene euill; that which is honest, could not be but good. Some haue proposed this definition. That is good, which is according to nature. Marke what I say. That which is good is according to nature, yet is not that forthwith good, that is according to nature. Many things consent vnto nature, yet so small are they, that they deserue not to be called good. For they are small and contemptible: no good, no not the least is to be contemned, for as long as it is little, it is not good; when it beginneth to be good, it is not little. Whence is any thing now... to be good, if it be perfectly according to nature. Thou dost confesse, sayest thou, that this is good which is according to nature, this is his propertie. Thou confessest likewise that there are some things which are according to Nature, and yet not good. How therefore is that good, when these are not? How attaineth it another propertie, when as both of them haue this propertie, to be according to nature? That is to say, in as much as they are great. Neither is this a new thing, that some things are changed by encreasing. He was an infant; now become a yong man: he hath had at that time some other propertie. For the yong man is endowd with reason, the infant is deprived of it. Somethings become not only more great in their increase, but other things likewise. That, saith he, is not made another thing, which is made greater. It skilleth not whether thou fill a bottle with wine, or a tonne, the property of wine remaineth in both the vessels. A little waight of hony and a great differ not in fauour. Thou settest down different examples: for in these the same quality remaineth, and though they be encreased, they are alwayes hony and wine. Some things amplified in their kind, continue in their propertie: some things after many encreasing are changed by the last, which imprinteth in them a new qualitie, other the that which they had before. One stone will make an arch, that is to say, that bindeth in, and fastneth in the declining sides, and that tieth them together. Why hath this last stone, although it be little, so great a vse, because it maketh the worke compleat, although it giue it not any great encrease. There are some things, which in aduancing themselves, despoile themselves of their former forme, and inuest a new. After that our vnderstanding hath long time traueled vpon any subiect, and that it is wearied in following the greatnesse thereof, he beginneth to esteeme it infinit, because it is become farre different from that it was before, when it seemed great, but not infinite. In like case we haue imagined that a thing may not be cut, which is hardly cut: afterwards the difficulty growing to be greater, we finde that the thing can no more be cut. In like sort of a thing which is hardly moued, we come vnto a thing which is vnmouable. According to the same reason, some thing hath bene according to nature, and afterwards the greatnesse of the same hath transported it into another propertie, and hath made it good.

EPIST.

EPIST. CXIX.

That we may desire riches, and enioy them without requiring them as vnnesseary. That the end of all things which exceed not nature, is to be considered. She seeketh not superfluitie, but sufficient. At last he sheweth that all they who commonly are reputed rich, are poore. Good God, they are both excellent and true.



S oftentimes as I haue found any thing, I expect not till thou say I erie halfe. I say this vnto my selfe. Thou askest me what it is that I haue found out. Open thy lap, it is mere gaine that I giue thee. I will teach thee how thou mayest become rich suddenly, which thou art very desirous to heare of. And not without cause I will leade thee the shortest way to great riches. Yet hast thou need of a creditor, and to negotiate, thou must needs borrow, yet will I not suffer thee to haue any Solicitor to borrow for thee, nor Brokerer to publish thy name. I will bestow a creditor on thee, that shall be at thy commandement. That is to say, that sentence of CATO, *Whatsoeuer it be, it will suffice, provided that we require that of our selues, whatsoeuer we want.* For these things (my Lucilius) are alike not to desire and to haue. The effect of the matter in both is alike, thou shalt not be vexed: Neither doe I command thee this, to deny Nature any thing, she is obstinate, she cannot be overcome, she requireth her owne. But so that thou mayest know; that whatsoeuer exceedeth Nature, is but borrowed, and not necessarie. I am an hungry, I must eate: whether this bread be browne or white, it appertaineth nothing to Nature. She will haue the belly not delighted but filled: I am a drie, whether this water be fetched from the next lake, or that which I haue closed vp in much snow, that it might be cooled by forren cold, it concerneth Nature no wayes. She commandeth this one thing; that the thirst should be quenched: whether the pot be gold or Cry stall, or Calfidony, or a pot of Tiuoli, or the hollow of the hand, it skilleth not. Fix thine eye vpon the end of all things, and thou shalt forsake superfluities. Hunger presseth me. Let thy hand lay hold on whatsoeuer is next thee, the appetite shall make that loathsome, whatsoeuer I lay hold of. An hungry stomacke is glad of any thing. Thou demandest therefore what thing it is that delighteth me? Me thinks it is worthily spoken. *A wise man is a diligent searcher of naturall riches.* Thou payest me, sayest thou, with an empie platter. What is that empie? I had already prepared my coats, and looked about me vpon what sea I should embarke my selfe to follow traffique, what publike estate I might rent, what merchandize I should send for. It is a deceit in thee to teach me poeuerie, when thou hast promised me riches. Dost thou then esteeme him poore that wanteth nothing? Thou answerest that it is by his owne means, and by the benefit of his patience, nor of Fortune. Dost thou therefore iudge him not to be rich, because his riches cannot cease? Whether haddest thou rather haue much, or sufficient? he that hath much, desireth more, which is an argument that as yet he hath not sufficient: he that hath enough, hath attained the end which neuer befallth a rich man. Dost thou therefore thinke that these are not riches, because for them no man is banished, because for them no some hath giuen his father poison, nor wife her husband? Because in warres they are secure, in peace at rest? Because it is neither dangerous to enioy them, nor troublesome to dispose them? Hath he but a little, that hath neither cold, nor hun-

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ger, nor thirst? *Jupiter* himselfe hath no more. Neuer is that little which is sufficient; neuer is that much, which is not sufficient. *Alexander* of Macedon after he had conquered Asia, and the Indians, is poore, he seeketh what he may make his owne, he searcheth out vnknowne seas, he sendeth out new nauias vpon the Ocean; and if I may lay so, passeth and presseth beyond the bounds and limits of the world. That which sufficeth Nature contenteth not a man. And some there haue bene found, that hauing all things, haue notwithstanding coveted somewhat. So great is the blindness of our mindes, and so great the forgetfulness of men, that they remember not themselves of their beginnings, when they see themselves aduanced. This Prince that was Lord of a little angle of Greece, and that not without some opposition, is sorie that after he hath discomered and conquered so many Nations, to heare say that he must returne vnto his owne. Many neuer made any man rich: contrariwise there is not any man that hath gathered store of it together, that is not become more couetous. Wouldst thou know the reason hereof? Hee that hath much beginneth to haue a will to haue more. In summe, although thou set before me whom thou wilt, of those who are reputed as rich as either *Cressus* or *Licinius*. Let him set downe his reuenues, and account whatsoeuer he hath, and whatsoeuer he hopeth together, yet this man, if thou beleeuest me, is poore, or if thou trust thy selfe, may be poore. But he that hath composed himselfe to that which Nature requirerth at his hands, is not only without the fence, but also without the feare of pouertie. But to the end thou mayest know how hard a thing it is to restrain a mans affaires according to the measure of Nature: this man whom we suppose to be moulded and fashioned according to his wil, and whom thou callest poore, hath something which is superfluous. But riches attract and blinde the common sort, when great summes of money are carried out of any mans house, when his roofes are enriched and garnished with gold, when his family are either comely in body, or courtly in apparell. All these mens felicitie is in publike ostentation: but he whom we haue exempted both from the eye of the people, and the hand of Fortune, is blessed inwardly. For as touching those, with whom pouertie hath taken place, and is seized of them vnder the supposed name of riches, they haue their goods in such sort, as we are said to haue the Ague, when the Ague hath vs. Contrariwise we must say, the Ague hath hold of him: and in like manner wee ought to say, Riches hold and possesse him. There is nothing therefore that I would haue thee remember more then this, that no man is sufficiently admonished, to the end thou mayest measure all things by naturall desires which content themselves with nothing or with little. Onely beware thou to mixe vices with desires. Askest thou me vpon what table, in what siluer vessell, by what seruices and seruants Nature presenteth thee thy meate. Know that she requirerth nothing but meate.

*When parching thir it doth burne thy iawes throughout,
Seek it thou for gold therein to quench thy drought?
When hunger tempts thee, dost thou loath each meate,
Except thou Peacocks flesh or Turbot eate?*

Hunger is not ambitious, he is contented to cease, he careth not much by what meanes. These are the tormentes of vnhappie exesse, he seeketh how after he is glutted, hee may get an appetite: how he may not fill, but force and stuffe his bodie: how he may reuoke his thirst againe, which is pacified by the former potion.

potion. *Horace* therefore wittily denieth that it appertaineth to thirst, in what pot or in how cleane a hand water be ministrd. For if thou thinkest that concerneth thee, how well frizzled the page is, and how cleane and neate the por is which he presenteth thee with, thou art not a drie. Amongst other things nature hath especially fauoured vs herein, that he hath taken all disdain from necessitie: superfluities take pleasure in varietie. This is scarce seemely, that not well drest, this offendeth mine eyes. The Creator of all things, who hath set downe vnto vs the lawes of our life, hath giuen order to maintaine vs in health, and not to entertaine vs in delight. All things are readie and at hand for the conseruation of our healths: if the question be of delights, all that which concerneth them is not recovered, but with much miserie and difficultie. Let vs therefore make vse of this benefite of nature, which is, to be numbred amongst the greatest, and let vs thinke that the greatest matter wherein we are most obliged vnto her, is, that she hath effected this in vs, that whatsoeuer is desired in necessitie is entertained and embraced without loathing.

EPIST. CXX.

How the knowledge of goodness came vnto vs by obseruation and conference, as also by the assistance of nature. And it commeth likewise by the contrary, that is, by the detestation of vice. He describeth a wise man, who not onely furneth against those things which are commonly to be required or feared, but death: also in conclusion saith a one as is alwayes one, and constant to himselfe.

Thy Epistle hath wandred about many pettie questions; yet hath staid in selfe vpon one, and desireth to haue my resolution herein: how the first notice of good and honest things come vnto vs. These two things in some mens opinion are diuers, but with vs that are Stoicks, they are only diuided. I will tel thee what this is; Some men thinke that that is good which is profitable, and therefore they imple this name vnto riches, to a horse, to wine, to a thee; so abiect is the name of good amongst them, and so vnduly applied vnto seruile vses. They suppose that honest which consisteth in the discharge of a well-governed duty, as to haue a charitable care of a mans father in his age, to comfort and relieue the pouertie of a mans friend, to behaue himselfe valiantly in a warlike expedition, to deliuer a mans opinion wisely and moderately. These make we two, but out of one. Nothing is good except it be that which is honest, that which is honest is good also. I suppose it a superfluous matter to annex what difference there is betwixt them, when as I haue oftentimes exprest the same. I will onely say this, That nothing seemeth good vnto vs, which a man may vse badly. But thou seest how many there be that vse their riches, nobilitie and strength badly. I now therefore returne vnto that which thou desirest me to resolve thee in, how the knowledge of that which is good and honest came first vnto vs. This nature could not teach vs, for the gaue vs but the seeds of sciences, and not science it selfe. Some say that we casually come to the knowledge thereof, which is incredible, that the image of vertue should casually appeare vnto any man. But we suppose that by diligence, obseruation, and frequent conference of things, estimated by that which is good and honest, we haue attained to this knowledge. And since the Latine Grammarians haue made this word a Citti-

zen of Rome, I will not condemne it, nor return it to the Cittie from whence it came. I will therefore vs the fame, not only as a receiued but as a vsual word: I will set downe what the Analogie is; We haue knowne that there is a health of the bodie, and thereby haue we gathered that there is some health and vigor of the minde. We haue knowne the strenght of the bodie, and by these inferre we that there is a strenght of the minde likewise. Some benigne actions some humane, some strong haue amazed vs; these began we to admire as if perfect. These were traueled by diuers defaults, which the appearance and brightness of some notable deed did couer, by means whereof wee haue made a shew that we saw them not. Nature commandeth vs to amplifie those things which are praise-worthy, whereupon euery one hath raised glory about the truth. From these things therefore we haue drawne the appearance of an excellent good. *Fabritius* refused King *Pyrhus* golde, and iudged it a greater matter then a Kingdome, to be able to contemne Kingly riches. The same man when a Philitian promised to poyson *Pyrhus*, gaue him notice thereof, and wished him to beware of treason. It was the same vertue in *Fabritius*, neyther to be ouercome with golde, nor to ouercome with poyson. We haue admired this great personage, who neyther suffered himselfe to be won by the Kings presents, nor by the Philitian promises against the King; constant in his vertuous resolution, innocent in warre, which is a rare thing in a souldier, who though that a man might be wicked euen against an enemy; who in his greatest pouerty whereby he had gotten himselfe the most honor, no otherwise fled from riches then from poyson. Lise, said he, by my meanes O *Pyrhus*, and reioyce, although thou wert displeased therewith that *Fabritius* could not be corrupted. *Horatius Cooles* himselfe alone closed vp, and defended the strait passage of a bridge, and commanded a Trench to be made behinde him, to the end that his enemies might be hindered from entrance. And so long resisted he those that assailed him, vntill such time as he heard the noyse of the prop and timber that fell vnder him. And after he had looked behinde him, and perceived that by his danger his countrie was freed from danger: *Let him come*, said he, *who soeuer will follow me thither whither I goe.* And hauing said thus, he cast himselfe desperately into the water; and hauing no lesse care in this violent channell of the riuer to saue his conquering armes as his life, and hauing maintained the honor of his victorie, he returned into the Cittie as secure as if hee had entred by the bridge. These and such like acts haue expressed vnto vs the Image of his vertue. I will adde that which happily may seeme admirable: Euill things sometimes haue presented themselves in the shape of honesty, and that which was the best hath beene manifested by his contrary. Some vices, as thou knowest, haue some resemblance of vertues, and those men that are most vicious and dishonest, haue some appearance of goodnesse. So doth the prodigall man counterfeit the liberrall, although there be a great difference betwixt knowing how to giue, and how to keepe. Many there are, my *Lucilius*, who giue not but cast away their money; for I call him not liberrall that is angrie with his mony. Negligence imitateth facilitie, and rashnesse fortitude. This similitude hath constrained vs to consider things, & to distinguish those things which are neere in appearance, but farre different and contrary in effect, whilst wee obserue these, whom some noble exploit hath made famous, we haue begun to note what he might be that at one time only had resolutely, and nobly executed some enterprise. We haue seene this man valiant in warre, fearefull in the iudgement seat, enduring his pouertie constantly, his infamy abiectionly: we haue praised the act,

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but contemned the man. We haue seene another courteous towards his friends, temperate towards his enemies, managing both publique and priuate affaires, both piously and religiously, not wanting patience in those things which hee was to suffer, nor prudence in those things he was to performe: we haue seene such a one that gaue bountifullly where necessitie required, that was diligent and industrious where he was to labour, and that relieved the wearinesse of his bodie with the constancie of his minde. Besides, he was alwayes one, and like himselfe in euery action, not onely good in wordes and countaile, but by custome brought to this pass; that besides that that he could not doe ill, he could not also doe but that which was good. Then vnderstanding that vertue was perfected in such a one, we haue distinguished it into some parts: Desires ought to be restrained, fure repressed, actions foreseen, duties distributed; we comprehended temperance, fortitude, prudence, iustice, and gaue euery one of them their particular office. Whereby therefore came we to the knowledge of vertue? It was the order thereof, the seemeliness, and constancie, and the uniformitie of all actions, within themselves, and the greatness thereof, that exalted it selfe aboue all things that shewed the same. Hereby was that blessed life vnderstood that hath a prosperous course, and dependeth wholly of itselfe. How therefore appeared this thing vnto vs? I will tell thee: neuer did that perfect man who was possessed of vertue curse fortune, neuer entertained he any felicitie with discontent. Beleeuing himselfe to be a Citizien and Souldier of the world, he vnderwent labours, as if they had beene enioyned him. Whatsoeuer happened he refused it not as euill, or that casually fell vpon him, but as some charge committed vnto him. This, said he, whatsoeuer it be is mine, be it eyther difficult or dangerous let vs traualle therein: of necessitie therefore he appeared great, who neuer groaned vnder the burthen of afflictions, neuer complained of his destinie, gaue vnto many a taste of himselfe, and no otherwise then a light shined in darkenesse, and drew all mens minds vnto him, by reason he was courteous and gentle, entertaining in good part all affaires both diuine and humane. He had a perfect minde, drawne to the height of his perfection; aboue which there is nothing but the minde of God, a parcell whereof is deriued into this mortall bodie, which is neuer more diuine then when it thinketh on his mortalitie, and knoweth that man is borne to this end, to forsake this life; neyther that this bodie is a house but an hostrie, yea and a short hostrie which must be forsaken, when thou perceiuest that thou art displeasing to thine host. I tell thee, my *Lucilius*, it is a great argument of a minde that is deriued from a higher place, if it repute those things humble and abiection wherein he conuerfeth, and if he feareth to forsake them: for he knoweth whether he shall depart that remembereth himselfe from whence he came. See we not how many in commodities doe torment vs, how badly this mortall bodie doth agree with vs. Sometimes we complain of our bellies, afterwards of our heads, then of our breast and throat: sometimes we are tormented in our nerues, sometimes vexed in our fete: to day the flux, to morrow the rhume: sometimes too much bloud, sometimes too little, euery way are we troubled and driuen from one place to another. This befalleth them who are lodged in another mans house; but we that possesse so rotten a bodie, yet notwithstanding propose vnto our selues an eternitie, and as far as humane age may extend it selfe, so farre are we fixt with hope, contenting our selues with no money or power. What can be more impudently or more foolishly done then this? There is nothing that contenteth vs that are to die, nay that die euery day: for we daily approach our last houre,

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and there is not a day or houre that driueth and driueth vs into the graue where we must rest. See into what blindness our mindes are driuen: a greater part of that which I haue said must come, is already come, and threatneth vs euery minute, for the time wee haue liued is in the same state where it was before wee were liuing. But it is a great folly for vs to feare the last dayes of the same, because the first contribute as much vnto death as the last. The degree in which we breath our last, is not that which leaueth vs, but onely it sheweth vs our last stride. The last day maketh vs touch death, all the rest to approach. Sherauitheth vs not at once, but marcheth vs away by little and little. A greater minde therefore that knoweth that he must be partaker of a better life, endeouoreth it selfe in this statim wherein he is placed, to demean himselfe honestly and industriously. Moreouer, he iudgeth nothing of these things that are about him to be his own, but like a stranger, and such a one as must suddenly forsake them, vseth them as lent him. When wee should see a man of this constancie; why should we not conceiue in him the image of an vnusuall vnderstanding; if, as I say, he should make show of so true a greatness? True qualities continue in their entire, false are fluxing. Some men at sometimes are *Patimani*, at other times *Catoes*, and some whiles *Curii*, in their opinions is a little too seuerie; *Fabritius* not sufficiently poore, *Tiber* scarce frugal enough, and content with a little, they prouoke *Licinius* in riches, *Apicius* in suppers, *Mecenas* in delights. Inconstancie and a continual agitation betwixt the dissembling of vertues, and the loue of vices, is a great token of an euill minde.

*Of times two hundred men did him attend,
At times but ten; sometimes his speech did tend
To Kings, to Tetrarches, and to great estates.
Sometimes his Fortunes be more basely rates:
I will, saith he, haue a three-footed table,
A homely salt, a gowne that shall be able
Though homely, to withist the winter cold:
Hadst thou committed to this niggards hold,
That is contented with so little pelfe,
Ten thousander owne to seede and cloath himselfe
Within few dayes, nor he, nor all his men
Could pay thee one, or blesse thee with a peny.*

All these are such as *Horace* describeth this man, who was neuer himselfe, or euer like himselfe; so diuersly changed he. Said I diuers, scarcely is there one buttis such. There is no man that doth not daily change both his counsaile and his vow: now will he haue a wife, then a Lemman: now will he gouerne, presently he laboureth for this, that no man may be a more officious seruant. Sometimes he exalteth himselfe so much, as he contracteth enuie: sometimes hee abusethe himselfe vnder euery one, and becometh more miserable then those that are truly wretched: now scattereth he his money abroad, presently after hee engroseth all other mens. Hereby especially is an imprudent minde discovered, euery one betrayeth him, and that which in my opinion is most base, he is vnlike himselfe. Repute thou it to be a great vertue for a man to be one. But no man but a wife man doth one thing, all the rest of vs haue many shapies. To day we will seeme to be modest and graue, to morrow prodigall and vaine: we oft times change our maske, and oftentimes take a contrarie to that we haue put off.

off. Exact thou therefore this of thy selfe, that to thy last breath thou maintain thy selfe such, as thou hast resolved to shew thy selfe. Doe this, that thou mayest be praised, or approved at the least. A man may iustly say of him whom thou sawest yesterday, what is this man? So much is a man changed in a little time.

EPIST. CXXI.

He pretendeth somewhat for the wittier sort, and then propoundeth the same. Whether euery liuing creature hath a sence of his constitution, that is, whether they willingly and by nature intend thither, whither they ought, and were made. He saith that it is so, and by diuers reasons and examples teacheth the same.

THOU wilt chide with me, I see, when I shall resolue thee of that question, wherein this day I spent no little time. For once more wilt thou exclaime what concerneth these maners? But exclaime at thy pleasure, whilest I first of all oppose those against thee, with whom thou mayest contend, I meane *Pollitians* and *Archidamus*, for these shall debate the matter with thee, and afterwards I will say, that what foucer is morall reformeth not good maners. There is one thing that appertaineth to a man to nourish him, another thing to exercise him, another thing to cloth him, another thing to teach him, another thing to delight him: yet all these things do appertaine vnto a man, although not all of them make him better. Certaine instructions concerne maners in some sort, certaine in another. Some correct and gouerne them, some search out their nature and beginning: when it is demanded why Nature brought forth man, why shee preferred him before all other liuing creatures, I thinkest thou that I haue left maners a faire off? Thou art deceived. For how shalt thou know what maners are to be sought after, except thou finde out what is the best for man, except thou examine his nature? Then at length thou shalt vnderstand what thou art to doe, and what to auoid, when as thou hast learned what thou owest to thy nature. I, sauest thou, will learne how I may desire lesse, how I may feare lesse. Shake off from methis superstition: teach me that this which is called felicitie, is but a slight and vaine thing, and that the accession of one syllable will make it infelicitie. I will satisfie thy desire, and exhort thee vnto vertues, and will whip vices: and although some men repute me too immoderate in this kind, yet will I not desist to persecute wickednesse, to restrain vnbridled affections to temperate desires and pleasures that should terminate in sorrow; and to oppose my selfe against wilhes. Why not? When as we haue desired the extreamest of euils, and that from the ioy which we haue, our sorrow hath proceeded. In the meane while suffer me to vnfold those things which seeme somewhat too much removed from vs. The question was, whether in all creatures there were a sence of their constitution. But that they haue a sence, it hereby most manifestly appeareth, because they liely and readily moue their members, as if they had bin fashioned thereunto. Euery one of them hath an agilitie in his parts. A workman handlerh his tooles readily. The matter of a ship knoweth how to seere his helme of his ship sitly. A Painter doth quickly discern those diuersities of colours which are laid before him, to the end he may apply them in his worke, and with a readie hand and eye he passeth betwixt the wax, and the similitude or resemblance which he would draw: so liuing creatures moue themselves in

every fort, according as it becometh them. We are wont to wonder at these cunning actors, who haue their hands so nimble, that they are able to represent all things, and effect readily by their gesture, whose fingers are as nimble as their tongues. That which Art vouchsafed them, Nature alloweth these. There is no man but stirreth his members without paine, there is no one restrained, when he hath need to moue himselfe, being borne vnto this motion: they performe it readily; they come into this world with this science, and are borne so instructed. Therefore, saith he, shall liuing creatures most fitly moue their parts, because if they moued them otherwise, they should feele paine. So as you say, they are compelled, and feare and not will maketh them moue aright, which is false. For they are slow which are enforced by necessitie, agilitie is a voluntarie motion. But so farre off is it that feare of paine driueth them hereunto, that they endure themselves in their naturall motion, although paine doe prohibite them. So the infant that meditateth how to stand, and is accustomed to keepe himselfe on his feete, as soone as he beginneth to trie his forces, he falleth, and crying riseth againe, so often vntill by means of griefe he hath exercised himselfe in that which Nature requireth at his hands. There are some liuing creatures of a harder backe, which turned vpon the same, so long time tumble themselves, and stretch out their feete and bow them in, till such time as they haue recovered their ordinarie custome and place. The Tortoise being cast vpon her backe feelleth no torment, notwithstanding she ceaseth not to struggle and stirre her selfe, vntill such time as the feeleth her selfe in her naturall estate, and that she hath recovered her feete. Each of them therefore hath a sense of his constitution, and thereby a readie vse of their members: neither haue we any more greater token that they came to liue with this knowledge, then for that there is no liuing creature that is ignorant how to vse his bodie. Constitution, saith he, as you define it, is the principall and fairest part of the soule, that in some sort hath some power ouer the bodie. This definition so perplexed and subtil, and such as you your selues can scarcely discover. How doth an infant vnderstand it? All liuing creatures should haue bene borne Logicians, to the end that they might vnderstand this definition, which might seeme obscure to the chiefe and wisest part of the Citizens. True it were which thou opposeth, if I said that the definition of constitution were vnderstood by brute beasts. For constitution it selfe is more easily vnderstood, then taught by Nature. Therefore that infant knoweth not what constitution is, yet knoweth he his owne constitution, and what an Animal is, he knoweth not, yet feeleth he himselfe to be an Animal. Besides that, he vnderstandeth his Nature grossely, summarily, and obscurely. We also know well that we haue a soule, but what the soule is, where it is, of what qualitie it is, and whence it is we know not. Such sense of our minde as we haue attained vnto, although we are ignorant of the nature and seat thereof, such sense haue all liuing creatures of their constitution. For they must needs feele, that by means whereof, they haue sense of other things, and they must of necessitie haue a sense of that thing which gouerneth them, and which they obey. There is not any one of vs but knoweth that there is a certaine thing which stirreth his affections, but no man knoweth what it is, and each man knoweth that he hath an endeavor, but what it is, or whence it is he knoweth not. Euen as infants, so other liuing creatures haue a sense of their principall part, but this resentment is obscure and not manifest. You say (saith he) that a liuing creature is aboue all things accommodated to his nature and constitution, but that mans constitution is to be a reasonable soule, and therefore

therefore that man is accommodated to himselfe, not as to a liuing creature only, but as to a reasonable liuing creature; for hee is deare and precious vnto himselfe, as he is a man. But how therefore may an infant be accommodated to his reasonable constitution, when as yet he is not reasonable? Euery age hath his constitution, an infant hath one, a stripling another, an old man another, for all of them are accommodated to the constitution wherein they remaine. The infant is without teeth, this is a constitution that agreeth with him; his teeth grow out, and this is agreeable to his age. For euen that herbe that must grow to a stalke and eare, hath one constitution when it is tender, and scarce appeareth about the furrow; another when it waxeth stronger, and hath a tender stalke, yet sufficiently able to beare his burthen another when it waxeth yellow and is ready for harvest, and the eare thereof is hardened into whatsoeuer constitution it cometh, it maintaineth the same, and accomodateth it selfe thereto. The age of an infant is one, of a little lad another, of a yong man another, of an old man another: yet am I the same, who both was an infant, a yong lad, and a yong man. So although each ones constitution be different, yet the accord thereof is alwayes one. For Nature commendeth vnto me not a boy, not a yong man, or an old man, but my selfe. And therefore an infant is accommodated to that constitution which he hath in being an infant, not which hee shall haue when he is a yong man: because not onely the estate wherein hee is, but that estate which remaineth as yet more great, whereunto he ought to attaine, dependeth vpon his nature. First of all, the liuing creature hath care of himselfe, for there must be somewhat whereunto the restate referred, I seeke pleasure: for whom? for my selfe: therefore haue I a care of my selfe, I shie from paine; for whom? for my selfe: therefore haue I a care of my selfe. If I doe all things for the care I haue of my selfe, I haue a care of my selfe about all things. This is in all liuing creatures, it is not inferred, but innate: Nature bringeth out her fruit, but casteth them not out, and because the most assured guard is that which is neerest; each one is committed to this charge and consideration of himselfe. Therefore, as I haue said before, the most tenderest creatures, which either from their dam, or otherwise haue bene brought to light, doe presently know what that is, which is hurtfull vnto them, and shie from those things that threaten them with death; and chickens and small fowle, which are exposed for a prey to the grater fowle that liue by rapine, feare the shadow of all those which passe and houer ouer them. There is no creature that entereth life; but hath a feare of death. How (saith he) can a liuing creature that is new borne know that which is healthfull or harmefull to him? First, the question is, whether he vnderstand, not how he vnderstandeth. And that they haue vnderstanding, hereby it appeareth, that they wil doe nothing more then they vnderstand: why is it that the Heron flieth not from the Petoock, or a Goose when she is much lesse, & yet unknowne to both, & yet hideth her self when the sparrow hawk? Why do chickens feare the cat, and not the dog? It appeareth that they haue a certain knowledge of that which is hurtfull vnto them, not gathered by experience for they take heed before they can make trial of the danger. Furthermore, lest thou shouldest suppose that this hapneth by chance, they feare none but those whom they ought, neither forget they that such and such are their enemies, and are to be auoided. Besides, they are not made more fearefull by liuing, whereby it appeareth that they attaine the same, not by vse, but by a naturall loue of their safetie. That which vse teacheth is diuers, and encreaseth by litle and litle. But all that which Nature proposeth is equally and readily communicated

municated to all: Norwithstanding, if thou wilt, I will shew thee how each living creature enforceth her selfe to know that which is harmful vnto her. She feeleth that the consisteth of flesh, and consequently knoweth, that by means whereof her flesh may be cut, burnt, or bruised. She reputeth those beasts her contraries and enemies that are armed to hurt. Those things are vnited together. For euery living creature hath a present care to conserue her selfe, she searcheth that which may glorie her, and feareth that which may offend her. If she repulse those things which are contrarie vnto her, Nature teacheth her the same, and that which she teacheth, she knoweth without discourse, and without resolution of will. Seest thou not what subtiltie Bees haue in building their huies, how marvellous accord they haue in distributing and doing their business? Seest thou not how no mortall creature can imitate the Spiders web? what cunning she hath in disposing her threads, the one are wouen ouer-right, in stead of the foundation, the other are twisted round and small to the end she may surpris and catch, as it were in a net, those flies, for whom she layeth her snares, and on whom she maketh her prey? This arte is borne with the Spider, and not learned. Therefore no creature is more learned than another. Thou shalt see that the Spiders webs are all alike; that the huies wherein the Bees rest haue entranes alike. That which Arte teacheth is vncertaine and vnequall, but that which nature teacheth is alwayes vniforme. She hath not trained living creatures in other sort, but to keepe themselves, to know and follow their nature, by means whereof also their science and their life begin both together. Neither is it to be wondered at, that those living creatures are borne with their naturall science, considering, that without the same, they should take their life in vain. Nature hath furnished them with this first instrument, to arrest them in the communion and loue of themselves. They could not maintaine themselves except they would, neither could this of it selfe profit, but without this nothing had profited. But in no creature shalt thou finde the contempt of her selfe, or the neglect. In those likewise which are silent and brutish, although in respect of the rest they be dull, yet in regard of life they are cunning. Thou shalt see that those things which are vnprofitable for others, forget not the care that they ought to haue of themselves.

EPIST. CXXII.

That the nature of excess is contrarie to manner. He pleasantly describeth the nature of supping, drinking, sleeping, rising, and such like indirect delights.



He dayes already hath felt some detriments, they are somewhat diminished; yet so, as there is time enough as yet, if to be a man (if I may so speake it) will rise more officious and better with the day it selfe, then if he should expect the same to go and court others vpon the day light. Bafe is that man that lieth slumbering long time after Sunne rise, that awaketh at noone, and this time to come is carly day. There are many that peruert the offices both of day and night, and that neuer open their eyes (being ouer-burthened by ouer-nights drunkenness) before the euening discouereth it selfe. Such as their condition is said to be, when Nature (as Virgil saith) hath placed libet, and opposit to our secte.

And

*And when to vs the day spring hath appeared,
And blissing mornes shewes, as Care saith, A euer
To them the riddle euen with wedder night,
Kindles the light some Tapers of the night.*

Such is not the Region, but their life, so that contrary and opposite to that of ours. There are certaine Antipodes in the same Cittle, who as Care saith, A euer saw euer the rising or setting Sunne. Thinkest thou that these men know how to liue, that know not when they liue? And these are they that feare death, in which they haue buried themselves alive; as fatal are these as night-runners. Although they passe their nights in wine and perfumes, although they employ the time of their intemperate vp-sitting in feasts and variety of many dishes, yet those which they solemnize are not feasts but funerals. Vndoubtedly by day time men are wont to celebrate the obsequies of the dead; but assuredly there is no day too long to him that traunleth. Let vs extend our life; the office and argument hereof is action, and let somewhat thereof be referred to the day. Those birds which are brought to celebrate a feast are kept dark, to the end that by sitting still they may more easily become fat; so such as the without any exercise, a sluggish swelling inuadeth their bodies; and a soft fat groweth about their members; so deformed doe their bodies seeme that haue dedicated themselves to darkeness. For their colour is no lesse pleasing then theirs that are wearied and made pale with sickness, they languish looke bleache, and are discoloured, and in their life their flesh is corrupted. Yet will I say that this is the least of euils in them, how farre greater darkeness is there in their minds? The one is stupid, the other is almost blinde, and seemeth to enuie those that see not a whit. Who euer had eyes to see them in darknes? Asketh thou me how this depriuedness of the minde groweth; by loathing the day and transferring the whole life into night? All vices fight against nature, all of them leaue their owne order. This is the purpose of excess, to reioyce in peruerse things, and not onely to depart from the right, but to ste a farr-off from it, and to be at length opposite vnto it. Doe not these men in thy iudgement liue contrarie to nature that drinke falling, that poure in wine into their empty veynes; and sit downe drunke to their dinners? But this is an ordinary error in young men, who exercise their strength, who almost in the very entrance of the Bath, do not only drinke but gull down wine amongst those that are naked, to the end they might restrain the fwaue which they haue mooued by their hote and often quaffings. It is an ordinary matter to drinke after Dinner or Supper; our country house keepers doe the like, who are ignorant of true pleasure. That wine delighteth which swimmeth not vpon our meates, which freely pierceth vnto the nerves? That drunkenness delighteth that comes vpon an empty stomack? Seeme they not in thy iudgement to liue contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? Liue they not against nature, who studie to haue childlike beautie vpon a wrinkled forehead? What thing can be more miserable or more horrible? He will neuer be a man because he may long time suffer a man, and when as his sex should relieve him from contumely, his age it selfe cannot discharge him. Liue they not against nature that in winter long for a Rose, and by the mouthment of warme waters, and the first change of heat in winter-time cause a Lillie and such flowers as are destinated to the spring to flourish? Liue they not against nature that plant Orchards

Orchards on their highest Towers, that haue whole Forrests shaking vpon the tops and Turrets of their houses, spreading their roots in such places, where it should suffice them that the tops of their branches should touch? Lue they not against nature that lay the foundations of their bathes in the sea? Neither suppose that they swim delicately enough, except their warm bathes be inquired with tempestuous billowes? When as they haue resolued to intend all things against the custome of nature, at last they wholly reuolt from her. Is it day? It is time to goe to bed: it is night, now let vs exercise our selues, now let vs be coached, now let vs dine: doth the morning approach? It is time to goe to supper. We must not lue according to common custome, it is a base, ordinary and vulgar course of life. Let the common day be relinquished, let the morning be proper and peculiar vnto vs; for mine owne part I ranke these men amongst the dead: for how little are they distant from their funerals, and they most fatall that lue by Torch and waxe light? I remember that at one time diuers men led this life. Amongst others *Attilius Buta* a Prætorian, who after he had spent all his goods in gluttony, which were very great when he complained him of his pœuerty to *Tiberius*; *Too late* (said the Emperiour) *art thou awakened*. *MONTANVS* *VLIVS* an indifferent Poet, well knowne thorow the fauour and repulse he had at *Cæsar's* hands, tooke pleasure to enterlase in his verses these words *Ortus* and *Occasus*, which signifie the rising and setting of the Sun, One day a certaine friend of his being displeased because *Montanus* had not giuen ouer for the space of a whole day to recite som of his compositions, said that a man should not giue care to a man, so importunate *Natta Primarius* taking fit opportunitie, said, *Can I use him more curiously? I am readie to heare him from the Sunne rise to the Sunne set*; when he had recited these Verses,

*P*ROCVS begins to show his burnisht light,
And blushing day to spread his shining face,
And now begins the Swallow with delight
To feed her yong, within her nest a pace,
And to her wings, bred by one and one
Yield from her nest their food to feede vpon.

Varus a Romane Knight, a companion of *Lucius Vinicius* an ordinarie smel-feast, who was the better welcome by reason he wittily and bitterly jested at those whom he thought fit, cried out aloud, *BVT* *begin to sleepe*: againe, when after that he had recited,

*N*ow haue the shepheards clos'd their fruitfull Kie
Within their stalls, now dull and dark some night
Begins to spread her sad and silent eye,
Vpon the dull some earth depriv'd of light.

The same *Varus* said, *What saith he? It is now night, I will goe and salute BVT*. There was nothing more notorious then this preposterous life of *Buta*, whereunto diuers applyed themselves in that time, as I haue said. The cause of this disorder is not in that they thinke that the night hath anything more pleasing in it, because nothing hindereth them, and for that the day is displeasing to an euill conscience; and because the light costeth nothing, it contenteth not him that coueteth or disdaineth all things, according as they cost more or lesse. Besides,

sides, these vnbridled persons will haue their immoderate life spoken of whilst they lue, for it is obscured, they thinke they loose their labour. They are displeased therefore as often as they doe not that which may make them be spoken of: many of these deuoure their goods, many of them haue their harlots; and if thou wilt haue credite amongst these men, thou must needs commit some lasciuious or notable folly. In a City so possessed with sin a common and ordinary error is not looked after nor talked vpon. I haue heard *Pedro Albinus* report (which was a man of a very pleasant discourse) that he dwelt a little aboute *Spartus Papinius* house, who was one of the company of the night-Owles and light-thunners: About the third houre of the night, saith hee, I heare the lashing of the whips, and I aske what he doth? They answer me that he calleth his seruants to account. About the sixth houre of the night, I heare a shrill voyce, and I aske what it is? and they answer me that he exerciseth his voyce. I aske about the eighth houre of the night what that rattling of wheeles meaneth? they answer, that hee will take the ayre. About day light I heare running vp and downe the Pages are called for, the Butlers and Cookes make a stirre; I aske what that meaneth? they answer me that he was come out of his Bath and required broth and drinke. What did his supper, said he, exceed the day? No; for he liued very frugally, and spent nothing but the night. And therefore he oftentimes answered those that called him couetous and a slouen; *Thou wouldst likewise call him, Liehobius*, that is to say, such a one as liueth by the Lampe. Thou must not wonder, although thou findest so many properties of vices; they are diuers, and haue innumerable faces, their kindes cannot be comprehended. The managing of that which is good is simple, and that which is euill manifold, and is disposed in all sortes as a man list. The same befalleth manners, such as follow Nature are facile and free, and haue small differences; the rest are extrauagant and neuer accord amongst themselves: but the especial cause of this sicknesse in my opinion, is the hatred of common life. As they distinguish themselves from other men in their garments, as in their great & costly suppers, and in the riches of their couches, so will they be seperated from other in the disposition of times they will not sinne ordinarily, whose reward in sinning is infamie. This doe all they seeke after, who (if I may say so) lue sinfully. Therefore my *Lucilius*, we are to follow that way, which nature hath prescribed vs; neyther must we wander out of the same. They that doe this, finde all things facile and expedit, but they that strive against the same, their life is no otherwise then theirs who strive against the streame.

EPIST. CXXIII.

That a thin and simple dyet by the decree of the minde and hunger are made desirable. That rich men are to use the same likewise; for who knoweth whether he shall haue neede thereof? Let neyther custome or forraigne manners seduce vs. Despise all contrary iudgements or opinions.

BEING spent by my journey more in commodions then long, I came to my *Albanum* very late in the night, I finde nothing ready but my selfe. For this cause I laide me downe in my bedde to ease my wearinesse, and take in good part this negligence of my Cooke and Baker: for thus debate I vpon this matter with my selfe; There is nothing so

so grievous that can distaste thee if thou endure it patiently, neyther any thing that may displease thee except thou thy selfe cause it by thy fretting. My Baker hath no bread, but my Farmer hath, my Porter hath, my Plow-man hath. But thou wilt say it is coarse bread: stay a while it will be made good; hunger I tell thee, will make it more pleasing vnto thee then thy white bread. Therefore ought we not to eate any thing before hunger commaund vs. I will therefore stay and reframe eating till such time as eyther I beginne to haue good, or forbear to loath bad. It is a necessary thing to accustom our selues to frugallie: many difficulties of time and place doe sometimes hinder the most richest and greatest Lords from their long desired dinners. No man can haue whatsoeuer he will, yet may he not will that which he hath not, and vfe those things that are presented him thankfully. A great part of libertie is a well-governed bellie, and patient in all wants. Thou canst not imagine what pleasure I take in this, that my wantinesse is appeased of it selfe. I seeke neyther vntion nor Bath, nor any other remedie, but only time: for that which labour hath bred rest taketh away. This will be more pleasing then a supper prepared for the gods: for sometimes I haue made a sudden experiment of the forces of my minde, and I finde it to be the most simple and assured; for whereas the minde hath prepared it selfe, and enioyed himselfe patience, a man cannot see how much libertie it hath: for they are the most certaine arguments which the instantly gaue, if not only with an equal but a temperate eye hee hath beheld them, if he hath not bene displeased nor hath contested, if that which should be giuen, himselfe ministrerth to himselfe by not desiring, & thinketh that there is somewhat wanting to his custome and not vnto himselfe. We neuer vnderstood that many things were superfluous, but when they began to be missing: for we vfed them not because we ought, but because we had them. But how many things doe we prepare, because other men haue prepared them? because they are vsual amongst manie? Amongst the causes of our euils, this is one, that we liue by example; neyther are we gouerned by reason, but ledde away by custome, which if few men did, we would not imitate: when as many haue begun to doe the same we follow it as if it were more honest, because it is more frequent, and error with vs supplieth the place of that which is right, when it is made publique. All men now-a-dayes trauaile in such sort, that a troope of Numidian horsemen leaden them the way, and a companie of foot-men attends vpon their stirrop. It should be an indignitie vnto them if they had not some attendants to thrust those out of the way that met them, and that should show in raising much dust, that an honest man came after them. In these dayes all men haue Moiles that beare their vessels of crystall, and such as are made of Cassioie, and enameled by the hands of great Artists: it is a shame for thee if thou seeme to haue those carriages as might not be broken. All the Litters wherein they carrie their Minions are couered, and they themselves haue their faces anoynted, lest eyther the Sunne or colde should harme their tender skins; it is shame that there is no one in the companie of their Minions, that hath a face so faire that it needeth not to be farded. All these mens conference is to be auoided, these are they that reach vices, and conuey them from one place to another. They were reputed the worst sort of men that were tale-carriers, but som there are that beare vices. These mens speech doth much mischief, for although it instantly hurtheth not, yet leaueth it some seedes in the minde, and it followeth vs euen then when we haue left them, likely hereafter to enkindle a new euill in vs. Euen as they who haue heard some excellent Musick beare away

away with them in their eares that harmony and sweetnesse of song, which hindereth the thoughts, and suffereth them not to be intended to serious matters: so the speech of flatterers, and such as praise vice, sticketh longer time in our memories, then it is heard: neither is it an easie matter to extinguish so sweet a sound in the minde; it followeth, and continueth, and returneth againe some whiles after into our remembrance, and becommeth vs therefore in the beginning to stop vpon eares against euill voyces, for when they haue gotten entrance, and are admitted, they are more audacious. From thence men grow to this language, Verue, Philosophie, and Iustice, is but the bruite of vaine words. The only felicitie is to make good chere to liue at pleasure, and to haue an ample patrimonie. This is that is called life; this is to remember that a man is mortall. The dayes flee from vs, and our life so posseth away, as we may neuer recover it. Why are we doubtfull to frame our selues according to our fittallie, and to satisfie our flesh her desires, whilst she demandeth them, whilst she will and can take them? Why take we care to spare for the time after our death, and to forbid our selues that for the present, which we will carry away? Thou hast no the friend, no boy, that may mounten lousie in thy mistress. Each day walkest thou out of thy house sober, lo suppest thou, as if thou wert accountable to thy father for the expence thou makest every day. This is not to liue, it is to adie and keepe company with the liuing. What folly is it to heape vpon riches for thine heirs, and to deny thy selfe all things, that the great goods thou possessest might make thy friend thine enemy; for the more hee enioyeth by thee, the more he reioyeth at thy death. Set not a farthing by these fewere and bold causers of another mans life, enemies to their owne, such men as would regent the whole world: neither doubt thou to make choice of a merrie life before a good fame. These speeches are no other wise to be fled, then the songs of the Syrens, which *Ulysses* would not faile by; before he had tied himselfe to the mast of his ship. They haue the same power, they take from those that giue care vnto them, their countrie, their parents, their friends, their virtues, and drag these miserable creatures thorow the ordures of a shameful and infamous life. How farre better is it to follow the direct way, and to aime at this end that those things at length may onely seeme pleasing vnto thee which are honest? Which we may attaine, if we shall conceiue two kinds of things, the one whereof draw vs, the other driue vs away. Those that inuite vs, are riches, pleasures, beautes, ambition: in briefe, all that which flattereth vs, and is agreeable vnto vs. They that driue vs away are trauaile, death, dolor, ignominie, and want. We must therefore exercise our selues, lest we feare the one or desire the other. Let vs make head against that which is contrarie, and let vs depart from those things which inuite vs, and make warre against those that importune vs. Seeft thou not how diuets the habit is of those, that ascend and descend? Those that descend from a steepe place, bend their bodies backward, they that ascend an high place, lie vpon their bellies. For if in descending thou swayest thy selfe forward, or in ascending thou leanest backward: this (*my Lucilius*) is to content with vice. We descend into pleasures, we must mount in the incommodities and aduersities of this life. Let vs presse forward in these, and reframe our selues in the other. I thinkest thou now, that I say this, that they only are preiudicious to our eares, who praise voluptuousnes, who encrease the apprehension of paine, a thing that of it selfe is dreadfull enough. Those men likewise, in my opinion, are hurtfull vnto vs, who vnder pretext of being Stoicks, exhort vs vnto vices: that a wise-man only is both learned, and a louer, that only he is practised

fed in this Arte. The wise-man is as skilfull in drinking, as in banquetting. Let vs enquire vntill what yeares yong men are to be beloued. Let these things be allowed to Grecian customs. Let vs rather adresse our eares to those things that follow. No man is casually good; vertue is to be learned, voluptuousnes is a vile and base thing, and of meane price: common to man, with brute beasts, and wherunto the least, and most contemptible doe flie. Glory is vaine, and swiftly flieth, and is more inconstant then the winde. Pouertie is displeasing to no man, except to him that beareth it impatiently. Death is no euill. Why complaineest thou? She it is alone that dealeth iustly, and carrieth her selfe equally towards all humane kinde. Superstition is a mad error, ioseareth those whom she should loue, and violateth her masters. For what difference is there, whether thou deniest the gods, or defraudest them? These things are to be learned, yea they are to be kept continually in remembrance. Philosophie must not suggest excuses vnto vice. That sicke man hath no hope of his health, who is counsell'd by his Phisitions to intemperance.

EPIST. CXXIII.

Against the Epicures, that good consisteth in reason, not in sense. And therefore that infants are not as yet capable thereof: neither is it compleate, except it be where reason is compleate. How shall I understand that it is in me, if I seeke nothing without my selfe?



*Can recount, if so thou list to heare,
Full many precepts of the ancient wise,
Except thou loath to lend thy listening eare,
To know from whence the lesse cares arise.*

But thou loathest not, neither doth any subtiltie disgust thee. Thy gentle spirit disdaineth not the smallest things, although it comprehend the greatest. I likewise approve this in thee also, because thou reducst all things to some use, and art only offended then, when with much subtiltie nothing is effected, which I will not now endeavour to do. The question is, whether good be comprehended by sense or vnderstanding. Herunto it is annexed, that it is neither in brute beasts, nor in infants: they that hold voluptuousnesse for the chiefest good, doe iudge good to be sensible. We contrariwise considering it in the soule, maintaine that it is intelligible. If they did iudge of the good of sense, we should reiect no voluptuousnesse, because all of them are both attractive and pleasing. And contrariwise, we should willingly vndergoe no paine, because there is none but of fendeth the sense. Besides, they should not be worthy of reprehension, who are too much affected to voluptuousnes, and are too exceedingly afraid of pain. But wee mislike those that are addicted to their belly and lust, and contemne those, who for feare of paine dare attempt nothing courageously. But wherein doe they offend, if they obey their senses, that are the iudges of good and euill. For to these Masters haue you giuen the power to desire and flie. But reason hath charge of this, and must order as well good and euill, as vertue and honesty. For by these the preeminence is giuen to the baser part, to iudge of the better, and their meaning is, that the sense which is a dimme and dull thing, and more slow in men then in other liuing creatures, should censure what the true good is.

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What if a man would discern the smallest things by sight, and not by touch, to discern euill from good, a man cannot finde a more sharpe and better intended sight then that of the eyes. Thou seest in what ignorance of truth he remaineth, and with what ignorance he hath trodden those things vnder foote which are diuine, who will make the touch to be the iudge of good and euill. Euen as, saith he, euery Science and Arte ought to haue something in it, which is manifest, and comprehended vnder sense, from whence it may be deriued and encrease: euen so a blessed life hath for his foundation and beginning, something which is both apparant and sensible. But you say that a blessed life taketh her beginning from manifest things. Wee say that those things are blessed, which are according to nature, but what is according to nature appeareth cleerely and at the first sight, as that also which is entire. What is that which is according to nature? It is that which befalleth him who is newly borne, I say not good, but the beginning of good. Thou attributest pleasure vnto infancie, as if it were their chiefest good, that at his birth-day he should begin there, whether hee attaineth when he is become a man. Thus putteth thou the top of the tree into the place of the roote. If a man should say, that an infant lying in his mothers wombe, and scarce begun, tender, imperfect, and without forme, is already in possession of any good, should he not seeme to erre manifestly? But what difference is there betwixt an infant, that doth begin to be, and one which is as yet but a hidden burthen in his mothers wombe? Both these, in respect of the vnderstanding of good & euill, haue equall maturitie: & no more is an infant capable of good as yet, then a tree, or any dumbe beast? But why is not good in a tree or dumbe beast? Because reason is not in them, and therefore is not in an infant, by reason that he wanteth reason, wherunto when he hath attained, he shall approach more goodnesse. There is some creature which is not reasonable, and some other which is not as yet endued with reason, if it be it is imperfectly. Goodnesse is neither in the one, nor in the other. Reason bringeth that good with himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the things above mentioned? Neuer shall good be in a liuing creature which is deprived of reason, neither can it be in him that is not as yet endued with reason, as long as hee remaineth in that estate, she may be, but she is not as yet. So then I say (my *Lucilius*) that good is not found in every bodie, or in all ages; and is as farre estranged from the infant, as that which is last, is distant from that which is first, and the beginning of a thing, from the accomplishing and perfection of the same, and consequently, good is not in a bodie which doth but newly receiue forme in his mothers wombe: no more is there in the seede whence the bodie hath forme: as if thou makest mention of the good of any tree or plant, it is not in the first leafe that buddeth forth. The corne hath some good which is not in the tender blade, nor in the straw, but in the graine which is ready to be reaped. Euen as all nature, except it be consummate, bringeth not forth his good, so the good of a man, is not in a man, except he be possessed of perfect reason. But what this good is, I will tell thee: It is a free and upright minde, that subiecteth all other things vnder him, and is himselfe subiect to nothing. Too far is infancie from perceiving this good, that the childish age hopeth it not, and youth doth weakly hope the same. Happie is old-age if it attaine therunto by long and diligent studie, when this is both good and able to be vnderstood. Thou diddest say, sayest thou, that there is a certaine good of a tree, another of an herbe; therefore may an infant haue some good. The true good neither is in trees, nor in dumbe creatures; that good which is in thee is called but a bor-

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rowed good: and what is that, sayest thou? That which is according to the nature of every thing. There is not one brute beast that may in any sort participate good, which belongeth to a better and more happy nature: there is no good but there where reason hath place. These foure natures are distinct; that of a Tree, that of a Beast, that of a Man, and that of a God. These two which are without reason are of the same nature, the other two are diuers, the one immortall, the other mortall. Of these the one maketh his owne good accomplished, and that is God; & a mans diligence addesth the other. The rest are perfect in their nature, but not truly perfect if reason be absent from them. For that is finally perfect which is perfect according to common nature, but common nature is reasonable, the rest may be perfect in their kinde. That wherein happie life cannot be, cannot haue that thing which causeth happie life, but a blessed life is made by good things, and in a dumbe beast that is not that where-by blessed life is effected, and therefore good cannot be in a dumbe beast. A dumbe beast comprehendeth things that are present; by sense he remembreth those things that are past at such time as that which awakeneth the sense, awakeneth it selfe, as a horse remembreth himselfe of his way when he is set into the beginning of it: whilst he standeth in the Stable he hath no remembrance thereof, although he hath trode it ouer many times. But the third time, that is to say, that which is to come appertaineth not to dumbe beasts: how then can their nature seeme to be perfect who haue no vse of perfect time? For time consisteth of three parts, of that which is past, of that which is present, of that which is to come. That which is onely present and shortest, and passeth soonest is given to beasts: as touching that which is past, they haue cyther none or little remembrance thereof neyther, but casually thinke they on things that are present; thus the good of a perfect nature cannot be in an imperfect nature. Or if by nature she hath it, she hath it as hearbes haue; neither doe I denie but that brute beasts haue their motions very rude and violent towards those things which seeme to be according to nature, but such motions are confused and disordered, but there cannot be any confusion or disorder in good. Why then sayest thou doe brute beasts moue themselves confusedly and disorderly? I would say that they moued themselves confusedly and disorderly, if their nature were capable of order: but they haue a motion according to nature. For we call that thing confused, which sometimes may not be confused, and that careful which may be assured; vice is in nothing wherein vertue may not be; dumbe beasts haue by nature that motion which they haue. But lest I detain thee ouer-long, there shall be some good in a dumbe beast, some vertue, some perfection; but what shall it be, but what good? Neyther absolutely good, neither vertue, neyther perfect; for these priuiledges doe onely appertaine vnto those that are endowd with reason, who haue the knowledge giuen them why, how farre, and how. Thus good is not in any thing, except it be ended with reason. Dooest thou aske me whereunto this disputation tendeth, and what profite it shall yeeld vnto thy minde? I will tell thee, it exerciseth it, it whetteth it, and detaineth the same in some honest meditation, since he must employ and occupie himselfe. But that which restraineth the minde that runneth after vice, is profitable. But this I say, that the greatest good I can do thee, is to teach thee thy good, to separate thee from brute beasts, and to lodge thee with God. Why doost thou entertaine and nourish the forces of thy bodie? Nature hath granted brute and sauage beasts greater then these? Why doost thou so carefully maintaine thy beautie, when as thou hast done thy uttermost thou

thou shalt be overcome by many brute beasts in comeliness? Why doest thou trim thy haire with so great diligence, when thou hast cyther scattered it after the Parthian manner, or tied it vp in knots after the Germane fashion, or let it grow long as the Scythians are wont; in every horse thou shalt finde a thicker crest, in every Lion a goodlier. When thou shalt addesth thy selfe to runne, the Hare will outstrip thee, wilt thou leaue these foraine aduantages in pursuit, whereof thou hast alwayes the worst, and returne vnto thy good? And what is this? vndoubtedly it is a reformed minde, pure and imitating good, extolling himselfe about humane things, placing nothing of himselfe without himselfe. Thou art a reasonable creature: what good is there therefore in thy selfe? Perfect reason. Summon thou that to his chiefest perfection, and let it increase as much as it may. Then suppose thy selfe to be blessed when all thy ioy shall proceed from thy selfe, when in these things which men long after, with and desire thou findest nothing I say, not that thou wouldest rather haue, but that thou wouldest haue. I will giue thee a short lesson, whereby thou mayest measure thy selfe, whereby thou mayest perceiue that thou art perfect. Thou shalt possesse thy true good, when thou shalt know that those are most vnhappy who are happy.

The end of SENECAES Epistles.

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THE
MEMORABLE
AND FAMOUS
TRACTS, BOTH
MORALL AND
NATVRALL,

WRITTEN
By
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.



LONDON,
Printed by *William Stansby.*
1613.



LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

His Discourse of PROVIDENCE:

OR

*Why good men are afflicted, since there is a diuine
PROVIDENCE.*

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis little booke is a golden booke, and was written, as I conceive, after CAIUS LASIUS time, and I iudge it by his fourth Chapter: I heard a Preacher, in CAIUS CAESAR'S time, complaining of the scantinesse of rewards. He speaketh of the time past, and of the man and the time which was. I thinke therefore that hee wrote it vnder CLAUDIUS, and presently vpon his returne. Yea but what if he wrote some of these Philosophicall Discourses in his exile? For he continued there a long time, about some eight yeares, and vpon iust cause made choice hereof to comfort himselfe. For the argument is, that there is a Providence, and yet notwithstanding, that some evils, but they externall, doe befall good men. He first of all in generalitie auoweth the same, by the motion, order, and constancie of the world, all which doe testifie that there is a Governour. Afterwards he more particularly examineth the question. Why therefore doe misfortunes happen to good men? First of all he saith, that God loveth good men, and that therefore hee sendeth them not afflictions. That like a father hee correcteth and checketh them. Again, that these seeme no afflictions vnto good men, neither that they are overcome, but exercised by them, and made conitant by their tribulations. That God is, as it were, a Iudge of the game, and taketh delight in these his strong and confident wrastlers. This handleth he generally, and as it were in way of induction to the third Chapter. From that forward he more distinctly goeth forward, to set downe five reasons why they happen. First, that it is for their good, for whom they happen. Secondly, for all mens. Thirdly, for such as would haue them happen. Fourthly, that they happen by fate and an eternall Law. He handleth the first reason in the third and fourth Chapter, and teacheth that it is for their good, to whom they chance, as a medicine is to those that are sicke. They are likewise confirmed by God by this meane, who bringeth those forth to the battell, who are worthy of him: that hee suffereth the rest of baser mettall to lye in idleness and obscuritie. He handleth the second in the fifth Chapter, that it is for all mens good, and such as are so reputed, might erie out vnto others, and shew them they are not good or euill, which the common sort esteemeth such. He counselleth them therefore to haue an eye to those that are true, and to affect them, and sue the other. In that place he entreateth of the other, of such as are willing to entertaine the same, for they

they giue themselves to God and Fate. The fourth concludeth that there is Fate, and that it is constituted from eternitie, what thou shouldest reioyce and grieve at. Again, he repeateth this, that these things are not euill, and bringeth in God most excellently exhorting and exciting them to constancie. He concludeth Stoically, if thou dislike it, and canst not abide it, who holdeth thee? the dore is open, get thee out.

CHAP. I.

*Having appro-
ued that there is
a Providence, he
showeth in gene-
rall, by conside-
ration of all
creatures both
high and low,
that it is impossi-
ble that they
should be with-
out a most wise
maning cause,
since the effects
they haue are so
admirable.*



THOU hast demanded of me, my friend *Lucilius*, how it should come to passe (if so be the world were governed by any Providence) that so many euils befall good men? I might more readily and fitly giue thee an answer hereunto in a place of this Discourse, where I intend to proue that Providence hath a power ouer all things, and that God is alwayes present with vs. But since it is thy pleasure that I diuide this part from the whole, and that I satisfie thee in this one contradiction, permitting theretofore the question to remaine untouched. I will performe it, since I know it is no hard matter to pleade the cause of the gods. It should be labour lost at this present, to make prooffe, that this great frame of the world could not be sustained without some gouernor and superintendent. That those so certaine motions, and courses of the Planets and Starres, haue not this violent vehemencie, by casualtie or accident, that that which is pulsed on by Fortune, and peraduenture is oftentimes troubled, and hindereth it selfe. That this swiftnesse which is neuer interrupted by any obstacle, is gouerned by the commandement of an eternall law. That this goodly order and gouernment, that beareth and sustaineth all things in the earth, and in the sea, so many cleare lights which shine in the heauens, wherein they were disposed, is not by the order of a wandering and inconstant matter. That that which should be attembled rashly and casually, could not remaine suspended, with so wonderfull workmanship. To shew also how the waight of the earth remaineth vnmoueable, beholding the swift motion of the heauens, which whirleth about her incessantly. How the seas being spread thorow the deep valleys, mollifie the earth, and receiue no increase by the entrie of all other riuers. How from a very little seede, there groweth out a bodie of wonderfull greatnes, & how euen those things which seeme most incertain and confused, I speake of clouds and raines, of the claps of thunder and lightning, of fires and flames that encrease their passage thorow the tops of the highest mountaines, of the earth-quakes which sink and open the ground, and other accidents, which that part of nature which is most stormie and tempestuous, may moue about the earth, how sudden and vnexpected soeuer they be, are neuer raised without reason. They haue their causes as well as they, which, as we see doe suddenly and miraculously breake forth in some strange and vnaccustomed places, such as are the sources of hot waters in the midst of some riuers, and new Isles that raise themselves out of the depth of a large sea. Furthermore, if a man will obserue it, how the sea-shores vpon the ebbe of the waters, become naked and discouered; and how anon after, vpon the floud, the waters returne and couer them againe, he will beleue that by a certaine blinde volutation, that the

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waues are contracted and buried one within another, sometimes enlarged, and with swift streames returne into their bed. Although, in truth, they encrease by little and little, and at a certaine day and houre become more great and small, according to the estate and disposition of the Moone, which causeth the flux and reflux of the sea. But leaue we this discourse vntill another time, and the rather because thou doubtst not, but complaine of Providence. I will reconcile thee to the gods, who are fauourable to those that are good men: for Nature suffereth not; that those things which are good, should be hurtfull to the good. * Vertue hath contracted an amiable friendship betwixt good men and God. Say I friendship? Nay rather a kindred, and likewise, because a good man onely differeth from God but in time, he is his scholler, his follower and his true childe, whom that magnificent parent, a seuerer exactor of vertues, bringeth vp to hardnesse, as austere fathers doe their children. When as therefore thou shalt see good men, and such as are acceptable to the gods, traualle, sweat, and ascend high places: and contrariwise, the euill play the wantons, and flow in pleasures: thinke with thy selfe, that we are delighted with the modestie of our children, and the libertie of our gibing flauers: that the one are restrained vnder a seuerer discipline, whilst the other are supported and maintained in their impudence. Know thou that God doth the like. He maketh not a good man a wanton: he proues him, he hardens him against afflictions, he pollieth and fashioneth him to the end he may serue him.

CHAP. II.



BUT why doe many aduersities befall good men? No euill may happen vnto a good man: contraries cannot be mixed together. Euen as so many riuers, so many showres powring from the heauens, so many springs of medicinnable fountaines, change not the saueur of the sea, much lesse alter it: so the shocke of aduersitie peruerteth not the courage of a vertuous man. Hee continueth on, and whatsoeuer happeneth, hee turneth it to his good. For hee is more powerfull then all external things: nay more then this, hee apprehendeth them not, but surmounteth them, and continuing peaceable in himselfe, he resisteth all contrarie incumbrances. He accounteth his aduersities, his exercises. What man is he that hath his minde intended and settled vpon honestie, that is not desirous of conuenient labour, and is readie voluntarily to expose himselfe to dangers? What industrious man reputeth not idleness to be a punishment? We see that walliers, who haue a care of their strength, doe contend with the strongest whatsoever, and importune them, who fashion themselves to those exercises, to vse their vttermost forces against them: they suffer themselves to be beaten and bruised, and if they finde no single man that may equal them, they offer themselves to encounter with many at once. Vertue hath no vertue, if it be not impugned, then appeareth it how great it is, of what value and power it is, when by patience it approoueth what it may. Thou art to conclude that good men ought to doe the like, that the greatest and sharpest aduersities must not astonish them, and that they ought not to complaine of Fate. Whatsoeuer befall them, let them take it in good part, and turne it to their good. It importeth not what burthen thou bearest, but with what courage thou endurest it: Seest thou not what difference there is betwene the fathers loue, and the mothers

cockering.

* A Stoical Paradox, which cannot be contradicted, nor well expressed in the Schooles of humanitie, but in that of the holy Ghost. Examine it indidically.

Upon the entrance of the matter, he proueth by most strong arguments, enriched with excellent similitudes and notable examples, that afflictions are benefitable, profitable and necessarie to vertuous men; and that they are no wayes to be esteemed pernicious.

cockering. They command them to rise early to follow their studies diligently, and on holy dayes likewise they suffer them not to be idle, sometimes they enforce sweate from their browes, and teares from their eyes. But their mothers nefe them in their bowes, and keepe them out of the Sunne; they neuer fuller them to *crie*, to be sad, or to labour. God hath a fatherly minde towards good men, and he loueth them strongly. And let them, faith he, haue labours, losses, and paines, to the end they may recouer a true strength. The bodies that are ouer-fatened doe languish in idleness, and not only too much ease, but also their owne greafe and waight maketh them sinke vnder it. Vntainted felicitie can suffer no affliction, but if a man striueth continually against his owne calamities: he accuseth and inureth himselfe to aduersities, neither giueth he place to any dolor, but although he be cast downe, yet fighteth he on his knee. Dost thou wonder that God, who loueth good men so entirely, who would that they should be the best and most excellent about all others, doth assigne them fortune to fight withall? I for mine owne part wonder not, that the gods sometimes take pleasure to behold worthy men wrastling against some aduersitie. Sometimes it delighteth vs, if wee behold a young man of a constant resolution, that encountreth a wilde beast with his hunting-haile, that dreadlesse withstandeth the incursion of a Lion, and the more pleasing is the spectacle vnto vs, the more valiantly he behaueth himselfe. These are not those things that may conuert the face of the gods towards vs, but childish pastimes of humane leuitie. But wilt thou see a spectacle that meriteth, that God should intenuely behold the worke, fix thine eye vpon it, behold a couple of combatants worthy the presence of God? That is to say, a generous man planted before aduersie Fortune, challenging her hand to hand. I see not, say I, what thing *Jupiter* hath more admirable vpon the earth, if he would fix his minde vpon the same, then to behold *Cato* remaining firme and resolute, after his confederates had been more then once defeated, and inuincible amidst his countries ruines. Although, faith he, that one only man be Lord of the whole world; although hee haue legions and garriisons in euery Prouince, though the seas bee covered with his ships, and *Cæsars* troopes stop vpall the passages. *Cato* hath a meane to worke his libertie, with one hand hee shall make a broad way to his libertie. This sword, which during the ciuill warres, hath remained iust and innocent, shall finally performe some good and noble actions, and giue *Cato* libertie, who could not giue his countrie freedom: my soule execute thou that act which thou hast long time meditated vpon; deliuer thy selfe from these worldly busineses. *Petreibus* and *Iuba* haue already encountered, and each are slaine by one anothers hands. A rout and worthie conuention of destinie, but such as becommeth not our greatnesse. It is as shamefull a thing for *Cato* to require death, as to beg life at any mans hands. I assure my selfe, that the gods with great ioy beheld, when this great and worthie personage, a powerful protector of himselfe, travelled to save others, and gaue them meane to escape: who likewise in that last night of his life he followed his studie, whilest he thrust his sword into his belly, whilest he scattered abroad his bowels, and with his hands drew out of his bodie that bo blasted foule of his vnworthie to be contaminated by the sword. Whereupon I am driuen to beleue, that the wound was not large and deepe enough. It sufficed not the immortal gods to behold *Cato* once, vertue was retained, and reuoked, to the end that in a greater difficultie hee might approve himselfe. For there is more greater resolution in dying the second or third time, then in dying at the first. And why should they not willingly behold

* But this which Seneca professeth to be in a man's selfe, is but a paradox of the Stoicks, valued excessively by Nature, by the law of Nations, and condemned by the spirit of the word of God, for it is vnpossible for a living man to forsake this prison of his bodie, at his owne indreth pleasure.

* The fourage Captain and Lord of our lines, is to afflige us the dayes, the losses, and the meane. Neither is it the act of a generous man to fight, to fight, and to those that his affluence stands in debt, that he will to discharge himselfe of his selfe, as they say the prodigies of Rome, and the neighbors of Cato.

holde their darling escaping by so noble and memorable a death, death conserueth those whole and they praise, who feare to undergoe the like.

CHAP. III.

BE now in the proceffe of my discourse I will shew how far they are from miseries that are reputed so to be: for the present I tell thee that those which thou callest difficulties, aduersities, and abominable are first of all for the good of those to whom they happen, and after wards for other mens good of whom the gods haue more care then of euery one in particular. Secondly, that nothing befalleth good men but that which they would, and they should discern that euill should light vpon them if they would not. Hereunto will I annex, that these things are done by Fate, and in as much as vertuous men are good, all that which becometh them is good: consequently I will teach thee, and make thee confesse that thou oughtest neuer to say, I haue pittie of such a good man, for a man may terme him miserable, but indeed he is not nor cannot be. That which I spake first seemeth to be the most hardest of all; that which I haue propounded, that those euils which we quake and tremble at, turne to their good, to whom they happen. Is it for their good, sayest thou, to be banished, to be brought to povertie, to be deprived of their wiues and children, and to be inforced to burie them, to be defamed, and weakened? If thou be astonied hereat, thou wilt wonder more if I approue it to be for their good, that some are cured by Iron and Fire, and by hunger, and thirst likewise; but if thou bethinke thy selfe that for remidie sake, some haue their bones scaled and scarified, their veines taken out, and some of their members cut off, which without the hazard of the whole bodie could not be left on, thou wilt suffer this likewise to be proved, that some incommunities are for their good to whom they happen, as much in truth as there are some things which being praised and desired are hurtfull to those that long after them, as ouer-eating and drinking, and such like pleasures, which engender crudities, trouble the braine, and kill the bodie. Amongst diuers notable sayings of *Demetrius* the Stoicke, I remember me of one, which as yet soundeth and tingeth in mine eares; *There is nothing, faith he, more vnhappy then that man that hath neuer bene touched with aduersitie*: for he hath not had the meane to know himselfe. Although all things hee could desire had befallen him, yea, before he could desire; yet haue the gods thought euill of him. He seemed to bee vnworthy that fortune should at any time be overcome by him which disdaineth to attempt any recreant or coward: as if he said, Why should I admitt of such an aduersarie? he will presently lay downe his weapons, what neede I employ all my power against him? A slight threat will make him flie; he cannot abide to looke vpon me. Let another man be fought for, with whom I may enter combat. I am ashamed to encounter with a man that is ready to be conquered. The Fencer thinketh it a disgrace for him to be matched with his inferior, and knoweth that he is overcome without glorie that is conquered without danger. The like doth fortune, she seeketh for the strongest to match her, some passeth the ouer with a scorne, she attempteth the most confident and courageous sort of men, against these employeth she her forces: she tryeth her fire vpon *Mucius*, povertie in *Fabrics*, banishment in *Rutilius*, torments in *Regulus*, poison in *Socrates*, death in *Cato*. Euill fortune seekes out

Secondly, he professeth that euill, that is to say, affliction lighteth to them good who are vertuous. The first reason is, that as to, heale the body we sometimes turne and maine the same, so doth good in regard of the rigorous Stoicks, that those that are always in prosperitie, are in worst account with God, in that they haue not the courage to encounter fortune.

* See Lucius and Plutarch in the life of Publicola.

* See Plutarch in Pyrrhus life, and Titus Livius. b. See the Epitome of Titus Livius, lib. 70. and Valerius Maximus, lib. 1. cap. 10.

no man except he be a great one: Is *Mutius* vnhappy because with his right hand he grasped his enemies fire, and chastised, the error he committed by burning of his hand, for putting that enemy to flight by his scorched fist, whom with his armed hand he could not vanquish? What then should he haue beene more happy, had he warmed his hand in his Mistrerles bosom? Is *Fabritius* vnhappy for digging vp his Garden, at such time as he had no publike charge? for waging warre as well against riches as against *Pyrrhus*? for supping by the fire vpon those rootes and hearbes which he himselfe being an olde man, who had triumphantly entred Rome, had gathered in cleansing and weeding his garden? What then, should he haue beene more happy if he had filled his bellie with fishes, fetched from a farre and foraine shoare, and of fowles fetched from a strange country? If he had whetted the dullnesse of his loathing stomacke with shell-fish, fetched from the higher and lower Seas? If he had enuironed with a great heape of apples the most hugest savage beast, which cost many men their liues before he was killed. Is *Antistius* vnhappy, because they that haue condemned him shall be condemned in all ages, who more willingly suffered himselfe to be rauished from his country, then to be remitted of his exile? because he alone opposed himselfe against the Dictator *Scilla*, and when he was recalled, not onely kept back but fled farther off? Let they, saith he to *Scilla*, whom thy great fortune entangleth in Rome, thinke this, that they beholde a riuer of blood in the Market-place, and about the Lake of *Seruilus* (for that was the place where they dispoyled those whom *Scilla* by publike Proclamations had condemned to die) the heads of Senators, and the trophies of Murderers, running thorow the streets of the Citie, and diuers thousand of Romane Citizens, murdered in that place after thou hast thopt them vp, with promise to saue their liues, and notwithstanding trayterously causing them to be slaine; let those that cannot endure to be banished feed their eyes with such spectacles. What then, is *Lucius Scilla* happy, because that in comming downe to the Market-place his guard made him way with their weapons? because he suffered the heads of Consuls to be hanged vp, and maketh the Questor pay him the price of euery head which is taxed in his Proclamations; and all these things doth he that made the Law *Cornelia*. Let vs come to *Regulus*; what harme did fortune to him in making him the patterne of fidelitie and patience? The nayles fasten and pierce his skin, and on what side soeuer he turneth his wearied bodie, he lies vpon his wounds; neyther can he close his eyes, but watcheth incessantly. The more torment he hath, the more glorie shall bee his. Wilt thou know how farre off he is from repenting himselfe for estimating vertue at so high a rate? Cheere him vp, and send him backe againe to the Senate, he will be still of the same opinion. I thinkest thou therefore that *Mecenas* is more happy, who could not sleepe but by the harmonie of pleasing musique that sounded a farre off by reason of his seaoulousie, and because he was strangely tormented with the crosses of his fantastique wife, which vpon euery slight occasion threatned him with diuorce. Although he drowne himselfe in wine to make him drowfie, and by the noyse of water, poured out of one bason into another intice his eyes to sleepe: be it that he charme his sorrowes with a thousand pastimes, he shall sleepe as little on his feather-bed as *Regulus* on the gibbet. But the one comforted himselfe, because he suffered for honestie that affliction he endured, and his patience regarded the cause of those torments. The other spent in delights, and broken with too much ease, is more tormented with the occasion then the euill it selfe, which he endureth; vices haue not gotten so strong

Thus *Lucius*,
Publius, *Valerius*,
Maximus, and *Cicero* doe
all of them make
honorable men-
tions of this man,
in whole mag-
nanimie *Se-
neca* applied
Mecenas as deli-
cacie.

strong a possession of mortall men, that it is to be doubted, if so be the destinie would giue them their choyle whether diuers had not rather resemble *Regulus*, then be borne *Mecenas*. Or if there were any that durst say that he would be borne *Mecenas* and not *Regulus*; the same man, although he hold his peace, had rather be borne *Terentia*. I thinkest thou that *Socrates* was badly handled because he drunke that potion which was publiquely mixed, no otherwise then if it had beene a medicine of immortallitie, and disparted of death till death ceased him? I thinkest thou that he was ill dealt withall, because his blood was congealed, and that by little and little the force of his veynes failed him? whilst colde in the extremitie stole vp to his heart by little and little: how much more rather ought we to enuie his felicitie, then those who are seruiced in precious stones, wherein an old and decayed Minion of his trimmed vp to endure all things, poureth vp from aboute the melted Snow into his golden cup. These men whatsoever they drinke they vomit and cast it vp againe, with a certaine loathing, and are constrained to retell their bitter pittle. But *Socrates* swalloweth the poyson voluntarily and ioyfully. As touching *Cato*, there is sufficiently spoken, and the whole consent of men will confesse that he attained the greatest felicitie whom God made choise of, to rule and conquer those things that were to be feared. Are the displeasures of great men grievous? Oppose him alone to *Pompey*, *Calpurnius* and *Craesus*. It is a grievous thing to be outstripped by men of no worth in dignitie and honor, but *Cato* disdained not to come after *Vatinius*. It is a grievous thing to be an actor in ciuill warres; but *Cato* in a iust quarrell will fight in euery corner of the world, although the issue be both strange and miserable. It is a grievous matter for a man to murder himselfe, yet will he do it. What shall I, saith nature, get hereby? This; that all men may know that these are not euils, which I thought *Cato* worthy of.

This was *Mecenas* fantas-
tical and trouble-
some wife.

CHAP. IIII.

Rosperitie falleth into the hands of the common sort, and berideth those of weakest spirit; but to yoke and master calamities and mortall terrours is the propertie of a great man. But to be alwayes happy, and to passe away life without any plessure of the minde, is to be ignorant that affliction is one part of mans life. Thou art a great man; but how shall I know it, if fortune giue thee not leaue and means to make prooffe of thy vertue. Thou wentest to the Olympian games, but no man but thy selfe: thou hast the crowne, but not the victorie. I applaude not thy fortune as if thou wert a great and valiant man, but as if thou hadst gotten some Consulate or Pretorship. Thou art increased in honour. The like can I say to a good man; if some misfortune hath not given him any occasion, whereby to make shew of the liuely forces of his mind. I repute thee wretched because thou wert neuer wretched, thou hast past thy life without an aduersarie. No man, no not thy selfe: shall be able to know thy value: for to the end a man may well know himselfe, he ought to make prooffe of himselfe. No man knoweth his owne abilitie except he make triall thereof. And therefore some men haue wilfully and vnproouoked exposed themselves to miseries, and sought an occasion to make their vertue already declining and growing to obsecrute, more glorious and esteemed. Great men, say I, doe reioyce as much in aduersities as valiant souldiers doe in warre. I heard a Fencer in *Caius Calpurnius*

In third
place he sheweth
that affliction
is inuincible,
and that the
greatness of
men is as it
were a stream
without
tribulation.

time, complaine of the rarenesse of rewards: How faire an age, saith he, is past; vertue gapeth after danger, and thinketh on that which she intendeth, not that which she is to suffer, because that which she is to suffer is a part of her glorie. Valiant souldiers glorie in their wounds, and ioyfully shew the blood that runneth from them, if it be spent in a good cause. Although they doe the like who returne in safetie from the battel, yet is he more respected that returneth wounded. God, say I, hath a care of those men whom he desireth to make the most honest, as often as he giueth them an occasion to doe any thing stoutly and manfully, to the performance whereof there needeth some difficultie and danger. Thou shalt know a Master of a Ship in a tempest, and a Souldier in the battel: how can I know how thou art address'd against pouerty, if thou aboundest in riches? How can I know what constancie thou hast against ignominie, infamie, and popular hate, if thou grow old amidst the applauses of euerie man; if an inexpugnable fauour seconded by a certaine inclination of mens minds towards thee, attendeth thee perpetually? Whence know I that thou wilt patiently endure the losse of thy children, if I see thee laugh when they come into the world? I haue heard thee comfort others, but then would I willingly haue seene thee, if thou hast comforted thy selfe, if thou hast commanded thy selfe to grieue no more. Feare not these things, I beseech you, which the immortal gods vse as spurs to quicken and awaken our mindes. Calamities are an occasion of vertue. Justly may a man tearme them miserable, that are surfetted with too much felicitie, who are detained in an idle tranquillitie, as a ship in a calme sea, whatsoever shall befall them will bee new vnto them. Calamities presse them most shrewdly, that haue neuer had experience of them. A tender necke hardly brooketh the yoke. A yong souldier waxeth pale vpon the feare of a wound. An old beaten souldier doth boldly see himselfe bleed, who knoweth that oft-times in losing his blood he hath conquered his enemy. God therefore animateth, reknowledgeth, and exerciseth those whom he approueth and loueth: but those whom he seemeth to fauour and spare, he reserveth them by reason of their weaknesse, for the evils to come, for it is a folly to thinke that any one is exempt. He whom thou thinkest so assured in his happinesse, shall haue his turne, and taste the same cup, whose ouer seemeth dismissed, is but deferred. Why doth God afflict the best men with sicknesse, and other incommunities? Why in the Campe are the souldiers of greatest value, commanded to execute the exploits of greatest danger? The Generall sendeth out the most chosen troopes to charge the enemy with an onslaught by night, either to skout the way, or to driue some forces from their trenches. None of those who fall out saith, *The Generall hath done me wrong, but he hath honored me.* Let them say the like, whose ouer are commanded to suffer, for which fearefull men and cowards weepe. *We haue beene thought worthy by God to be esteemed such, in whom he might make triall, how much humane nature may suffer.* Flie delights, flie from effeminate felicitie, whereby our mindes are mollified, except something happen that may admonish them of their humane condition, who are, as it were benumbed with perpetuall drunkenesse. He that hath bene alwayes defended from the winde by his glasse-windowes, whose feet are kept warme by much wrapping, who suppeth not, except it be in his stoue, is not without danger of catching cold vpon the smallest breath of winde. Since all excessse is hurtfull, an vnmeasurable prosperitie is most dangerous: It moueth the braine, distraeth the mind with vain resemblances, and spreadeth many mists betwixt truth and fallshood. Why should it not be better to endure perpetuall infelicitie, which animateth vnto vertue.

The reason why
God afflicth
good men.

A perpetuall
felicitie, attended
by a sad
misfortune.

vertue, then to be broken with infinite and immoderate prosperitie? Death is not so tedious as too long fasting, and with too much cruditie they cracke their bodies. The gods therefore bechaue themselves towards good men, as the masters doe towards their schollers, who require more labour at their hands, of whom they haue the greatest hope. Belieuest thou that the Lacedaemonians hated their children, who make triall of their disposition and nature, by whipping them publicly? Contrariwise, those fathers exhort their children to suffer the ierks of their whips confidently, and entreat them, being torne and halfe dead with their scourgings, to perseuere, and to endure wounds vpon wounds. Wonder we that God maketh triall of the most generous spirits by aduersitie? Vertuous instructions are neuer delicate. Doth Fortune beate and rent vs? Let vs suffer it. This is no crueltie, it is but a conflict. The more we adventure it, the stronger shall wee be. The hardest part of our bodie is that which trauaileth most: we must offer our selues to the hands of Fortune, to the end she may make vs more confident to encounter her. By little and little she will make vs as strong as her selfe. To be continually in danger, maketh a man set light by danger. So are Sailers bodies inured to brooke the sea; so are husbandmens hands hardened; so are souldiers armes strengthened to dart their weapons, so are their members made nimble that runne races. That in euery thing is most strongest, which is most exercised. By contenting the power of euils, the minde attaineth patience, which thou shalt know what it can effect in vs, if thou consider how much labour effecteth in naked bodies, & such as are strengthened by necessitie. Consider all Nations which are beyond the confines of the Roman Empire. I meane the Germanes, and all those that dwell about Ister, and those wandring Nations of the Scythians, and other perpetuall winter, and a thicke aire continually presseth them; a barren soile sustaineth them: they defend themselves from showers, with leaues and sheddles of thatch, they trauell ouer riuers hardened with ice, and take the repast vpon the flesh of wilde beasts. Seeme they wretched vnto thee? Nothing is miserable that Nature hath brought into a custome, for by little and little those things become pleasant vnto them, which began vpon necessitie. They haue no houses, they haue no biding place, but that which wearinesse hath allotted them for a season. Their meate is homely and gotten by their owne hands: the aire is extremely cold, and their bodies are naked; this which seemeth calaritic vnto thee, is the life of so many Nations. Why wondrest thou that good men are shaken, to the end they may be confirmed? There is no solide or strong tree, that hath not bene often shaken by the winde, for by the often shaking thereof it is strengthened, and fasteneth his roote more assuredly. They that grow in the low valleyes are the weakest. It is therefore profitable for good men, to make them more assured to be alwayes conseruant amongst dangers, and to endure those accidents with a constant minde, which are not euils, except to him that beareth them cuilly.

Exercise maketh
dangers light.

The last proofe
enriched with
an excellent
similitude.

After this he saith, *Coople thy granted teame.* I am animated by these things, wherewith thou thinkst to affright me. I am resolved to stand there, where the Sunne it selfe shall tremble. It is the part of a base and recreant minde to trauell in securitie: Vertue alwayes climeth hard and difficult pathes.

CHAP. VI.

The fifth and principall point, wherein he sheweth that there is no euill but in vices whence it followeth that the virtuous endure no euill, and that this name ought not be giuen to afflictions.

BUt why doth God permit that good men should suffer wrong? Vndoubtedly he permitte it not. He remoueth all euils from them, hainous finnes and offences, cursed cogitations, greedie counsels, blinde lusts, and auarice that couereth another mans fortunes, he defendeth and restraineth them. Doth any man require this at Gods hands, that he should take paine also to keepe good mens budgets. They acquit God of this care, they contemne externall things. *Demetrius* cast away riches, supposing them to be the burthen of a good minde. Why wonderest thou therefore, if God suffer that to happen to a wife-man, that a good man sometimes would wish, that hee might sometimes light vpon. Good men lose their children. Why not? When as the time will come that they themselves must die. They are banished: Why not? When as sometime they forsake their Country, with this resolution neuer to see it againe. They are slaine: Why not? when as sometimes they themselves will lay hands on themselves. Why suffer they some aduersities? to the end they may teach others to suffer the like. They are borne to be a patterne. Think therefore that God saith: What cause haue you, who haue taken pleasure in vertue, to complaine of me. I haue enuironed some with deceiuable goods, and haue mocked their vaine mindes with a long and deceitfull dreame. I haue decked them with gold, siluer and luorie, but inwardly there is nothing good in them. These whom you admire for their happinesse, if you looke into them, not according to their exterior greatnesse, but their interior weaknesse, they are miserable, base, filthy, and like their walles, onely painted on the outside. This is no solide and sincere felicitie, it is but a cruelt, and that a thinn one. Therefore as long as they may stand vpright, and not shew themselves but where they list: they shine and abuse the common eye. But if any thing happeneth, that troubleth and discouereth them, then shalt thou see a sea of villanie and filth hidden vnder their borrowed brightnesse. I haue giuen you true and permanent goods. The more you examine and looke into them euerie wayes, the better and the more greater will they appeare to be. I haue permitted you to contemne those things which are to be feared, to loath those things that are to be desired, you shall not shine outwardly, * your goods are returned inward. So the world contemneeth his exterior parts, and contemneeth himselfe with the contemplation of himselfe. I haue placed all good inwardly. It is your felicitie, not to want felicitie. But diuers pitifull, dreadfull, and intollerable things fall out. Because I could not deliuer you from these euils, I haue armed your minds against all things. Suffer manfully, this is the way whereby you may walke before God, he is rich out the patience of euill. you about the patience. Contemne pouertie, no man lieth so poore as he was borne. Contemne paine, it will either be ended, or end vs. Contemne Fortune, I haue giuen her no weapon to wound the minde. Contemne death,

which

** As you, he returneth to his Paradox, saying God vntouchable causes.*

which either gadeth you or transferreth you. * About all things I haue giuen you, warning that no man should keepe you liuing against your will. If you will not fight you may flie; therefore of all things which I would haue necessary for you, I made nothing more ealie then death. I haue planted the soule in a base place, whence a man may deliuer it: consider now and you shall see how short the way is vnto libertie, and how readie it is. I haue not prefixed you so long a way in your departure as I haue giuen you at your entrance, otherwise fortune had held a great dominion ouer you, if a man should die as slowly as he is born. Let euery time and place teach you how easie a thing it is to renounce nature, and to returne her that fauour she hath bestowed vpon you: learne you death amidst the Altars, and the solemne fires of those that sacrifice whilst life is wished for. The bodies of the fatest Bulls are slaine with a small wound; and the stroake of a mans hand: murderers the beasts of the greatest strength. The ioynt that ioyneth the necke to the head is diuided with a thin Knife, and when the nerues that tie them both together are cut, this great masse of the bodie falleth downe. * The spirit is not hidden ouer deepe, neither need we to draw it out with hookes: we neede not inlist deepe wounds in our entrailes, death is at hand. I haue destinated no certaine place for these stroakes: life may finde it by any place whatsoeuer. Euen that which is called death, whereby the soule departeth from the bodie, is shorter then that so great swiftnesse thereof may be sensible. Whether a man stranglet himselfe, or stop his breath by drowning himselfe, whether by falling on the ground, a mans head being forward, we beat out our braines, whether by swallowing downe quick coales of fire, you intercept the course of the departing soule, whatsoeuer it be is halftenth. What doe you blush, why feare you that so long which is done so soone?

** Another Paradox, saying death is in the power and will of a man, whereas these ought to stand the same from the ordinance of God: Difference this as an Ethique error, gather the flowers, let the weeds pass.*

** Death is easie indeed, but aduicably adds heuiness, if it happen in such sort, and at such time as pleaseth God.*

The end of the Booke of Providence.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNEVS SENECÆ
TO HIS FRIEND N. O. A. N. N.
THE FIRST BOOKE

The Argument of Lucius Annæi Senecæ

The Bookes of Anger seeme to be written amongst the first Bookes of Philosophy undoubtedly amongst those which we have: we gather the same out of Senecæ's owne words in his third Booke and eighteenth chapter. At this time Caius Cæsar caused Sextus Parinivs whose father was Consul, and Belenivs Bassivs who was Treasurer, to be whipped. He saith at this time, such now but newly done, nay more, whilst Caligula himselfe was living, out of the Chapter following. That which himselfe much admitteth was usual and ordinary with this beast, he lieth for this, he waiteth for this, he studieth for this, undoubtedly all these thing were spoken by a man that is, not that was. He wrote at that time therefore, but he published it not, the more his wisdom, although as I suppose he did it shortly after his death.

The Argument is as the title testifieth, How to know Anger, and afterwards to exchue it. The first Booke therefore hath the description thereof, and the last some habite and face of such as are angrie: then certain definitions: then questions whether man onely be subiect therunto? He maintaineth it: Whether it be according to nature? He demeth it with the Stocks. Whether it be profitable, especially if it be tempered? This likewise demeth he, and diuersly disputeth against the Peripatetiques: that neither the minde nor the strength is whetted thereby. That we ought not to be angry, no not with those that are euill, neyther at the death of our father, nor at the auising of our mother, yet that they are to be defended and reuenged. To conclude, that this is a signe, not of a great but of a weakie minde. The Bookes art in part very excellent and eminent in the whole, scarce distinct but confused in repetitions and digressions.

CHAP. I.



HOV hast exacted of me, * Nouatus, to write vnto thee how wrath might bee pacified, neyther without cause seemeth thou vnto me to haue feared this affection especially, which is the most cruell and enraged of all others: for in the rest there is somewhat that is pliant and pleasing, but this is always violent and full of immoderate sorrow, of armes, of blood, of punishments, incensed with more then humane desire, neglecting her selfe so she may hurt another, rushing in vpon the sharpest weapons, and greed of reuenge, and plotting murders. Some therefore of the wisest fort haue said that * Anger

* Nouatus was
Gaius Galus
brother of
Thrasillus.

* He desired
those in the
places very
common to
Thrasillus.

is a short madnesse, for she is as little Mistresse of her selfe as the other: she forgetteth all respect, neglecteth friendships, intent and obliuiscence in that she hath vnderaken, and neglectfull of reason, and incapable of counsaile: she is transported by vaine pretences, stupid in the presence of equitie and veritie, properly resembling the ruines of houses, which breake themselves vpon that ruine which they themselves haue beaten downe. And to the end thou mayest know that they who are furprised with Anger are truly mad, consider a little their countenance, and the manner of their behauiour. For euen as these are certaine signes of confirmed madnesse, to haue a bolde and threatening countenance, a heauie brow, and dreadfull face, a swift and disordered gate, vnquiet handes, changed colour, and frequent and deepe sighes: so those that are angry haue the same signes. Their eyes sparkle and shine, their face is on fire thorow a reflux of blood that boileth vp from the bottom of their breasts, their lips quier, their teeth grate, their haire startleth and standeth vpright, their breath is enforced and wheeeth, they wrest and cracke their fingers, their speech is interrupted with plaints and grones and muttering, which a man may hardly vnderland. They often clap their hands, and stampe the ground with their feet; their whole bodie startleth, and is shaken, their actions are full of furious meanes. In briefe, they haue a dreadfull and horrible countenance, resembling such men that disfigure and puffed themselves vp after a strange fashion. Thou canst not say whether it be a more detestable or deformed vice: the rest we may hide and nourish in secret; Anger discouereth it selfe and appeareth in the countenance, & the greater it is, the more manifestly discouereth the her impatience. Seest thou not in brute beasts whatsoeuer, that as soone as they are addressed to hurt, there are certaine signes as forerunners of their intention; how all their bodies giue ouer their peaceable and accustomed habite, and how they exasperate their naturall fiercenes? The Boares some and gnash their teeth: the hornes of Bulls are tossed in the ayre, and by the trampling of their feete the sand is scattered: the Lions rage, the incensed Serpents haue swelling neckes, mad Dogs haue a dreafull look. There is no liuing creature so cruell and pernicious whatsoeuer, that discouereth not some new furie; as soone as displeasure hath seized him; neyther am I ignorant that other affections also are scarcely hidden, and that lust, feare, and boldnesse make shew of themselves, and may be foreknowne. For there is none so vehement and inward thought, that bewrayeth not it selfe in the countenance. What difference then is there, that other affections doe appeare, and this is eminent?

CHAP. II.



Vt now if thou wilt consider the effects and damages thereof there is no plague that hath ruined and cost the world more then this. Thou shalt see murders, imprisonments, shamefull and mutual reproches of guiltie men, sackings of Citties, ruines of whole nations, heads of Princes and great Lords taxed and sold to him that offereth most, houses burned, and fire not restrained within the walls of a Citie, but whole spaces of Regions shining with hostile flame. Behold the foundations of the noblest Citties, now scarcely knowne, these hath wrath ouerturned. Behold the desert and vnhabited, extended to many thousand paces, these hath wrath dispoyled. Behold so many great Chieftaines, whose

That Choler and Anger is hurtfull
to a man, by
example, and by the
effects and dis-
courses, as
thereof, setting
Syllables, and
the Vir-
tues, and
the
of hatred, thereof
to all men.

whose memorie remaineth as yet seruing for examples of humane miserie. One of these hath wrath murdered in his bed, another hath wrath slaine at the table, without any respect of the sacred rites of the same, another hath the stabbed in the midst of the lanes, and in the market-place in the sight of all men: these hath commanded another to offer his throat to the murderous handes of his sonne; another to haue his Kingly throat cut by the sword of his slaue, another to haue his members distended vpon the gibbet. And as yet haue I but reckoned vp some particular mens punishments. But if thou please (pretermittin those whom Anger hath thus massacred man by man) to behold whole Armies put to the sword, the people of a Citie murdered by souldiers, expressly sent to that purpose, and whole Nations exterminated without sparing great or small, as if the gods cared not for vs, or they contemned their authoritie. But as touching the Pencers, why is it that the people are so iniustly incensed against them, that they repute it to be an iniurie done vnto them, if the sword-players kill not one another speedily, shewing by their countenances, gestures, and heate, that they suppose themselves to be neglected, making themselves by this meanes of spectators mercilesse enemies. Whatsoeuer it be this is not wrath, but a passion resembling wrath, such as is that of children, who if they haue salne will haue the earth beaten, and oft-times they know not with whom they are angrie, yet are they onely angrie without cause and without iniurie, and yet not without some appearance of iniurie, nor without some desire of reuenge. They are deluded therefore with counterfeited beatings of the earth, and are pacified by the feined teares of those that would fill them, and by a counterfeited forme of reuenge their feined sorrow is extinguished.

CHAP. III.



Here are oftentimes displeased (saith he) not with those that haue hurt vs, but with those who hereafter are like to hurt vs, to the end thou mayest know that Anger proceedeth not onely from an iniurie already done. True it is, that we are angrie with those that should hurt vs, but those that harm vs in their very thought, and he that is to doe vs an iniurie, hath already done it. To the end thou mayst know (saith he) that wrath is not a desire of reuenge, oft-times the weakest are displeased with the strongest. Neyther will they for reuenge, which they hope not to see. We haue formerly said that wrath was a desire, and not a power to reuenge; but men desire such things as they cannot effect. Furthermore, no man is so humble and base, who cannot hope to see justice done vpon his greatest aduersarie: we haue power enough to hurt. *Aristotles* definition differeth not very much from ours; for he saith, That wrath is a desire to displease those that haue displeased vs. It were a long matter to discourse what difference there is betwix this definition and ours: against both it is said that beasts are incensed, yet are they not provoked by any iniurie, neyther desire they the punishment or paine of any other beast: for although they reuenge themselves, yet is it not with a desire of vengeance. But we must answer, that wilde beasts, and all other creatures, except man onely, do want Anger. For whereas it is opposit to reason, yet doth it neuer grow in any one, but such in whom reason hath place. Brute beasts haue their assaults, their rage, their fiercenesse and incurfion, yet haue they Anger no more then lecherie, and in some pleasures they are more

1. de Anima,
cap. 14.

more intemperate then man is. Thou must not giue credit to him that saith:

*The Boare remembers not his wrathfull ire,
The Hind doth scarcely trust her swift retire.
Nor Beastes pray vpon the mightie herdes.*

By this word anger, he intendeth emotion, or incitation. They know no more to be angrie, then how to pardon. Dumb beasts want humane affections, but they haue certaine impulsions which resemble the same. Otherwise if loue were in them, hatred should be in them also: if friendship, enmitie: if discention, concord: whereof some markes doe appeare in them. But good and euill are onely proper to the hearts of men. Wisdome, diligence, and cogitation, are only granted to a man, and brute beasts are not only not partakers of humane vertues but are also exempted from their vices. All them, forme both exteriorum and interiorum is vnlike vnto mans. Their vnderstanding is grosse and imperfect, their voice strange, confused, and without any signification, their tongue is tied, and hath no diuersities of sounds, neyther can it distinctly speake and pronounce. The beast then receiue the object of that which shee seeth, and the kindes of all things that incite her vnto furie, but she receiue them troubled and confused. Thence commeth their springings and vehement assaults, which may not be called either feares, or cares, or sadnesses, or displeasures, but some things like vnto these. Therefore is it that they are quickly appeased and are changed into a contrarie estate, and after they haue most irragedly executed there crueltie, they retorne vnto their pasture and fodder, and after a neighing and furious course, they seeke out to their rest and sleep.

CHAP. IIII.



Here haue sufficiently declared what anger is, and wherein it differeth from an inclination to be carried in such sort, as a drunkard differeth from drunkennesse, and a man that is afraid from a coward. A man may be angrie, although he be not ordinarily inclined and subiect to bee angrie, hee that is subiect to displeasure, cannot choose but sometimes hee must bee subiect to choller. As touching the other kinds of choller, which the Grecians expresse by diuers other names, I let them passe because we haue no proper words to expresse them, although that wee say that that which is fowre is bitter, that he that is excessively bent to indignation is mad, that hee that is clamorous is hard to be reconciled and fierce, all which are differences of wrath, amongst these may we put froward, which is a delicate kind of choler. For there are some displeasures which are appeased with crying, some that are ordinarie and no lesse obstinate, some sparing in wordes and violent in execution, some that discouer their bitterness in the multitude of wordes and curses, some passe not further, then plaints and reproaches, some others are profound and weightie, and are fixed deeply in the thought. There are a thousand sorts of euils in this euill, which are so diuerse, and spread into so many branches.

Differences of
Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

whether Anger
be a thing nat-
urall, profitable,
and to be recei-
ued.

* It is not na-
turall.

An excellent
Similitude.

The cure of the
Agoric, prop-
erly applied to
that of the Phi-
sion.

WE haue examined what wrath is, and whether it might seaze any other Creature then a man, wherein it differed from displeasure and of the kinds of the same. Let vs now enquire whether wrath be according to nature, whether it be profitable, and whether in any sort wee ought to reſtraine the ſame. It will manifeſtly appeare whether it be according to nature if wee conſider a man, for there is nothing ſo peaceable, and gouerned as he is, as long as his minde is gouerned and paciſied: but what is more cruell then anger? what Creature is more louing toward his like then man is? what is more hateful then wrath? A man is borne to helpe other, wrath forſeeketh ſolitude, the one will aſſiſt, the other will hurt, this deſireth to ſhew himſelfe kind, though it be but to ſtrangers, the other to endanger her familiars. A man is readie to hazard his owne life to ſecure anothers. Wrath is readie to hazard danger, provided, ſhee may hazard ſome other with her ſelfe. Who therefore is more ignorant, of the nature of things, then hee that to her beſt and commendableſt works aſſigneth this ſo ſavage and pernicious a vice? Wrath as we ſaid is greedie of vengeance, and that deſire of reuenge ſhould be in the moſt peaceable heart of a man, is a thing which is not conſonant to his nature. For humane life conſiſteth vpon benefites and concord, it is not then by threats but by mutuall amitie that men are allied and tied to aſſiſt one another. What then? Is not Chaſtiſement ſometimes neceſſarie? Why not? but this muſt be ſincere and with reaſon. For it hurteth not but healeth vnder a reſemblance of hurting. Euen as to ſtraighten the ſteales of our lavelings, which are waxen crooked, wee burne them and plie them in a vice of Iron or Wood, not to the intent to breake them, but make them more euen and ſtraight: ſo correct wee our wits being depraued with vice, with the paine both of bodie and minde. And in like ſort, as the Phyſition, hauing ſome light infirmities in cure aſſaieeth: Firſt, to change ſome litle of the ordinarie cuſtome of the ſicke to preſcribe his dyet, his drinke, his exerciſes, and to confirme his health by the only changes of the order of his life. Secondly, hee indenoureth to bring this to paſſe that this meanes may proſit; and if it happen other wayes he diminifheth and cutteth of ſome things; and if this be not enough hee forbiddeth the ſick-man all meates, and rectifieth his bodie by enioyning him abſtinance: and if theſe gentle remedies haue effected nothing, he openeth a vaine and if any members be harmful one vnto another that cleaue vnto the ſame, and ſpread their euill thorow the bodie he deuideth them, and there is no cure that the ſick-man ſuppoſeth grievous, if the effect of the ſame bring him health: In like ſort it behoueth the Magiſtrate, who is the conſeruer and maintainer of the Lawe to heale mens mindes, by gentle wordes and perſwaſions as much as in him lieth, perſwading his ſubjects to doe that which is commanded them, and imprinting in their thoughts the loue of iuſtice and honeſtie; in briefe propoſing for the reward of vertue he hatred of vice: afterwarde he ought to vſe ſharper wordes contenting himſelfe as yet to aduertife and threaten. Finally, he muſt haue recourſe to puniſhments, and yet ſuch as are light and reuocable. The vttermoſt puniſhments ſhall be inflicted for the greateſt faults: to the end that no man may periſh except it be he that is put to death, and for whom it is expedient to die.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Here is this difference betwixt the Maieſtrate and the Phyſition, that the one ſuffer thoſe to die whoſe life they could not ſaue; the other contrariwiſe condemneth the malefactor diſgracefully, and forcibly driueth him out of the world, nor becauſe hee hath pleaſure to put any man to death. (for farre off is a wiſe man from ſuch barbarous crueltie) but to the end that thoſe who are condemned to death, ſhould ſerue for an example to all men, and that the Commonwealth might make vſe of their death, who during their life, would be profitable to no man. The nature of man therefore is not puniſhment, and therefore is not wrath according to the nature of a man, becauſe it is deſirous of reuenge. I will propoſe in this place an Argument of *Plato*, For who forbiddeth vs to make vſe of other mens reaſons? In as much as they make forvs. A good man (ſith he) doth not hurt, it is the puniſhment that hurteth, puniſhment therefore doth not become a good man. And conſequently, neither chollier, becauſe puniſhment is agreeable to the ſame: If a good man take no pleaſure in puniſhing, neither ſhall he take pleaſure in that aſſect, to which puniſhment is a pleaſure. Therefore wrath is not naturall.

The difference
betwixt a Magi-
ſtrate and a
Phyſition.

CHAP. VII.

IS not wrath therefore to be admitted, although it be vnaturall, becauſe that oft-times it hath beene profitable. It raiſeth and inciteth mens minds, neither doth fortune performe any worthy action in warre, except by this meanes mens hearts be inflamed, and this infligation hath whetted and animated bond-men to attempt dangers. Some therefore thinke it requiſite to temper wrath, and not to extinguiſh it, and that being taken away which is exuberant, to reduce it into a laudable forme; and to retaine that without which the action would languiſh, and the force and vigour of the ſpirit be reſolued. Firſt, it is more eaſie to exclude ſuch things as are pernicious, then to gouerne the ſame, and not to admit them rather then to moderate them when they are admitted. For when they haue put them ſelues into poſſeſſion, they are more powerful then their guide, and ſuffer not themſelues either to be diminifhed or cut off. Againe, reaſon it ſelfe to whom the ruines are deliuered, is ſo long powerful, as long as ſhee is ſeperated from paſſions; But if ſhee intermixeth her ſelfe, and be deſiled with them, ſhee cannot reſtraine thoſe whom ſhee might haue remoued. For the minde being once moued and ſhaken, is addicted to that whereby it is driuen. The beginning of ſome things are in our power, but if they be increaſed, they carie vs away perforce, and ſuffer vs not to returne backe: euen as the bodies that fall head-long downward, haue no power to ſtay themſelues. And can thoſe that are caſt downe, retaine or ſtay themſelues in their fall, but an irreuocable precipitation hath cut off all counſaile, and all meanes of remedie, neither is it poſſible to keepe themſelues from attaining thither, whether had they their choice they would not arrive. So the minde if it hath plunged it ſelfe in wrath, loue, and ſuch like affections, is not ſuffered

He groweth now
that anger is not
profitable.

A fit ſimilitude
to confirme his
ſecond proofe.

X x

to

to restrain the full, it must needs bee, that the waight and nature of vices, inclined vnto their full, carie it away and precipitate it to the bottome.

CHAP. VIII.

The remedie of the precedent diff. ultie. A reason that ought to be carefully observed and marked.

IT is best therefore forthwith to despise the first assault, and resist the beginnings. And to endeavour that wee fall not into wrath, for if the beginning to transport vs, it is a hard matter to recover the right way. Because reason hath no place, as soone as passion hath gotten the upper hand, and Will hath giuen him any interest, then will shee afterwards doe, not what thou permittest, but what shee pleaseth. First of all say I, the enemy is to be driuen from our borders, for when hee is entered and hath gotten the gates, hee taketh no condition with his Captiues. For at that time the minde is not retired, neither exteriorly examineth these affections, to the intent shee suffereth them not to haue further progresse then they should, but is changed her selfe into passion, and therefore can shee not reuoke that profitable and wholesome force, which is already betrayed and weakened. For as I said, these haue not their distinct and seuerall fates, I meane passion (which is a change in the Soule from good to euill) and reason (which is a change from euill to goodnesse.) How therefore shall reason which hath giuen place vnto anger, and is seized and oppressed with vices, rise againe? Or how shall shee deliuer her selfe from confusion, wherein the mixture of the worst hath preuailed? But some (saith he) containe themselves in anger, Is it in such sort that they accomplish nothing which choler commandeth, or doe they obey the same somewayes? If they doe nothing, it appeareth that wrath is not necessarie in humane actions whom you preferred, as if shee had somewhat more greater efficacie then reason. In conclusion, I aske this question, whether shee be stronger or weaker then reason? If stronger, how may reason giue her a Law and restrain her, considering that they are but feeble things which obey her. If weake, reason of her selfe is sufficient without her to effect things, neither desireth shee the helpe of so powerlesse a passion. But some that are angry are their owne men, and containe themselves. How? Then when anger is already pacified, and remitteth of her owne accord. Not when shee is in height of her seruour, for then is shee stronger. What then? Doe not some men in the height of their displeasure, suffer those to depart safe and secure, whom they hate and abstaine from hurting them? But how? After that a second passion hath repul'd the former, or feare or pleasure hath commanded this or that, wrath staierh it selfe, not for the recurence shee oweth vnto reason, but by reason of a feeble and euill accord which the passions haue amongst themselves.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the direction and answer.

TO conclude it hath nothing profitable in it selfe, neither doth it when the courage in warlike exploits. For Vertue which is contented with her selfe, must neuer bee assisted by vice. As oftentimes as shee is to attempt any thing, shee is not angry but raiseh her selfe so farre forth as she thinketh it necessarie, she is both intended and remitted no otherwise then those arrows which are shot out of Engines,

Engines, are in the power of him that shooteth, how farre they shall be shot: Anger saith *Aristotle* is necessarie, neither can any thing be atchieued without her, except the encourage the minde, and enkindle the spirit. But wee are to vse her not as a Captaine but as a Souldier: which is false. For if shee giue care to reason, and follow the way shee is directed, then is it not anger whose properties are contumacie: but if shee resist and is not quieted when shee is commanded, but passeth further with pride and furie, shee is as improfitable a Minister of the minde, as a Souldier that retireth not to his colours when the retreat is sounded. If therefore the suffer her selfe to be kept in measure, shee must be called by another name, shee ceaseth to be wrath, which I vnderstand to be vnbridled and vntamed. If shee suffer it not shee is pernicious, neither is shee to be reckoned amongst the number of helpe: So that either shee is not Anger or else shee is vnprofitable: For if any man exacteth punishment, not being greedie of the punishment it selfe but because hee must, hee is not to be numbered amongst those that are Angry. That man shall be reputed a profitable Souldier, who knoweth how to obey Counsaile, as for affections, they are as euill Ministers as they are Captaines. Reason therefore will neuer take to her assistants, improvident and violent passions ouer whom shee hath no authoritie, and whom shee neuer may restrain except shee oppresse their equals, and likes vnto them as feare to Anger, Anger to cowardise, desire to feare.

Learn here the use of anger.

CHAP. X.

ARE we it from vertue to be reduced to this extremitie, that reason should be constrained to haue his recourse to vices. Here cannot the minde remaine in any certaine quiet; hee must needs bee in perpetuall agitation and trouble, who is secure in his euils, who cannot be strong except hee be wrathful, nor modestious except hee desire, nor quiet except hee feare, hee must haue in a Tyranny that becommeth a slave to any passion. Are you not ashamed to thrust Vertues vnder the protection of vices? Moreouer, reason looseth her power if shee can doe nothing without passion, but beginneth to be equal, and like vnto her. For what importeth it, whether passion be an inconsiderate a thing without reason, or that reason be feeble: and of no force without passion? All comes to one, the one cannot be without the other. But who will endure that passion, should bee equalled with reason? Choler (saith he) is a profitable passion, if it bee small and little. If shee be profitable by nature: but if shee bee incapable both of government and reason, shee shall attaine this only thing, by her moderation: that the lesser shee is, the lesse hurtfull shee shall be. Therefore a light passion is nothing else but a small euill.

An answer to Aristotle's opinion, who in his Ethics saith that choler is necessary.

CHAP. XI.

BV T against our enemies (saith hee) Wrath is necessarie. Neuer lesse. Wherein our passions should not bee intemperate but obedient and moderate. For what other thing was it, that crushed and confounded the Barbarians so strong in their bodies, so patient in their labours, but Wrath which is most pernicious to her selfe.

The continuation of the confutation of Aristotle's opinion.

See Marius life
in Plutarch.

See Luie of
the Punic
Warres, and
Plutarch
the lives of Fa-
bius Maximus
and Hannibal.

selfe? Art likewise defendeth the sword-players, Wrath layes them open to danger. Furthermore what need we of wrath, where reason may doe the same. Thinkest thou that Hunter is angrie with wild beasts, either when hee chafeth them as they flie, or assaileth them when they draw neere him? Reason doth all these things without Wrath. What hath so confounded so many thousand Cimbrians and Teutons, that were spread vpon the Alpes, that the notice of so great an ouerthrow was not related, to their friends by a messenger but by Fortune, but that Wrath in them had the place of Vertue? Which as some times thee hath defeated and ouerthrowne, those that met her, so oftentimes is thee the cause of her owne confusion. May a man finde out a Nation more couragious, more forward and readie to insurions and charges, more desirous of warre, then the Almaines, who are borne and brought vp to Armes: who are onely diligent herein, and negligent in the rest? Is there a people more hardned vnto labour, and that indureth trauaile better? For the most part they care not, to make prouision of garments for their bodies to keepe them warme: neither strue they to retire themselves from the perpetual furie of the frost, which is in that Countrey: yet are they defeated and put to flight vpon the first charge, and before the Legions were seene by Spaniards, French, Asians, and Syrians, who are but cold Souldiers in the Warre: being subject by no other meanes to this disaster, but by reason of their wrath. So then, to these bodies, to these minde that are ignorant of delights, excesses, and riches, giue reason and discipline to guide them. But without farther debating in this kinde, I must call to remembrance in this place the Auncient custome of the olde Romans. By what other meanes did *Fabius* rescue the decayed forces of the declining Empire, but that he knew how to delay, how to lengthen out matters, and dally with the time, all which angrie men cannot doe. The Common-Weale had bene vtterly ouerthrowne, that then stood in great extremitie, if *Fabius* had dared so much as wrath perswaded him vnto; but hauing for counsaile the consideration of the estate of Rome, and the forces hee had, vnder his government, which had they bene defeated either in the whole or in part, all the rest was vtterly ruined, hee laid wrath aside, and the desire of vengeance, and hauing his minde fixed vpon the good of the Common-Weale and vpon the present occasion: he first of all surmounted Choler, and after that *Hannibal*. What did *Scipio*? Hauing forsaken *Hannibal*, and the Carthaginian Armie, and all these with whom he should be angrie, did hee not translate the Warre into Africa in so slow a manner that they who enuid his Vertue, reputed him for an idle and dissolute man. What did the other *Scipio*? did hee not beleager Numantium for a long time, and patiently dissembled both this his private griefe, and the discontent of the whole State, by reason that Numantium kept out longer then Carthage. VVhich while hee trencheth about and shutteth vp his Enemie, he drew them to this extremitie; that they murdered one another.

CHAP. XII.



Rath then is neither profitable in skirmishes or in Warre, for it is too prone to temeritie, and whilst thee endeourest to harme others the hazardeth her selfe. That Vertue is most assured, that hath long time examined and gouerned her selfe, and hath bene guided

The conclusion of
the resolution
which is pre-
cedent, and
an answer to an
other objection.

A pious resolu-
tion of Theo-
philus.

guided by good and wise counsaile. What then (saith he) shall not a good man be angrie, if hee see his Father stroken, his Mother rauilhed? Hee shall not be angrie, but reuenge and defend them. What fearest thou that his pietie to- wards his parents is not an occasion more pregnant to incite him therunto then wrath is? Wee say after the same sort. What therefore? shall not a good man when he seeth his Father, or his sonne, curin peeces, weepe or fall in a fount? as we see it falleth out in women, as often as any slight suspicion of danger doth awake them. A good man executeth his offices without confusion or feare, and in such sort will performe those things that are worthe a good man, that hee will doe nothing that is vnworthie a man. Shall my Father be murdered? I will defend him. Is he slaine? I will burie him, not because I am forie therof, but for that I am bound therunto. VVhen thou saist thus, *Theophrastus* thou seekst to draw more stronger precepts into hatred, & forsaking the Iudge halt recourse vnto the people; because in such accidents euerie one is accustomed to be angrie: thou thinkest that men will Iudge that that ought to be done which they allow of. Are good men angrie at their injuries? but they doe the same, if warme water be not fully mixed, if their glasse be broken, if their shooe be sprinkled with dirt. It is not pietie, but their infirmite that moueth that wrath. We resemble those to children who will weepe no lesse for the losse of their Ants, then for the death of their parents. It is the part of no pious but an infirme and weake minde to be angrie for a mans friends. But this is a worthe matter, and well becoming a man to liue himselfe a protector of his parents, his children, his friends, and his Countrey: not by violence, or passion; but voluntarily with Iudgement, and discretion, with prouidence, and moderation. For there is no affection so desirous of reuenge as wrath is, by reason whereof she is wholly vnproper to that effect, being hindered by her violence and furie; euen as euerie passion is opposit: and contrarie to it false, in all that whereunto she is inclined, and whereto she runneth hastily. And therefore, neither in peace, or warre, was it euer good. For she maketh peace like vnto warre, and in Armes forgetteth her selfe, that warre is common, doth commeth into an other mans power, whilst she is not in her owne. Furthermore, vices therefore are not to be interained and vsed because sometimes they have done some good: for feours also doe cure some kinds of sicknesses; neither therefore is it better not to haue wanted them wholly. It is an abhominable kinde of remedie to recouer health by the assistance of a sickness. In like manner, wrath although sometimes it hath beyond expectation profited, as venommet precipitation and shipwrack haue done, yet it is not therefore to be reputed a thing intirely profitable, for oftentimes poysons haue preformed the life of diuers persons.

CHAP. XIII.



Oreouer those things which wee ought to esteeme good, are the better, and more to be desired, the greater they be. If iustice be good, no man will say, that it is like to be better, if anything should be taken from it; if Fortitude be good; no man will desire that it should be diminished in any part, & wrath the greater it is the

The increase of
wrath is unpro-
fitable, and
therefore wrath
is false.

the better that is, for who refuseth the increase of any good thing? but the increase of wrath is vnprofitable, and consequently the bearing of the same is vnprofitable. It is no good thing that by increase becommeth euill. Wrath (saith he) is profitable: because it maketh men more hardie to fight. In this manner Drunkennesse is profitable, for it maketh men more insolent and audacious, and many that haue drunken ouer freely, are more readie at their weapons. In this manner say, that both Frenzie, and Madnesse, are necessarie for valiant men: because oftentimes Furie maketh men more strong and able. VVhat hath not feare sometimes made a Coward valiant; and the feare of death likewise enkindled, the weakest hearted men to the battle? But Wrath, Drunkennesse, Feare, and such like, are but filthy and fraile prouocations, neither confirme Vertue which hath no need of vice, but doe sometimes a little quicken a slow and idle mind. No man is strengthened by his anger, except he haue bene strong before his anger. To them anger assisteth not, but supplieth the place of Vertue. In briefe, if this passion were recommendable, it would follow euerie one that were most perfect; but they that are the most tetchie, are infants, old-men, and sick-men, and euery Creature that is by nature weak and feeble, is ordinarily froward.

CHAP. XIII.

An obiection
of Theophrastus,
touching
the best goods,
men conceiue a
gainst euill men.

IT cannot be (saith Theophrastus) but that a good man should be displeased with the wicked. In this sence the better men should be the most cholerick. But contrariwise they should be more peaceable, exempt from passions, and without hatred of any man. What reason might moue them, to hate sinnes, considering that it is error which driueth them into these faulces: But it is not the part of a Wise man to haue those that erre, other wise he should hate himselfe. Let him bethinke himselfe, how many faults he committeth against good manners, how many things he hath done which require pardon? Then shall he be angrie with himselfe. For a iust Iudge pronounceth not one sentence in his owne behalfe, another in anothers. A man (saith here) is not to be found, that can absolve himselfe, truth it is, that euery man (saith he) is innocent but it is in regard of witnesses not of his conscience. How farre more humane were it for a man to shew himselfe gentle, and pacified to those that offend, and rather to reconcile them then to persecute them. It were better to lead them, into the direct way who for want of knowledge haue strayed out of it; as to thrust them out of the way. A man ought to correct him that offendeth by admonitions, forcible reprehensions, friendly but effectual speech: to the end to make him better for himselfe and for others. In briefe, hee ought to chastise him without passion of Choler. For what Phytitian is he, that will be angrie and displeased with his Patient, whom he would recouer?

CHAP.

An answer gra-
ded upon diuers
reasons.

CHAP. XV.

BV they cannot bee corrected; neither is there any thing in them that is capable of good hope; Let those be exterminated out of the companie of men, who are like to infect those who conuerse with them, and since it is the onely meanes, let them cease to be euill, but let this bee done without hatred. For what cause haue I to hate him whom I then profit most, when I take him selfe from him selfe. Doth a man then hate his limmes when hee cutteth them off, this is not Wrath but a miserable cure. We chase away mad Dogges, we kill a relie and vntractable Oxe. Wee arde our scabbe Sheepe, for feare lest they infect the flocke, we strangle monstrous birches; wee drowne our owne children likewise if they be borne deformed and monsters. It is not an act of wrath but of reason, to separate those things that are vnprofitable from those that are healthfull and profitable. There is nothing, which he that chastiseth an other should more reframe then from wrath, because that chastisement profiteth when it is done with iudgement. Thence it is that *Socrates* said vnto his slave; *Thad beaten thee, had I not bene angrie*. Hee deferred the admonition of his seruant till a more conuenient time, and at that time he admonished himselfe. Whose affection shall be temperate, whereas *Socrates* did not trust him selfe to his wrath? There needeth therefore no angrie corrector to chastise those that are wicked and do amisse. For whereas wrath is an offence of the minde, he that is faultie himselfe, must not punish offenders.

That a man
may chastise, may
exceede of
fenders without
being transported
by Choler.

CHAP. XVI.

Hat then shall I not be angrie with a thiefe? Shall I not be displeased with a Witch. No; For neither am I angrie with myselfe when I let my selfe bloud. For I apply all sorts of punishment in stead of remedie. Thou that as yet hast made but an entrance into error, neither offendest grievously, but frequently, shalt first of all bee secretly, then publickly reproued. If thou engage thy selfe further in sinne, so as words may not correct thee, thou shalt bee fined for thy folly; but if thy fault requireth some more forcible and feeling punishment, thou shalt bee banished and sent to vnkowne places. But if thy malice increaseth, and waxeth obdurate, that thou haue neede to vse more sharpe remedies then the precedent; thou shalt be thrust into shackles and locked vpin prison. If thou be come incurable, and thoughst wel to heape sinne vpon sinne, if thou not onely layest hold on the occasions to doe euill (which neuer faile thee that seeke them) but that which is worst; if to doe euill, thou hast no other occasion, but the wicked custome thou hast taken, thou shalt drunke iniquitie, and art in such sort tainted and so deeply tintured with wickednesse inwardly, that it cannot finde issue out, except thou burst and die presently. Thou hast long time sought for death, poore man that thou art; we will gratifie thee, we will heale thee of this furie of thy spirit where with thou art tormented, and hauing made thee passe by the punishment of other men and thine owne; I will let thee see and feele the onely good which remaineth for thee, that is to say, death. Why should I bee displeased with him whom I assist and greatly helpe at that time.

An answer to an
other obiection.

Of the order
that ought to be
used in
punishing male-
factors.

To

An amplification
of that example
above written
and an answer
to the precedent
question.

To take a mans life from him, is sometimes to shew him fauour and to doe him a good turne. If I were a well experienced Physician, and should enter into an Hospitall or some rich mans house, I would not ordaine one and the same medicine for diuers sick men. I see diuers vices in so different minds, & am appointed to haue the government of a Citie, I must search out a medicine for euery one of their sicknesses. Shame must cure this man, trauell that man; the whip one man, necessitie the other, and the sword the last. Therefore, although in being a Maiestrate, I ought to change my Garment, and cause the people to be assembled vpon the fount of a Trumpet, yet will I ascend the Tribunal, not moued or displeased, but with the countenance of an vpright Judge, armed with the authoritie of the Lawes, and will pronounce the sentence with a voice rather pleasing and graue, then furious: and peaceably yet seuerely will command the hangman to execute his office. And when I shall command any malefactor to be strooken off, and when I cause the parricide to be sown into a sacke, and afterwards to be cast into the water; and when I iudge the offending Souldier to passe the pikes; and when I command the Traitor and publicke enemy to be cast downe from the Tarpeian rocks, I will bee so farre from wrath, and so temperate in my minde, as when I kill Serpents or other venomous beastes. But wrath is necessarie for him that will punish. What thinkest thou that the Law is angrie with those thee knoweth not? Whom thee seeth not? Whom thee hopeth not to be? We ought therefore to inuict his affection, which is not displeased but onely defineth. For if it be convenient for a good man to be angrie for euill deedes, it shall bee as lawfull for him to eniue the prosperitie of euill men. For what is more vnworthie then that some men flourish, yea and such who abuse the indulgence of fortune, for whom no fortune may be found out euill enough. But as well shall hee see their commodities without eniue, as their hainous offences without wrath. A good Iudge condemneth that which is euill, and yet hateth it not: What then? Shall not a wife man when he hath such a like thing in his hands bee touched in minde, and more troubled then ordinarie? I confesse it, hee shall feele some light motion. For as Zeno saith, when the wound in a wife mans Soule is healed, yet remaineth there some scarre. So then he shall feele certaine touches of suspition and shadowes of passion, yet without any passion. *Aristotle* saith, that some affections, if a man vse them well, serue instead of armes; which should bee true, if they might be vsed and laide aside as warlike instruments, at the pleasure of him that putteth them on. These Armes which *Aristotle* giueth nature, fight of themselves, and expect not that a man should make vse of them, they gouerne and know not what it is to obey: vertue hath no need of instruments. We are sufficiently furnished by reason, wherewith nature hath fitted vs. Shee it is that hath giuen vs a weapon, firme, perpetuall, obsequious, and certaine, and such as cannot be reinforced against the Maister. Reason of selfe is sufficient enough, not onely to foresee, but to execute any action. For what is more fond then that reason should seeke assistance from wrath: a stable thing from an vn certaine: a faithful from a perfidious, a whole from the sicke! Moreouer as touching the actions themselves, wherein the helpe of anger seemeth to be most requisite, reason it selfe is more stronger. For hauing marked out that which she ought to doe, she remaineth alwaies seeled in her resolution and being vnable to finde out any thing better then her selfe to change her, she departeth neuer from her place. Contrariwise pittie hath oftentimes driven wrath out of dores, for this passion hath no solid strength, but onely a tumor,

If the wife man
ought to be
moderate and low.

That which the
Stoics desire
maintaineth
the examination
of Aristotle
as touching
passions.

and vnsteth violent beginnings, no otherwise then the windes which arise from the earth and being entertained by the foulds and marshes are vehement, but not permanent. It beginneth with a great violence, and afterwards fainteth being wearied before her time, and when thee hath inuict it thou shalt see it but cruelle, and new kinds of punishment, when execution is to be done; the placid and becommeth gentle. Affection qualleth quickly, reason is equal. Moreouer also where wrath persecuteth sometimes, if there are many that haue deserved death, after the blood of two or three, the beghineth to bee calmed. The first assaults of her are sharpe, but as the venomousness of Serpents are hurtfull: that creepe from their denues, her teeth are harmlesse, when as often byting hath spent them. They therefore suffer not equally, who haue offended equally, and oft times hee that hath offended the least, suffereth the most because he is the object of the latest anger and is wholly vnquell: sometimes it extendeth it selfe farther then it should, sometimes it relieth more then it ought. For shee flattereth her selfe and iudgeth as shee list, and will not heare, and leaueh no place for excuse, and retaineth that which shee hath apprehended, and suffereth not her iudgement to be taken from her, although it be euill. Reason giueth place to either part, and time likewise. Afterwards shee demaundeth a terme for her selfe, to the end she may haue time to discusse the truth; wrath is hasty: Reason will haue that iudged which is rightfull, wrath will haue that seeme rightfull which shee iudgeth. Reason respecteth nothing but that which is in question, wrath is moued with vaine things, and such as are nothing to the purpose. An assured countenance, a firme voice, a free speech, an exquisite garment, a delay without delay, a stab of the people, exaspereth wrath. Oft times in despite of the advocate shee condemneth him for whom he pleadeth. And although the truth be laid before her eyes, shee toucheth and maintaineth error, shee will not bee reprooued and in euill enterpriues shee esteemeth it more honest to bee obstinate, then to repent her selfe. *Cato* *Piso* was in our memorie a man exempt from many vices, yet extremely cholericke, and such a one as tooke pleasure in his aueritie. He being displeased, when he had commanded a Souldier to be brought before him, who had returned from his pillage without his companion as if he had murdered him, whom he could not bring in person, when he was requested time to finde him out, denied it him, and condemned him to die. This Souldier, thus sentenced being brought without the trenches, already rendered his neck vnto the Hangman, when suddenly his fellow Souldier appeared, whom men supposed to be slaine: wherevpon the Centurion who had the charge to see the execution done, commanded the Hangman to put vp his sword; and after brought him to *Piso*, who was condemned to the end hee might make proofe of his innocencie, since Fortune had afforded him the meenes. The other Souldiers flocked about these two, who embraced one another to the content of all their companions. But *Piso* incensed with choler, ascended the Tribunal sent and commanded both the Souldiers to be ledde to death: both that Souldier that had not slaine his fellow, and him that was not slaine. What indignitie is this? Because the innocencie of him that was condemned was manifest, both perished. *Piso* added the third. For hee commanded this Centurion who had brought backe him that was condemned, to be ledde to execution. Here three were appointed to die in one place for one mans innocencie. Oh how cunning is wrath to fauour causes of furie. I command thee, saith hee, to be led to death, because thou art condemned; thee, because thou wert the necessary of thy fellow

The degrees of
Rage & wrath.

An able example,
confirming
that which he
saith, that Anger
ought not to be
induced with
Reason, because
it is extreme
passion.

Note this you
that are Magi-
strates.

low Soldiers death; thee, because being commanded to see him executed, thou didst not obey thy Commander. He deuised how to finde three crimes because hee found none. Wrath, say I, hath this euill in it, it will not be governed. Shee is angrie with truth it selfe; if she seeme in any sort opposite against her will. With erie, tumult, and iactation of the whole body, she persecuteth these whom she hath resolved to iniurie with reproches and curses. This doth not reason, but if it must needs bee so, silently and quietly, shee ruineth whole houses from their foundations, and destroyeth whole families that are enemies to their Countrie. With their wives and children, shee racteth downe their houses, and leueleth them with the earth, and obscureth their names that are enemies to libertie. This doth shee not with foaming at the mouth, nor shaking of the head, neither doing any thing that is vndecent for a Iudge, whose lookes, at that time especially, ought to be most pleasing, and staied when he pronounceth matters of consequence. What needst thou, saith *Ierome*, when thou art intended to strike any man, to bite thy lip first? What if he had seene, the Proconsull leaping from the Tribunal, and taking away the Sergeants rods, and renting his garments, because the garments of such, as were condemned, were not rent off soone enough? What needeth it to ouer-torne the table, to breake and fling away the pots, to beate ones head against the pillars, to teare his haire, and to thumpe his thigh and breast? How great is that anger thinkest thou, which because it is not so sodainly vented against another, as a man would, reflecteth vpon her selfe? He is therefore held by his Neighbours, and intreated to pacifie himselfe, none of which things doth he, who is void of anger, but inioyneth euery one his deserued punishment. Oft-times dismisseth he him whose guiltinesse and forfeit he hath apprehended, if by confessing the act he promise great hope of amends, if he vnderstand that the offence grew not from the malice of his heart, but as they say, was committed and not complotted with sinister intent. He will giue such a pardon as neither shall be hurtfull to those that receiue the fame, nor to those that giue it. Sometimes will he repress the greatest offences committed by infirmities, and not by crueltie, more gently then other lesse, if in them be some hidden, couered, and inueterate craft. He will punish the same fault in different men, after a different manner: if the one haue committed it through negligence, the other studied to doe hurt. Hee will obserue this alwaies in euery iudgement, and execution to ordaine one sort of punishment, to correct the euill, an other to cut them off. And in both these shall he consider, not those things that are past, but those things that are to come. For, as *Plato* saith, No wife man punisheth for euill doing, but least wee should fall to euill doing. For those things that are past cannot be recalled, those things that are to come may be preuented, and those whom he would make examples of. For some cursed crime, hee executeth them publicly, not only to the end they may die, but that others might be deterred from doing euill, by beholding the execution. Each one ought to weigh and consider these reasons. Thou seest how much a Magistrato should be exempt from all passion, when he vndertaketh a thing of so great consequence, as the life and death of men, that are vnder his hands. The sword is indrectly committed to a furious mans hands. Neither ought we to thinke this that wrath addeth any thing to the greatnesse of the minde. For that is no greatnesse but a swelling, neither to bodies that are intended by abundance of bad humours, is the sicknesse and increase, but a pestilent plentie. As they whom anger, which is a passion vile and base, puffeth vp and raiseth above the thoughts of other men, make themselves beleue

that

that their thoughts are sublime and high, whereas there is nothing firme in all that which they doe, but as they haue builded in the aire, so sinketh it and fallett of it selfe. Wrath hath no assistant or sustainer, hee proceedeth not from any thing that is permanent and durable, but is windy and vaine, and differeth so farre from greatnesse of minde as audaciousnesse from fortitude, insolence from confidence, sadnesse from austeritie, and crueltie from severity. There is a great difference betwixt a constant and a proud minde. Wrath enterpriseth nothing that is great or worthy. Contrariwise, in my iudgement, it is a token of a dull and vnhappy man, and guiltie of his owne weaknesse, to be forsooth oftentimes. Euen as those bodies that are exulcerated and sicke, complaine if they be touched neuer so little, so is it a womanish and childish fault: yet is it incident to men, for men likewise haue childish and womanish wits. What then? are not some wordes vttered by angrie men, who haue not the true knowledge of magnanimitie, which seem notwithstanding to proceed from a great & generous mind? As that most dire and abominable speech, *Let them hate me, so they feare me*. Know that this was written in *Syllas* time, I know not whether with were worse for him, either to be hated, or to be feared: *Let them hate me*. He forethinketh that which will happen, that his subiects will curse, betray, and oppress him. What addeth he hereunto, The gods confound him, so worthe a remedie hath he found out for hatred. *Let them hate*: What? whilst they obey? No: whilst they approue? no. What then? so they feare, so would not I haue him be beloued. Thinkest thou that this is spoken with a great spirit? Thou art decieued; for this is not greatnesse but crueltie. Thou art not to giue credit to wrathfull mens wordes, whose boasts are great and threatening, but inwardly there hearts are crauen and coward. Thou must not repute that to be true which is spoken by *Linie* that eloquent man. Of him, *A man that had a minde rather great then good*. These cannot be separated, either it shall be great and good, or it shall not be great; because I meane the greatnesse of a man that is vnshaken, and inwardly solide, and euen and equall from one end vnto another, which cannot bee in euill mindes. For they may bee terrible, tumultuous and dangerous to death, but they shall not haue greatnesse whose foundation is strength and goodnesse: yet in speech, in action, and all outward appearance they will make shew of great courage. They will let slip some wordes, which thou wilt suppose to be worthie and wittie, as *Caius Cesar* did, who being angrie with the heauens, because it thundred whilst his plaies acted, whom hee imitated more diligently then he beheld them, and because his banquet was interrupted by lightning, that was scarce rightly aimed, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him without delay, pronouncing this Verse in *liomer*:

Either kill me, or I thee.

What madnesse was it? he thought that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him or that hee could hurt *Iupiter*. I cannot imagine butt that this speech of his was of some great moment to incense their hearts of those that had conspired against him for they supposed it to bee an insufferable matter to suffer him who could, not endure *Iupiter*. Then there is nothing great or noble in wrath, no not when it seemeth to be most vehemement and despiteth both men & gods: or if any man supposeth that wrath produceth a great mind, let him say as much of disolute-nesse. Shee will be carued in Iuorie, clothed with purple, couered with gold, transference one Countrie to an other, shut vp Seas, precipitate Riuers, hang For-
refts

An advertisement for Magi-
strates to beware
of anger which
cannot make a
man more mag-
nanimous.

rests in the aire. Let Auarice also be esteemed generous: shee lieth vpon heaps of gold and silver, his pastures and lands are tilled vnder the name of whole Prouinces. And vnder every one of his Farmers he enioyeth a greater quantitie of land, then the Prouinces that were allotted to those that were Consuls. Let lust likewise be reputed to be a worthy thing. It swimmeth ouer Seas, geldeth troupes of yong children, maketh the wife without apprehension of death to be murdered with her husbands owne hands. The same may we say of Ambition, that shee is magnanimous, and contenteth not her selfe with yearly honours, but will, if it may be, fill all the moneths and daies of the yeare with one name, and plant her armes through all the world. It skils not how farre all these proceede and extend themselves, they are trifles, they are miserable and depressed. Only vertue is great and excellent, for there is nothing great except it bee pleasing and peaceable likewise.

The end of the first Booke of Anger.



A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNEVS SENECA
TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS

The second Booke.

The Argument of LVTVS LIPSIVS.

It hath two parts, the first containeth certaine questions of Anger, the other remedies against the same. The first question is, whether Anger proceede from passion onely. Hee denieth it, and prooueth that both the minde and iudgement are accessarie therunto. Shee therefore giueth cure vnto reason, and may be restrained, which could not be if shee were from that onely, and not from nature. By the way he setteth downe a Stoicall difference, betwixt motions and affections, this he prosecuteth to the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he another question, whether crueltie and fiercenesse proceede from Anger, hee denieth it, and saith that it is a different affection, yet that it often-times hath his beginning or nourishment from often displeasure. After this in the sixth Chapter, whether a good man be displeased with the offence or the offender? Hee denieth and dischargeth a wise man from all this affliction vntill the eleaueth Chapter. From thence he enquireth whether wrath be profitable, because it delinereih a man from contempt, and terriseth the evil? He doth not admit it, and confesseth that it is feared which is not good, or to be desired by a good man. For both wild bestes and sicknesses are feared. This vntill the thirteenth Chapter, and in it he confesseth that Anger may be sained, and yet not used by a wise man. Neither that shee resideth in a simple and generous minde, because the free and unconquered nations haue the same, yea such as are sauage and incapable both of learning or reason. At length in the eighteenth Chapter, hee profitably passeth ouer to the remedies of Anger, he dilateth these two things. That we should not bee angry, and that we should not sinne in our Anger. Ieaf we fall into the same. Such and such an education is requisite, at last he willet vs to impugne the first causes of wrath, and diuayes to use counsaile and time. Then that suspicions are to be driven away, and excesses auoided. Not to bee angry with things that are insensible, with men of weak iudgement, with those things which are done by nature, or for our good. Hee aduiseh vs to see and acknowledge our fautes, whereby we may become more equall and iust to others. Not to beleene rably, and to examine those things that are beleened by the minde of the doer. Especially that pride is to be laide aside, and good opinion of a man selfe

selfe which maketh men wrathfull and reuengefull. To suffer rather or to dissemble and to abstaine from so filthy an affliction: whose deformitie is expressed in the minde and countenance. These are profitable lessons, let them be read and remembered.

He entereth into a more particular discourse and disposeth first, vpon the source of Anger.



LHE first Booke *Nonatus* hath comprehended matters more tractable, because it is an easie matter to runne head-long in to vices, considering our inclination and disposition thereto. But now we must vnfolde the smaller parcels of this discourse. For the question is, whether Anger beginneth vpon iudgement, or by impulsion, that is to say, whether wee bee moued of her selfe, or whether she resemble the most of these passions, which take root in vs before wee are aware. But wee must subject this dispute to these questions, to the end that shee may be likewise raised to more high considerations. For in our bodies, our bones, nerves, and ioynts, which are the foundation of the whole, and other instruments of life & care; first to beholde are first formed and ordained, and afterwarde those, when the grace and our countenance, and face doth proceed. And in furie, after all this the choler which aboue all things rauisheth the eyes, is the last thing which spreadeth it selfe thorow-out our perfect bodies. It is not to be doubted but that a certaine appearance of iniurie offered, moueth anger: but the question is whether wrath presently followeth after this appearance, without consent of the minde, or whether it be moued by his assent. But our opinion is that shee dare doe nothing of her selfe, but by the approbation of the minde. For to conceiue an opinion of iniurie, and to desire to be reuenged, and to vnite both these things together, that is to say, that they ought not to haue beene angry, or that hee ought to take reuenge; this is no motion that may incite it selfe without our will. The aboue named motion is simple, that whereof wee speake is compound, and containeth diuers heads. He hath vnderstood somewhat, he is displeased, he condemneth the same, he reuengeth himselfe, this cannot be done, except his minde which was touched therewith, yeeld some consent.

CHAP. II.

Choler is the spring of our euill.



WHereto saist thou appertaineth this question? To vnderstand what wrath is. For if shee be bred in vs against our wills, the will neuer submit vnto reason. For all those motions which are done against our will, are invincible and inevitable, as shiuering when wee are sprinkled with colde water, a starting backe vpon tickling: when we haue heard some heauie message, our haire standeth vpright; when immodest words, shame coloureth our countenance; and a swimming of the head followeth those that looke downe from some high places. Because none of all these are in our power, there is no reason that counsaileth vs to expell our felues there-against. Wrath is driven away by good precepts. For it

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is a voluntarie vice of the minde, not of those which happen by a certaine condition of humane kinde, and therefore they befall the most wisest. Amongst which that first motion of the mind is to be placed, which moueth vs after the opinion of iniurie. This motion attendeth vs euer amongst the idle acts of a play, and vpon the reading of Ancient Histories. We seeme oftentimes to bee angry, for banishing *Cicero*, and with *Antonius* for killing him. Who is not angry at *Marius* Armes, and *Syllas* proscriptions? Who is not displeased with *Theodorus* and *Achilles*, and that boy *Ptolemy*, for doing a hainous murder vnfitting for his yong yeares? A fong some times and a sodaine straine of Musicke animateth vs, and that warlike found of the Trumpet mooueth our mindes, and a dreadfull picture, and the dolefull sight of iust mens punishment amazeth vs. There it is that we laugh with those that laugh, and in the company of these that mourne, wee are heauie and are inkindled by beholding other mens sight, which are not wrathes no more, then sadnesse is, which contracteth our browes vpon the sight of an enemy; that hath suffered shipwracke; no more then then feare astonisheth the Readers minde, when he ouerlooketh the storie, how after the battaile of *Cannae* *Hannibal* approached these wals Rome. But all these are the motions of such mindes, as are willing to bee moued, neither are thy affections but beginnings and effiaes of those affections. For so doth the Trumpet refresh the Souldiers eare, who hath a long time liued in rest, and walked in his long Roabe, during the time of peace, and Warlike horses pricke vp their eares vpon the clattering of Armes. They say that *Alexander* the great whilst *Xenophanes* sung, laid hand on his weapons.

CHAP. III.



NOne of these things, which casually impell the mind may be called affections. These if I may so speake it, the minde rather suffereth then doeth; That therefore is affection, not to be moued with the resemblances of things that are offered; but to suffer him selfe to be led by them, and to runne after this casual motion. For if any man suppose that palenesse, and trickling downe of teares, and filthie pollution, or a deep set sight, or eyes sodainly incensed, or any such like thing, is a token of the affection, and a signe of the minde, he is deceived, neither vnderstandeth he, that these are the agitations of the bodie. And therefore the stoutest man sometime waxeth pale, whilst he is armed, and the fiercest Souldier hath trembled and shaken his knees a little when the charge was first sounded, and the greatest Emperour, hath had a trembling heart before the two Armies had shoked and encountered together, and the eloquentest Oratour, whilst he composeth him selfe to deliuer his oration, hath felt a shiuering in the extremities of his bodie. Wrath must not only bee moued, she must haue her outlopes abroad: for it is a passion; but neuer is a passion, without the assent of the mind: for it cannot bee, that without the knowledge of the minde, a man should deliberate vpon reuenge and punishment. Some man hath supposed himselfe injured, and would reuenge himselfe, but vpon the dissuasion of some cause, he presently changeth his counsaile. Least not this Wrath, but a motion of the minde obedient vnto reason: That is Wrath, which treadeth downe reason, and draweth her after her. So then this first agitation of the minde, which is prouoked by the appearance of some iniurie, is no more wrath then

A subtle distinction of passion.

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is the appearance of injurie, but that succeeding emotion, which not only assumeth the resemblance of injurie, but hath approved the same. Wrath is a concitation of the minde, tending voluntarily and with iudgement to revenge. Is it to be doubted but that feare is attended by flight, Wrath by impetuositie? Take heed therefore, if thou perseuer in this opinion, that a man may imbrace or avoid any thing without the consent of the minde.

CHAP. IIII.

The explanation
of the distinction
betwixt the three
motions which
are the beginning,
the increase, and
advancement of
anger.



AND to the end thou maist know, how these passions beginne, increase, and extend them selues. Consider that there are three motions. The first is not voluntarie, but as it were a preparation of the affection, and a conjunction. The second is annexed, to a will which is not rebellious as that I ought to revenge my selfe when I am wronged, or that such a one that hath committed some hainous crime should bee punished. The third motion is so violent that it will not revenge when it ought to doe it, but hath wholly disclaimed reason. This first motion of the minde we cannot auoid, although reason assit vs, no more then we can auoid those motions, which as I said happen to the bodie. We cannot chooseth but yawne, if we see an other man yawne. Neither can wee chooseth but winke if a man sodainly steppeth behinde vs and blindfoldeth vs. These things cannot reason overcome, happily custome and daily obseruation may lessen them. That other motion, which is bred by iudgment, is overcome by iudgment.

CHAP. V.



His question likewise is to bee examined whether those men that ordinarily are incensed, and delight in mans blood bee angry with such men, whom they put to death, from whom they neuer haue receiued, nor suppose themselves to haue receiued injurie, such as were *Apollidorus* and *Phalaris*. This is not Wrath, but Crueltie; For these hurteth not because these hath receiued an injurie, but is readie to receiue injuries, provided that these may doe hurt. It is not to revenge him selfe that hee whippeth and teareth men in peeces, but for pleasure sake. What then? The beginning of this euill is from Wrath, the which by frequent exercises hauing satisfied her appetite with murders and blood, and forgotten all Clemencie, and driuen Humanitie from his heart, finally addictheth himselfe to all Crueltie. They therefore laugh and are glad, and enjoy much pleasure, and haue their lookes farre different from those that are angry, they are cruell, yet quiet in their mindes. They say, that *Hannibal* said when he saw a trench filled with mans blood. *Oh faire spectacle*. How farre more worthie a thing had it seemed to him, had hee seene a Riuer or Lake filled therewith? What wonder if thou take so speciall a delight in this spectacle when as thou wert borne to blood, and from thine infancie hast bene trained vp in murders. The prosperous fortune of thy Crueltie shall follow thee for twentie yeares space, and shall euery where yeeld thine eyes a gratefull spectacle, thou shalt see this both about *Trafimenus*, and about *Cannas*, and lastly about

about thy Carthage. *Polemius* of late time Proconsull in Asia vnder the gouernment of *Augustus*, after that in one day hee had beheaded three hundred walking amongst the carcases, with a proud countenance as if he had done some magnificent action worthie the beholding cryed out in Greeke: *Oh Kingly exploit*. What had this *Polemius* done had hee bene a King? This was not wrath but a greater and more incurable euill.

CHAP. VI.



Vertue (saith he) as it is fauourable to honest things, so is the displeased with dishonest. What if it bee said that Vertue ought both to bee humble and to be great? But he that faith thus will haue her extolled and repressed. Because joy in performing any notable action, is apparant and magnificent, anger and delight conceived by reason of another mans sinne, is the signe of a sordid and base minde. Neither will vertue euer so farre forget her selfe as alter these hath suppressed vices, these should imitate them. It is his dutie to chastise wrath, which is in no sort better but often times worse, then those offences, wherewith these is displeased. It is proper and natural for vertue to reioyce and be glad, to bee angry is not for her dignitie, no more then to mourne. But sadnesse is the companion of wrath, and anger after the repentance, and after the repulse conuerteth it selfe alwaies into sadnesse. And if it be the act of a wise man to be displeased against sinnes, his displeasures shall increase if they be more great, and it will follow that the wise man shall not be simply angry, but wrathfull. But if we neither beleeue that great or frequent anger hath place in a wise mans minde. What is the cause why we wholly discharge him, not from this affection, there say I, can be no measure, if he must be angry according to the waight of euery mans offence. For either he shall be vnjust, if he equally be displeased with vnmanys offence. Or most wrathfull if hee hath bene incensed so often as offences equall sinne, or most vnworthy then that a wise mans affections should depend on another mans wickednesse. Euen *Socrates* him selfe will forbear to bee able to bring back the same countenance home with him, which he carried out of dores.

CHAP. VII.



Vt if a wise-man ought to bee displeased against dissolute behaviour, and incensed and grieued at wickednesse, there is no man more miserable then he: he must needs spend the whole course of his life in anger and sadnesse. For what moment shall there be wherin hee shall not see some matters that are to be disallowed: as often as hee shall goe out of dores hee must passe by wicked, couetous, prodigall and impudent men, and such as haue bene made happie thereby, his eyes shall be turned towards no place, wherin they finde not occasions of dislike? He cannot lue if he be displeased so often as the cause requireth. These so many thousand men that trot to the Palace early in the morning, how bad causes, may how farre worse Lawyers haue they? One of these complaineth against his Fathers will, where hee hath occasion to content himselfe therewith.

Hee concludeth
by that which
passed before,
that a wise-man
cannot be angry
with those disor-
ders which be
flesh.

Another pleadeth against his mother: Another accuseth his Neighbour of some crime, wherein he himselfe is more manifestly faultie, and he is chosen to be Iudge in those causes wherein he himselfe hath most offended, the baddest cause is fauoured by all men, and that Counsaier that pleadeth vprightly is disgraced, why prosecute I euery particular? when thou seest the Courts of pleas stuffed with people, and the barres taken vp with all sorts of people, and that great place wherein the most part of the people shew themselves, know this that in that place there are as many vices as there are men. Amongst these men that walke in long gownes there is no peace, each of these will sell one another for a little gaine.

CHAP. VIII.

NO man taketh profit, but by another mans losse, they hate the happie man, they contemne the miserable; they are agrieved at their Superiours, and are grievous to their inferiours; they are prouoked by diuers desires, and for some light profit or pleasure they would fee all things in confusion. Their life is nothing different from that of the sword players, who lue and fight with one another. There is an assembly of brutt beasts, except wee say that they are peaceable amongst themselves, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men have no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumb creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but these are enraged against them most, by whom they haue beene relieved best. A wife-man shall neuer cease if hee once beginne to bee angrie: all the world is so full of vices and wickednesse. There is more cuill committed, then may by reproofe and punishment bee healed. Impietie and iniustice are vpon their rests, & forcibly iust against vertue; day by day the desire of euill increaseth, and modestie decreaseth. Dissolution hauing driuen from her all respect of equitie and right, hath vsurped vpon all things at her pleasure; neither are hainous crimes now a daies committed in secret, they are perpetrated in the view and eye of all men. And such preheminece and power hath wickednesse gotten in euery place, so deeply is hee possessed of all mens hearts, that innocence, which in times past, was rare, at this day is wholly extinguished. Haue all or a few men broken the law. All the world is armed, as it were vpon the found of a trompet, to confound and mixe right and iustice with wickednesse.

A description of the disorders of his time, represented to the end to expresse that a wife-man should bee truly miserable, if he would torment himselfe to see so many miseries.

The cruelties of this age.

On a Metamor.

Nor from his Host the guest may be securd,
Nor he whom law and marriage hath allotted
To be a Father can remaine assur'd,
But by his Sonne his death will be plotted.
Friendship twist brothers may be hardly found,
The husband seeks occasion to depriue
His wife of life, and shee would him confound:
An enraged Stepmother daily doe contriue
To mingle poisons, and the Sonne againe
To get his Fathers wealth would see him slaine.

And all a part of wickednesse is this? hee hath not describ'd the camps of

of a factious common-weale, armed one against another, the fathers following one part, and the children another, all the Countrie fired by their hands that should defend it, the troops of horimen scouting out on euery side to discouer the places, whether the condemned men were retired, the fountains poisoned, the plague spread abroad by artificiall meanes, the trenches digged by the children against their owne fathers, that were besieged, the prisons full of captiues, the tyrannies, the secret counsailes, whence hath followed the ruine of Kingdomes and other publique estates, the whoordomes, desourings, rauishings, infamous and execrable vnclannesse, all which things reputed for glorious and notable exploits are called wicked, when a man may hinder and extinguish them.

The miseries of civill warres.

CHAP. IX.

ADde now vnto these the publique periuries of the people, the breach of alliances, the pillage carried away to him, that hath the greatest power, the deceipts, the thefts, the cauls, tricks of so euill trust in so great a number, that wee had neede of three times as large places of iustice as we haue, to decide them in: if thou wilt haue a wife-man displeased so much as the indignitie of their wickednesse requireth, instead of being angrie how will be constrained to be madde. Rather thinke thou this that he ought not to be angrie at errors. For what if a man should be angrie with those that stumble in the darke, or against the deafe, because they doe not that which they are commanded, because they vnderstand it not? or against children, who in stead of thinking on their duties, busie themselves in play and sporting with their equals, what if thou wouldst bee angrie with those that are sick, with such as are old and wearied? Amidst the rest of the incommodities of mans life, this is one; the darknesse of our mindes, and not only the necessitie of erring, but the loue of errors. If thou wilt not bee displeased with any man, pardon all men; and excuse the infirmities of mankind. But if thou beest angrie, both with yong and old, because they offend, be displeased also with little infants, because hereafter they will bee vicious. Is there any man angry with children, who by reason of their tender yeares know not how to discern things? It is a more great and iust excuse to be a man then a child: we are borne to this condition to be creatures subiect as well to the infirmities of the mind as of the body, not blockish nor stupid, but such as abuse our vnderstanding. The one of vs serueth for example of vices vnto the other. Euery one follow those that goe before, although it bee in the way of error. Why should they not be excused if all of them go astray in the publique way?

A continuation of the former discourse, to proue that a wife-man cannot possibly intangle himselfe with so many miseries.

CHAP. X.

THe seruetic of a Generall is intended against priuate offenders, but then is pardon necessarie, where his whole Armie hath forsaken him. What taketh away a wife mans wrath? The multitude of offenders. He vnderstandeth how vnjust and dangerous a thing it is to be displeased with a guiltie multitude: *Ueracitudo* as often as he went forth a doores, and saw about him such a multitude of euill liuers, nay rather

rather men dying wickedly, he wept; hauing compassion of all those that met him with a ioyfull and contented countenance, being himselfe milde in minde, and feeble in heart, and such a one as deserued to bee deplored himselfe. Contrariwise it is said that *Democritus* neuer lookt abroad without laughing, for trippingly reputed he all those things which were seriously done and fought after. Where in this world is there any place for Anger? All things are eyther to be laughed at, or to be lamented. A wife-man will not be angrie with those that offend. Why? Because he knoweth that no man is borne wise, but is made wise: he knowes that in euery age there are few that become wise, because he vnderstandeth the condition of human life, but no wife-man will be angrie with nature; for what if he would wonder because that apples grow not on wilde brambles? what if hee wonder why thornes and bulhes beare not exquisite fruite? no man is angrie with nature when she excuseth the imperfection. A wife-man therefore is peaceable, and remitteth fautes, not an enemie but an admonisher of those that doe amisse with this minde daily walketh he out. Many will meeete me in the way that are addicted to wine, many lechers, many that are vngatefull, many couetous men, and many that are possessed with the furie of ambition. All these men will be entertaine as courteously as the Physician doth his sicke patients. Is he displeased either with his Sailors or his Ship whose Barke hauing her timbers loose hath a great leake, and sinketh in much water? He rather helpeth them, he calketh the vessell to keepe out the waues, he driueth out the reft and shuts vp the holes that appeare, and resisteth by his continuall labour and pumping, those that are yet vndiscouered, neyther therefore intermitteth he because so much was gotten out, as was entered in. We had neede of succours of long continuance against so continuall and fruitfull euils, not that they may cease, but least they ouercome.

CHAP. XI.



He perceiuethe the explication of the definition of anger, which he termeth an emotion of the heart, sending voluntarily and with iudgement into vengeance, knowing that it is passion as being不可控, ought not to be found amongst wise men, who could, once the emotion and the vengeance, and rather might then feare it.

Rath, saith he, is profitable because she escapeth contempt, and terrifieth euill men. First of all wrath, if it be as much worth as it threatneth, for this very cause, because it is terrible, it is therefore hatefull. But it is more dangerous to be feared then to be despised: but if it be without feare, it is more exposed to contempt, and subiect to derision. For what thing is more vaine and ridiculous then for Anger to be in tempest and tumult for nothing? Moreover, those things that are terrible are not therefore more great; and I would not haue that said by a wife-man which might be said by a savage beast: that the weapon of a wilde beast is to be feared. What is not the ague, the gout, an vlcere cuill? Is there therefore any goodnesse in these, or contrariwise are not all things more disdained, filthy and contemptible, in that they are feared? Anger is of her selfe deformed, and not to be feared, yet is it feared by diuers men as a deformed vizard by infants. But why doth not feare alwayes fall vpon the head of him that is the author thereof? Neyerther is there any man feared that is himselfe secure. Remember thee in this place of *Laberianus* verses, which being spoken in the Theater, in the midst of the ciuill warres, no otherwise made all the people attentiu vnto it, then if a speech had bene vttered that testified the publique affection.

He needs must feare many whom many men feare.

So

So hath nature ordained, that he who thinketh himselfe great, because he is feared, is not himselfe exempt from feare. How much tremble Lions vpon the least noyse? An vnacquainted shadow, voyce, and order troubleth those beasts which are the fiercest. All those which affright others are afraid themselves. There is no cause therefore why any wife-man should desire to be feared.

CHAP. XII.



Eyther therefore let any man thinke that wrath is great, because the causeth her selfe to be feared, because there are certain things which are the most contemptible and yet are feared, as venomes, and some impoisoned meates, and a bite or sting of beasts. Neyerther is it to be wondered at, when as a line distinguished with feathers, containeth the greatest heards of wilde beasts, and driueth them into the Toyles, and by their effects they are called feare; for vaine things are afraid of nothing. The shaking of a Chariot, and the rattling of the wheelcs driueth a Lion into his denne; the crie of a Hogge terrifieth an Elephant. So therefore is Anger feared as a shadow is by infants, as a redde feather is by wilde beasts. This passion hath nothing firme and powerful in her selfe, but she is only the Bug-Bear of vaine mindes. Wickednesse, saith he, must be banished out of the world if thou wilt exterminate wrath, and as the one of these things is impossible so is the other. First of all a man may be warme, although that naturally it be Winter, and he may be temperate although the hottest moneths do raigne. But by the benefite of the place he is exempted from the intemperature of the yeare, or by the patience of his bodie he ouercommeth the sense of them both. But take this to the contrary, thou must needes take vertue first out of thy minde, before thou entertaine wrath, because vertues haue no correspondence with vices; and no more at the same time can an angry man be a good man, then he that is sicke be a whole man. All wrath, saith he, cannot be taken away out of the minde, neyther doth the nature of a man permit him this. But there is nothing so difficult and dangerous, which a mans minde cannot overcome, and that continuall meditation bringeth not in vse, and no affections are so fierce and oblitinate which are not tamed by discipline. Whatsoeuer the minde hath enioyed himselfe he hath obtained. Some haue gotten that gouernement ouer themselves that they will neuer laugh, some haue giuen ouer wine, some lecherie, and some haue framed their bodies to forsake all water, another by accustoming himselfe to sleep little, hath gotten so much prauiledge that he is neuer wearie of waking, some haue learned to runne vpon small and slender ropes, and to beare great and mightie burthens, farre exceeding the strength of any man, and to die into the greatest depthes, and without any breathing to remaine long time in the bottom of the Seas.

CHAP. XIII.



Here are a thousand other things wherein an oblitinate resolution surmounteth all other impediments, and sheweth that there is nothing difficult to him that hath resolved himselfe to be patient. All these of whom I haue spoken before, haue had no recompence of their trauaile, or if they haue receiued any, it was no great matter.

How profitable a firme resolution is against vices.

*He swiſcheth
the ſupremacye of
man: & ſaith
of things that are
giuen ouer to
Anger.*

*A Stoick Pat-
ience, as poſſi-
ble, is for a dead
man to liue.*

ter. For what honour hath that Tumbler gotten, who hath learned to daunce vpon a rope? that is exerciſed to beare a waightie burthen vpon his necke, that hath learned to reſtraine his eyes from ſleeping? that is taught to diue into the bottom of the Sea? Theſe labors get but little reward. Shall not we entertain patience, who are to expect ſo great a reward as the tranquillitie of a happie minde? How great a thing is it to flee from wrath, which is the greateſt euill, and with her to auoide the other paſſions, which accompanie her, as rage, inhumanitie, crueltie, and furie? We are not to ſeek our protection from any, neyther ought we to excuſe and diſſemble our libertie, by ſaying, that eyther this is profitable or that ineuitable; for what error hath wanted a Patron? Thou art not to ſay that it cannot be cut off, we are ſicke of curable diſeaſes; and nature her ſelfe that created vs for the beſt, will aſſiſt vs if we will be amended. Neyther as ſome men haue ſaid, is the way to vertues dangerous and difficult, they are eaſily come by. I will inſtruct you in no vaine matter. The way vnto bleſſed life is eaſie, follow the ſame in a good houre, and vnder the fauour of the gods. There is more difficultie in doing thoſe things which you doe. For what is more contenting then the tranquillitie of the minde? What more laborſome then wrath? What more remiſſe then clemencie? What more turbulent then crueltie? Chafte is alwaies at leiſure, diſſolution full of buſineſſe; to conclude, the cuſtodie of all vertue is eaſie, contrariwiſe, vices coſt very much in entertraying them. Muſt wrath be removed? This in part confeſſe they likewiſe who ſay, that it is to be moderated and diminithed. Let it be wholly giuen ouer: becauſe it will profite nothing: without her a man may more eaſily and readily roote out wickedneſſe, the euill ſhall be puniſhed and brought to a better paſſe.

CHAP. XIII.

*That a wife
is a better
need of wealth
to reſtore her
aſſiſt.*

A

Wife-man expecteth al thoſe things which he ought to do, without the aſſiſtance of any euill thing; neyther will he intermixe any thing which may trouble him in the government thereof. Anger therefore is neuer to be admitted, yet is it ſometimes to be diſſembled, if the ſlowe mindes of the auditorie are to be ſtirred vp.

Even as we prick forth our ſturdie horſes by ſticke and ſpurre, to perſorme their race. Sometimes they are to be put in feare, when reaſon cannot perſwade. It is no leſſe profitable to be angrie then to mourne, then to feare. What then? Do not ſome cauſes fall out which prouoke Anger? But even then moſt eſpecially ate we to get the ſtart of her. Neyther is it a hard matter to ouercom the mind, when as the wrattlers alſo being exerciſed in their baſeſt part, yet ſuſter they ſtrains and ſtrokes that they may ſpend his forces with whom they contend; neyther ſtrike they when wrath perſwadeth them, but when occaſion commandeth them. It is reported that *Pyrhus* an excellent Maſter in wrattling and other exerciſes, was wont to command thoſe that were his Schollers to reſtraine from Anger. For it is Anger that troubleth Art, and conſidereth which way ſhe may hurt, not how ſhe may preuent. Reaſon therefore oftentimes perſwadeth patience, wrath reuenge, and we that might eſcape the firſt euils, are thruſt into greater. Some hath the contumely of one word not diſſeſt with diſcretion, caſt into exile, and they that would not burie and beare a trifling iniurie in ſilence, haue bene ouerwhelmed with moſt grievous calamities; in
briefe,

briefe, being not able to endure, that a ior of their great libertie ſhould be diminithed, they haue drawne themſelues vnder a ſeruiſe yoke.

CHAP. XV.

O make thee know (ſaith he) that wrath hath ſomewhat generous in it, thou ſhalt find that the Germanes and Scythians (which are free Nations) are much inclined vnto wrath; which commeth to paſſe becauſe their ſpirits (which by nature are ſtrong and ſolide) are eaſily moved and prone vnto Anger, eſpecially before they be tempered and mollified by diſcipline. There are certain paſſions which neuer take hold of ſoft but on the ſtrongest ſpirits: euen as the moſt ſtrongest and fruitfuller Coppie grow on the land which is leaſt manured, and a Forreſt flouriſheth in a fruitfull ſoyle. Therefore the mindes that by nature are moſt ſtrongest endure Anger, & being ſerie & hote, ſuſter nothing that is little and feeble; but that vigor is imperfect, as in all things without Art, which grow only by the benefite of nature, which except they be quickly tamed, that which was diſpoſed to become valour is conuerted into audaciouſnes and raſhnes. What are not thoſe ſpirits which are gentle and tractable leſſe vicious? and are they not accompanied with mercie, loue, and honeſt shame? I will therefore ſlew thee a good diſpoſition euen in thoſe things that are euill; but therefore are they not vices, although they are ſignes of a better nature. Moreover, all theſe Nations free in their fierceneſſe, according to the cuſtome of Lions and Wolves, as they cannot ſerue, ſo they cannot command: for they haue not the force of a humane vnderſtanding, but ſuch as is beaſtly and intractable; but no man can gouerne, except he that can be gouerned.

*That Choler
hath nothing ge-
nerous in it.*

CHAP. XVI.

O

Or the moſt part therefore the Empire remained amongst thoſe Nations which liue vnder a milder clime: they that are bred towards the Northward and in colde countries, haue their mindes moſt vntactable, as the Poet ſaith,

And like vnto their beauen.

They (ſaith hee) are reputed to be the moſt generous beaſts that are moſt wrathfull. He is deceiued that indueth them for an example to men, who for reaſon vſe violence: man in ſtead of violence hath reaſon. Neyther is that paſſion profitable in them: all fierceneſſe helpeth Lions, feare Harts, violence the Hawke, flight the Dove: neyther is that true, that the moſt excellent creatures are the moſt ſubiect to Anger. Shall I thinke thoſe wilde beaſts better which liue by rapine, becauſe they are moſt fell? I had rather commend the patience of the Oxe and thoſe Horſes that are gouerned by the bridle. But what is the cauſe thou ſhouldeſt reuoke man to ſuch vnhappy examples, when thou haſt the world and God, who amongst all other liuing creatures, he only imitateth and onely vnderſtandeth? They are accounted the moſt ſimpleſt men of all other that are moſt angrie. For they are compared to
fraudulent

*There is no Na-
tion of plaine
inclination that
are not capable
of government,
and fit to be go-
uerned by the
moſt excellent
amongſt them.*

fraudulent and cunning fellows, and seeme to be simple, because they are discovered, whom I would not call simple but improuident. For we assigne this name to fooles, to lechers and prodigall spenders, and such as are not cunning enough in their follies.

CHAP. XVII.



whether it be a thing fitting for him that is publicly to declare to be moved, and how.

AN Orator (saith he) that is moued and angrie is sometimes the better, why not if he counterfeit his Anger? For Players in pronouncing their speeches, although they be not angrie, yet moue the people; but in acting the wrathfull man cunningly. And before the Iudges likewise, and before the people, and wherefoeuer we are to confirme other mens mindes, in our opinion, sometimes wee our selues will faine to be displeased, sometimes counterfeit feare, sometimes compassion to confirme the same in other men. And oftentimes that which true affection could not haue effected, imitation of affection hath performed. It is a faint minde, saith he, that is without Anger. It is true, if he haue nothing more powerfull then Anger in him; neyther must he be a thiefe, neyther such a one as is robbed, neyther mercifull, nor cruell, the heart of the one is too tender, the other too obdurate. Let the wise-man bee temperate, and in executing that which he hath to doe resolutely, let him entertaine courage and not Anger.

CHAP. XVIII.



The second part of this booke setteth downe the remedies against Anger.

BEcause we haue examined those questions which concerne Anger, let vs now descend vnto the remedies thereof. They are two in my iudgement: the one, that we fall not into Anger, the other, not to sinne when we are angrie. As in the cure of our bodies, there are some precepts to maintain health, other some how to restore it when it is decayed, so to surmount displeasure there is one meane to repulse it, another to repress it. Some shall be taught which are pertinent, and necessarie for the whole life, and they shall be deuised into education, and the yeares that follow. Education requireth great diligence, and is greatly profitable and necessarie: for it is an easie matter to fildish & order tender minds, and those vices are hardly rooted out in vs, which haue grown with vs. A fiery nature is a proper subiect of wrath, for whereas there are foure elements, fire, water, ayre, and earth, so haue they their equall qualities, colde, hote, drie and moyll. So then the mixture of the elements is the cause of the varietie of places, creatures, bodies, and manners; thence commeth it that mens minds are more inclined to this or that, according as the vigor of the element aboundeth more or lesse in them; thence it is that we say and call some Regions moist, some drie, some hote, and some colde. The same differences are there betwixt men and beasts.

The complexions of our bodies proceed from the qualities that are predominant in them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

IT importeth very much to vnderstand how much humiditie or heate euery one hath in him, and according to the element that is most predominant in a man, such are his manners. The mixture of heat will make wrathfull men; for fire is active and peremane. The mixture of colde maketh men colde; for colde is of a slow and heauie nature. Some therefore of our sect are of the opinion; that wrath is enkindled in the breast, by reason of the blood that boyleth about the heart. The cause why this place is especially assigned vnto Anger, is no other, then that of all the whole bodie the breast is the hottest. They that haue more moisture in them, their Anger increaseth by little and little, because their heat is not prepared, but is gotten by motion. The displeasures therefore of children and women are more sharpe then they are continuing, and more feeble in the beginning. In drier ages wrath is vehement & strong, but without increase, not adding much vnto it selfe, because colde followeth the declining heate. Olde men are tellie and alwayes complaining as sicke men doe, and such as begin to recouer their health, or that by lassitude or bloud letting haue lost a part of their heat. In the same estate are they that are extremely transported with thirst and hunger, and who haue no bloud in their bodies, neither thrive by that they eat, but consume daily. Wine enkindleth wrath, because it increaseth heate according to euery mans nature.

The source whence wrath springeth and his state.

Because the Sun of the latter world inhabits in it.

CHAP. XX.



Much moued are some when they are drunk, some when they are fasting: neither is there any other cause, why they are most wrathfull that haue yellow haire and redde faces, who haue such a color by nature, as other men are wont to hate, when they are displeased; for their bloud is swift and much troubled. But euen as nature disposeth some men vnto choler, so happen there many causes which may do the like that nature doth. Some hath sickenesse and the iniurie of the bodie drawne into this, other some labor and continual watching, nights spent in great thought, and desires, and loves, and whatsoever else that were hurtfull to the bodie or minde, or prepareth the sicke-mans heart to complaints. But all these are but beginnings and causes, and custom can do very much, which if it be depraued nourishes the vice. It is a hard thing to change nature, neuer is it possible to disseuer the elements, whereof things are composed, after they are once mixed. But it will be profitable to know this, to the end we may forbid them, wine that are of hote natures, which Plato supposeth to be hurtfull to children, and therefore forbiddeth vs to adde fire to fire. Neither are they to be crammed with meats, for their bodies are easily distended, & their minds like their bodies suddenly are pulled vp. Let labour exercise them without lassitude, that their heate may be diminished & not consumed, & that the ouer-great feuer in them skimmed and cooled. Palltimelike will profit them, because a moderate pleasure quickeneth the mind, and temperate it also. Those that are of a moist, drie, and colde complexion, there is no danger in their displeasures, yet are greater vices to be feared in them, as feare, difficultie, desperation and suspitions.

Diuers appearances of wrath according to the habituate of persons, and that we ought to know our owne nature and to be warned.

17 de legibus. how white men are to be warned.

Metaphora à vino /umpia.

Z z

CHAP

CHAP. XXI.

The continuance
of his discourse,
and of these
meditations against
childrens anger.
The first is a
good instruction.

The second is to
keepe measure
and neither to
animate or dis-
courage them too
much, and how
we ought to pro-
ceed.

The third that
they be not ex-
torted either
too idly or too
daintily.

The fourth to
loue of his
teares.

Such mindes therefore are to bee tempered and nourished, and to be animated with delights. And because wee are to vse some remedies against Anger, some other against sadnesse, and that these are not only to be cured by different, but contrary means. We will alwayes haue a care of that, which is increasing. It shall profit very much fay I, to haue our children well instructed in the beginning. But the manner of governing is difficult, because wee must indeuour that wee nourish not Anger in them, or dull and dampe their spirits. The matter had need of diligent obseruation. For both that which is to bee extolled and that which is to be depressed is nourished with the like, and such things as resemble doe oftentimes deceiue him, that is most diligent. The mind increaseth by libertie, and is embayed by seruitude. Praise the fame, and it woleth it selfe, and lieth vs with great expectation, yet both these two expedients ingender influence and wrath. So therefore is he to be governed betwene both, that sometimes we vse a bridle, sometimes a spur, that his minde may suffer nothing that is base and feruile. Let him neuer haue need to intreat any thing humbly, neither let it profit him though hee hath so submissiuely intreated. If wee grant him any thing, let it bee rather by allengding vnto him, that he hath just cause to demand the fame, and that we haue regard vnto his former behaviour, and hope that hee will doe better hereafter, as hee promiseth. In his exercises amongst his companions, let vs neither suffer him to be overcome, nor to bee angry. Let vs indeuour that he may bee alwayes familiar with those with whom hee is wont to contend, and that in his exercises hee accustom himselfe not to haue a will to hurt, but to overcome. As oft as he hath gotten the vpper hand, or hath done any thing that is praise worthy, let vs not suffer him to be proud or to boast thereof, for boasting followeth joy, and pride and to much esteeme of himselfe, boasting. We wil giue him some recreation, yet wil we neither suffer him to be slothfull or idle, and aboue all things will detain him from the touch of pleasures. For nothing more inkindleth wrath, then an ouer delicate and daintie education: and therefore the onely childe, to whom wee giue libertie, and these Pupils that are left to their owne pleasures, are ordinarily the most corrupted. The childe that hath had his will in euery thing, whose mother hath ordinarily drierd the teares from his eyes, who hath had a master assigned him according to his owne fancie, will neuer suffer an iniurie patiently. Seest thou how euerie greater Fortune is attended with a greater anger? This appeareth in Rich men, in Noble men, in Magistrates especially when as whatsoeuer vaine glorie and leuitie was in their braines, findeth a fit Winde to carrie away. Felicitie nourisheth wrath, as soone as the troopes of flatterers are incamped about proud men. They wilfay vnto thee. *What shall hee answer thee, thou respectest not thy selfe according to the greatness of thy Estate, thou abasest thy selfe enermuch* And other such like sufficient to intangle the wisest heartes, and such as haue bene prudently brought vp from their infancie. Let childhood therefore be faine remoued from flattery. Let him heare nothing but truth, let him learne feare, modestie, obedience to his elders, and dutie, and reuerence. Let him extort nothing from thee by frowardnesse. That which was denied him when he wept, let it bee giuen him when he is quiet. Let him see his Parents riches, but not vse them: Let him be reprobred for his euill deeds.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

It shall be to the purpose to giue children such Masters and attendants, who are peaceable and gentle. That which is tender layeth holde on that which is nearest vnto it, and groweth with it, and becommeth like vnto it. Diuers children that haue growne in yeares, haue represented the manners of their Nurses and masters. A young childe brought vp with Plato, returned home to his Parents house, and hearing his Father exclaime and chide grieuouly said, *I haue neuer seene the like with Plato*. I doubt not but that he imitated his father sooner then Plato. Let his diet be alwayes slender. Let his attire be modest and answerable to that of his equals. He shall neuer bee angry that any is compared with him, whom from the beginning thou hast made equall with many. But these things appertaine vnto our children. For in regard of our selues the fortune of our birth, and of our bringing vp cannot giue any place vnto correction, nor for the precepts to instruction. Wee must only prouide for the time to come, and resist the first occasions. But the cause of anger is the opinion of iniurie, whereunto wee must not easily giue credit nor entertaine the first reports and proofes how euident and manifest fouer they be. For some things that are fallen haue an appearance of truth, wee must alwayes giue time: for time discovereth truth. Let not our eares bee open vnto Tale-bearers. Let this vice of humane nature be suspected by vs, and made knowne vnto vs, that is to say, that what we vnwillingly heare, we vnwillingly beleue, and before wee iudge, we are angry.

What masters we
ought to prouide
for our children.

How children
should be fed
and clothed.

A remedie of
Anger is not to
giue credit to
tale-bearers.

CHAP. XXIII.

What are we not only moued and enforced by accusations, but also trauailed with suspitions: and interpreting wee not the worst of other mens looks and smiles; are wee not displeased with those that are innocent? Wee must therefore plead with our selues, the cause of him that is absent, and hold our anger in suspence. For a man may exact the punishment which is delayed, but hee cannot remedie it after it is executed. The Tyrant killer is well knowne, who being apprehended before his attempt was performed and tortured by Hippias to the end hee should discouer his confederates: hee reckoned vp the names of all the Tyrants friends that stood about him, who in his knowledge were most careful of his prosperitie and life, and when he had commanded euerie one of them to bee slaine, whom he had nominated, he asked him: *Is there any more, yet remaining?* *Thy selfe* (said he) *only for I haue left none else alive that is deare vnto thee*. Wrath was the means that made the Tyrant to lend his assistance to the Tyrant killer, and to murder his owne Guard, with his owne sword. How more courageously delt Alexander? who when hee had read his mothers Epistle, wherein he was admonished that he should beware to bee imposed by his Phylitian Philip, drunke of his presented potion without any affright. Hee had more confidence in his friend, and worthe was hee to enioy so vpright a Phylitian, and worthe to make such a one. This praise I in Alexander the more, because no man was more subiect vnto anger, and the rarer government

The second is
the suspitions.

See Laertius
lib. 9. of the
lives of the
philosophers and
Plutarch his
lives.

Z z 2

is

Is in Kings, the more is to be commended. The like did *Caius Caesar* who in the Ciuill warres demeaned himselfe so mercifully. For hauing intercepted a packet of diuers letters that were written to *Pompey*, from those that seemed to haue held the contrarie part, or remained neuters, hee burned them all, and although he were accustomed to keepe a measure in his wrath, yet liked he better to admit no meanes. He held it to be a most gratefull meanes of pardon to be ignorant of that wherein euery man had offended. Credulitie doth much mischief and oft times we ought not to giue care therevnto because in some things it is better to bee deceived then to distrust.

CHAP. XXIII.

Fruits are assured
by opinion and
suspition.

Suspition and coniecture which are two betrayers of the minde, are to be banished. *He hath not saluted me kindly enough; He hath not kissed mee heartily; He hath abruptly cut off our discourse; he invited me not to supper; That mans countenance was more strange then it was accustomed.* Suspition wants no argument: we haue need of simplicitie, and the friendly interpretation of things. Let vs beleue nothing, but that which is subiect to the eye, and manifest, and as long as our suspition appeareth to be vaine, let vs chide our credulitie. For this Chastisement will accustom vs to beleue nothing easily.

CHAP. XXV.

The third reme-
die against An-
ger is not to be
provoked for
vile and abill
things.

From thence, doth this follow, that wee be not exasperated by the smallest and most fordid things. The Page is scarce seruicable that either minnstreth water to warme for our wine, or a bed to sit vpon vmade, or a table negligently furnished. To bee angrie heret, is but madnesse, hee is sicke, and of an euill constitution whom a little breath of winde causeth to quier. Those eyes are verie weak, which are dimmed by beholding a white vesture: he is ouer delicate that sweeth to see another man labour. It is reported that there was a certaine man of Sibaris who was called *Mindyrides* who beholding one that digged the Earth, and lifted his mattocke too high, began too complaine himselfe as if he himselfe had trauelled much, and forbad the other to worke any more in his presence. The same man likewise complained oftentimes, because he lay vpon a bed of froske leaues. Whereas pleasures haue intrahed both the minde and the bodie there is nothing that seemeth tolerable, not because they are hard, but in that effeminate men suffer them. For what is the cause, why any mans cough, or sneeling, or a Flie not curiously enough driuen away, should incense vs, or a cup ouerturned, or a key lost by the carelesse of a negligent seruant should trouble vs? Will such a man peaceably endure a publike slander, and reproches vraged against him, in declamations and open Court, that cannot abide to heare the scraping of a stoole that is drawne by him? will he suffer hunger and extreme thirst in a winters voyage, who is angrie with his Page, because he hath not mixed his snow with his wine cunningly.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Here is nothing therefore, that more nourisheth Anger then in-temperate and impatient dissolutenesse, the minde is to bee handled hardly that hee may not feele the stroke: except it be grievous. We are angrie with these from whom we neither could receiue iniurie, or those from whom we might receiue it. Some of the first are without sence, as we haue bene wont often times to cast by a booke that is written in small letters, and haue torne a faultie, or as we cut our garments by reason they are not pleasing vnto vs in their fashion. How fond a thing is it to be angrie with these which haue not defured our displeasure, neither feele the same? But we are angrie with those that made them. First, we are angrie almost ordinarily before we bethinke our selues of this distinction, againe happily the very workmen themselves will giue vs sufficient satisfaction. One of them could not doe better then he did, neither was he negligent in his occupation, vpon purpose to displease thee. Another did it not to offend thee. In conclusion, what is more braine-sick then to discharge and vent the choler, we haue gathered vpon things that haue no sence? And as it is a folly to be angrie with these that are inanimated creatures, so is it as foolish to be displeased with dumb beasts, because there is no iniurie except it proceede from discourse and deliberation. They can therefore hurt vs as yron or a stone, but they cannot doe vs iniurie. But some there are that thinke themselves to be contemned, whereas some horses that are easily backt by another horse-man, are sturde to another mans riding, as if by iudgement, not by custome, and the arte of handling them, some beasts are vtractable to some men.

The fourth to re-
fraine impu-
lence
regard of these
things that are
without life and
in regard of men
and beasts.

CHAP. XXVII.

But as it is a foolish thing to be angrie with these, so ought not a man to bee displeased with little children, or against those that haue as little spirit as infants. For all these faults in the eye of an equall Iudge are reputed for innocence of imprudent men. Some things there are which cannot hurt, and haue no power, but that which is beneficial and holsome, as the immortal gods which neither will, neither can hurt. For their nature is milde and peaceable, and so farre remote from doing other men iniurie as themselves. Madde are they therefore, and ignorant of truth, that impute vnto them the raging of the Seas, in mensurable showes, a rigoros winter, when as in the meane space there are none of these which either hurt or profit vs, that are properly intended against vs. For we are not the cause in this world of the reuolution of Winter and Sommer, these seasons are governed and haue their order disposed by the gods; we estimate our selues too highly, if we suppose our selues worthe that so great things should be moued for vs. There are none of these things therefore is done to our preiudice, nay rather there is nothing done which is not for our good: we haue said that there are some things which cannot hurt, some things which will not. In this ranck shalbe good Princes, Parents and Masters, Iudges and Magistrates, whose chastisement ought to be considered, as the razor of a Surgeon, the diet of a Philitian, and other remedies, which neither doe vs good nor euill. Are we chastised,

To refraine im-
pudence and
not
to be angry
with infants.

Must lesse e-
gust the gods.

Now against our
superiors in this
world.

chastised, let vs thinke not only on that which wee suffer, but also on that which we haue done, and let vs enter into the examination of our life. If wee will confesse a truth vnto our selues, wee haue a greater matter to charge our selues with. If we will be equall Iudges of all things, let vs first of all perfwade our selues that there is none of vs without a fault. For hence groweth the greatest indignation: *I haue sinned no waies, I haue done nothing*; nay, thou confest nothing. If any man admonish or chastise vs we are angrie, when at that very time we sinne. When as to our rebellious deedes we adde arrogancie and contumacie. Who is he that dare maintayne that he is innocent, in respect of all lawes? That this may bee thus, how defectiue is our innocence, in regard of good lawes? how more infinitely is the rule of our duties extended then that of right? how much doe pietie, humanitie, liberalitie, miserie, and faith, exact all which are not inclofed in the ordinances and constitutions of men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

*The fish is
drinke to haue
in my forth mea
wee gaine the
God and Man.*

Neither as yet can we attayne to that strict innocence of the lawes. We haue done some things, and thought other things. We haue desired some things and haue followed others. We are innocent in some affaires, because we could not effect them. Thinking hereupon, let vs be more fauourable to those that offend. More attentue to those that reprove vs, and let vs not be displeased with our selues (for with whom will we not be angrie, if we be displeased against our selues?) about all things let vs beware to be angrie with the gods. For it is not by their ordinance, but by the law whereunto all mortall men are subject, that we suffer all these incommodities which befall vs. But sicknesses and sorrowes doe assault vs. They that dwell in a rotten house must seeke to flie out of it by some waies. When it shall be told thee that any one hath spoken euill of thee, be-thinke thy selfe whether thou hast not begon it first, examine thy selfe by how many thou hast spoken. Let vs thinke, say I, that other men doe vs no iniurie, but that they requite vs with the like, and that some doe it of malice, some by constraint, and others through ignorance, and that they likewise will willingly doe wrong; take not an occasion by the iniurie we haue done, to doe vs another. Either is he fallen through the sweetnesse of his vrbancie, or hath done somewhat, not with an intent to hurt vs, but because he could not haue attained his desire except hee had repulsed vs. Oft-times flatterie offendeth vs whilst thee flattereth; whoeuer shall remember himselfe how often times men haue had an euill opinion of him, and interpreted the many good seruices and offices hee hath done for iniuries; how many men hee hath loued whom he hated before time, he will not be displeased vpon the first, especially if vpon euery iniurie that is done vnto him, he say vnto himselfe. *These faults likewise haue I my selfe committed.* But where wilt thou finde a Iudge that is so vpright? He that coueteth euery mans wife, and thinketh it a sufficient cause for him to loue her, because shee is a stranger will not admit another man to court his. He that will haue another man keepe promise vpon a prefixed day, is no master of his word, the perfidious man persecuteth him that is a lier, and the informer cannot abide that another man should bring him in question. He will not haue his seruants credit touched who is negligent of his owne reputation. Other mens finnes are before our eyes, our owne behinde our backs.

Thence

Thence cometh it that the Father more riotous then his Sonne, yet reprove him bitterly for his lawles expence, he seuerely taxeth another mans excess, who is himselfe prodigall and hath no hold of his monie: the Tyrant is displeased against the murthrer, and he that is sacrilegious punisheth theft. The greater part of men are angrie with sinners, but not with the sinne. We shall be more moderate if we examine our selues, if we take count of our selues, and examine whether we our selues haue not committed the like, whether we haue erred in the same manner? Is it fit for vs to condemne the same? Delay is a soveraigne remedie against displeasure, neither require thou her in the beginning to pardon thee, but to judge thee. If thee delay and admitteth any intermission, the furie thereof is abated. Strive not to attempt her all at once, her first assaults are most sharpe, but thou shalt get the day of her, if thou dismember her by little and little.

CHAP. XXIX.

Touching those things which offend vs, some are told vs, and some we heare, or see: we must not easily beleue those things that are told vs, many men lie to the end they may deceiue, many because they are decieued. This man carries fauour by accusing others, and faineth an iniurie to the intent he may seeme sorrowfull for that which is done. There are some so wicked that they seeke nothing more but to sow contention amongst friends. Another is suspitious and desirous in securitie, and from a farre to behold a single combat, performed betwix two, whom he hath set together by the eares. If thou wert made a Iudge in a trifling matter, thou wouldest not allow the cause, except it were approued by witnesses, and the witnesses thou wouldest not respect except they were sworn. Thou wouldest call both parties before thee, and gine them time to answer, and yeeld them audience vpon seuerall daies. For truth will the more manifestly appeare the more often it is debated vpon. Wilt thou condemne thy friend instantly before thou hast heard him, and before thou hast asked him the question? art thou angrie with him before he either know his accuser or his crime? For at this instant, yea now presently, hast thou heard what was spoken on both sides. That very man, who first informed thee, will not iustifie his words, if he be driuen to proue them. *Thou hast no cause, saith he, to drine me to iustifie it, if I be brought in question I will denie the same, or otherwise hereafter I will neuer tell thee any thing.* At the same time he inciteth thee and drawes himselfe out of the trouble and danger. He that will not speake vnto thee, except it be in secret, scarcely tels thee any thing that is worthy thy belief. What is more unreasonable then to beleue a secret report, and afterwards to be openly angrie?

CHAP. XXX.

There are somethings whereof wee our selues are witnesses. In these we will consider the nature and will of those that do them. Is he a child? we beate with his age, he knoweth not whether he offendeth. Is he a father? either before times he hath done vs so much good; that vpon just ground we ought to forgive him the wrong

*The sixth is to
take time and
belinke our
selues before wee
be angrie.*

*Reason why wee
should delay.*

*A notable com-
parison to this
purpose.*

*The seventh is
to confide in the
persons, to en-
dure that which
is possible.*

*Advertisements
worthy to be con-
sidered of all
men, especially
of those who are
subject to dis-
pleasure.*

*Of the second
kind of civilities
against anger.*

*The best remedy
is to remove
the cause of our
furies, to know
and condonne
our ignorance
and infirmitie,
against our ir-
rationalitie.*

*Against inso-
lence.*

wrong he might doe vs, or peradventure we are offended without cause, and he himselfe hath an occasion to complaine against vs. Is she a woman? She is deceived. Is he commanded? who except he will be inurious will be angry with necessitie. Is he hurt? It is no iniurie to suffer that which thou thy selfe proferdest first. Is he a Iudge? Rather trust thou his opinion then thine owne. Is he a King? if he punish thee being guiltie acknowledge his iustice, if being innocent, giue place to thy fortune. Is it a dumb beast, or a stone, or such like? thou art like vnto it if thou be angry at it. Is it sicknesse or calamitie? It will passe more lightly if we suffer it patiently. Is it God? Thou lookest as much time in murmuring at him, as when thou prayest him to be angry against thy neighbour. Is he a good man that doth thee iniurie? Beloeue it not. Is it an euill? Wonder not. Another man shall punish that wrong which he offereth thee, and he himselfe in doing euill is punished by himselfe. There are two things as I haue said, that prouoke Anger: the first is, if we seeme to haue receiued iniury. Of this there is sufficiently spoken. It remaineth that we speake of the second, that is to say, whether we haue beene wrongfully iniured. Some men iudge those things to be iniurious, which they ought not to haue suffered, some because they hoped it not. We repute those things iniurious which are sudden. Those things therefore most greatly moue vs, which happen vnto vs, contrary to our hope and expectation; neyther is there any other cause why the least matters offend vs amongst our Domestiques, and why in our friends wee call negligence an iniurie.

CHAP. XXXI.

NOW therefore, saith he, doe our enemies iniuries moue vs? Because we expected them not, or rather because we imagined not that they should be so dangerous. The too much loue we beare our selues is the cause hereof, and that it is which maketh vs iudge that our enemies should not touch vs any wayes. Euery man hath the heart of a King in him, so that he will haue authoritie ouer all men, and yet himselfe will be vnder no mans subiection. So therefore it is cyther our ignorance in things, or our insolence that maketh vs Angrie. As touching ignorance, are we to wonder if wicked men doe wicked acts? Is it a new thing if our enemy doe vs the worst iniurie he may? If our friend forget himselfe sometimes? If our sonne or seruant commit some fault? That great Capitaine Fabius said that this ordinarie excuse, *I had not thought it*, was a base one: but I thinke it a most abiect thing in a man. Bethinke thy selfe of all things and expect, even in good manners there will be something harsh; mans nature beareth with traitorous friends, the endureth vngratefull men, the suffereth the couetous, the winketh at the impious. When thou wilt censure the manners of one man, thinke vpon the publike; where thou wilt most of all reioyce, there most of all wilt thou feare; where all things seeme vnto thee peaceable, there shall not want such things as shall hurt thee, yet lie thee couered; thinke that will be somewhat hereafter that may offend thee. A Pilot hath neuer so cunningly discharged himselfe of all straits and perillous passages, but that he hath alwayes an eye to his Anchor and tackle, to haue all things in a readinesse when neede requireth. Before all things remember thy selfe of this, that the power to doe euill is villenous, execrable, and wholly unfitting for a man by whose be-
nefits

nefites the wild beasts are tamed. Behold the Elephants kept vnder yokes, children and women riding boldly vpon the backs of Bulls, Serpents that slide vpon the rables, and slip into the bowmes of men without doing them any harme, and Beares and Lions within doores, that suffer their mouths to be handled, and fawne vpon their Masters. Thou wouldest be ashamed to change thy manners with brute beasts. It is a hainous crime to hurt a mans country, and therefore a Cittizen likewise, for he is a part of his country. The partes are holy if the whole be venerable, therefore man to man, for he is a Cittizen in this great Citie, which we call the world. What if the handes would harme the feete, and the eyes would not helpe the hands? Euen as all the members are accorded together, because that it importeth the whole body, that the partes wherof it is composed should be entire; so ought we to support one another, because we are made to liue in societie. But this societie cannot continue, if the parts of the same assit not and maintaine not one another. We would not flie from Vipers, and Serpents that haunt the water, and other creatures that are hurtfull, cyther in their biting or stinging, if we could tame them; or keep them byer from hurting our selues or other men. We will not therefore strike a man because he hath offended, but to the end he offend no more, neyther is punishment euer referred to the time past, but that which is to come, because it is not ordained to entertaine Anger, but to preuent it: for if euery one should be punished that hath a depraued and offensive minde, no man should be exempt from punishment.

CHAP. XXXII.

BVt wrath hath some pleasure in it, and it is a contenting thing to be reuenged. It is farre otherwile. For euen as it is an honest thing in regard of benefites, to returne a good turne for a good turne, so is it not in requiting iniuries with iniuries: in the one it is a dishonest thing to suffer our selues to be overcome, and in the other to overcome. This word reuenge is full of inhumaneitie, and yet is entertained for a wise thing, and differeth from contumely in nothing but in order. He that requiteth one iniury with another, offendeth more excusably. A certain inconsiderate fellow strook Cato in the Bath, for who is he that had known him that would doe him iniury? and yeelding him afterwards some satisfaction, Cato said vnto him, *I remember not that thou didst strike me*. He thought it a wiser part not to acknowledge the wrong then to reuenge it. I thinke it thou that he was not iniured in receiuing this outrage? In no sort. He did himselfe much good, for he began to know what Cato was. It is the part of a great mind to despise iniuries: it is a contumelious kinde of reuenge, that he thought him vnworthy to reuenge himselfe on. Many whilst they reuenge themselves for euery slight offence, haue made their iniurie the greater. That man is great and noble, that after the manner of a mightie wilde beast, listneth securely the barking of lesser Dogges: but, saith he, we shall be contented lesse, if we reuenge the iniuries we recite. If we come thereunto as to a remedie, let vs come without Anger; not as if it were a pleasing thing to be reuenged, but because it is profitable: but oftentimes it hath bin more wilfulnesse to dislike than to reuenge.

*The reputation
of their false opi-
nion, that thinke
it a great good
to worke other
mens euill.*

*What magni-
tude is.*

*It is not the
action, but the
reputation of
the action, that
is the great
good, and the
cause of the
error.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

An answer to the
reply that to re-
venge a man
seife is to make
himselfe feared
by all men.

The miserie of
old Countreys.

A notable exam-
ple of Achilles.

With whom see-
ner we are to
deale withall,
Choler is more
essarie, and
this consideration
is the second
remedie.

BV T those injuries that are done vs by mightie men are not only to be suffered ioyfully, but patiently. They wil doe it againe, if they beleuee they haue done it. Those mindes whom Fortune hath made insolent haue this detestable qualitie in them that they hate those whom they haue harmed. Famous and memorablie is his speech who was become olde in the seruice of Kings, when a certaine man asked him: *How he had attained so rare a thing, as old age in his seruice in Court? By suffering iniuries (saith he) and by giuing thanks.* Oft times it is so profitable not to reuenge iniurie, that it becometh vs not to confesse the same. *Caio Caesar* hauing imprisoned the sonne of one *Passor* a famous Knight of Rome, being offended with the nicenesse of his attire and the curious frizling of his haire, when his Father required him to grant him his sonnes life, as if he had bene admonished to punish his misdeeds, commanded him forthwith to be put to death, yet least he should seeme to behaue himselfe too cruelly towards the Father, he inuited him to supper the same day. *Passor* came thither with a merrie countenance, *Cesar* earowed to him nine ounces of wine, and set an attendant expressly to see whether hee did him reason. The poore man drunke vp all, as if hee had drunke the blood of his sonne. After this, hee sent him perfumes and a crowne; commanding the messenger to obserue whether he tooke them: he receiued them the same day, wherein he had buried his sonne. The poore guest of a hundredth yeares of age, and such a one as was troubled with the gout, lay almost fouled in wine, yet drunke he vp such large potions, that might seeme intolerable, had he banquetted at his childrens birth-day, yet shed he no teares, neither suffered he any signe of griefe to slip from him. Hee supped as if hee had gotten his sonnes pardon. Doeest thou aske me why? He had an other: what did *Priamus*? dissembled hee not his displeasure? embraced hee not the Kings knees? he applied those fatal hands to his reuerend lippes that were imbrowed with the blood of his sonne; hee supd, and yet without perfumes, without crownes; and him did his cruell enemy exhort with many comfortable speeches to cate his meate, not to the end he might emptie hugh cuppes, setting a watch ouer his head to obserue him. He had condemned *Passor* had he feared, but now pietie pacified his wrath. He was worthe to haue libertie, to depart from the banquet to gather vp his sonnes bones: yet suffered hee not this. Meane while that courtous and gentle yong man inuited the good old Father, prouoked the Father in merrie cups to burie and pacifie his cares. Contrariwise, *Passor* fained himselfe merrie, and forgetfull of that which had hapned the same day. His other sonne had died likewise, had not the Father and guest pleased the tyrant *Caligula*, that inuited him.

CHAP. XXXIII.

SO then we ought to auoid wrath whether it bee with our equals, with our superiours or inferiours. To strue against our equals is a matter doubtful, against our superiours is furie, against our inferiours is basenes. It is the part of a silly and miserable man to bite him that biteth him. Gnats and Ants turne there heads backe to

to bite if a man layholde of them. Weake Creatures suppose themselves hurt if they be touched. It will make vs more vnited, if wee bethinke our selues, how much he may profit vs hereafter with whom we are angrie, and the offences will bee redeemed with mercies. Let vs also thinke on this what commendation the fame of Clemencie will yeeld vnto vs, and how many hath pardon made profitable friends. Neither let vs beangry with the children of our aduersaries and enemies. Amongst the examples of *Syllas* cruelitie this is not one of the least, that he decried all their children who were proscribed from all publike office and authoritie. It is an extreme iniustice for a man, to make any one the heire of that hatred which he hath borne to his Father? As oftentimes as wee shall be slow in pardoning, let vs bethinke vs whether it should be good for vs, that all the men of the World should be so affectioned against vs. How oftentimes doth he require pardon, who would not pardon? and how often hath a man humbled himselfe at such another mans feet, whom hee before time hath driuen out of his presence. What is more glorious then to change enmitie into amitie. What more faithfull confederates haue the people of Rome, then these who were their most mortall enemies. What should the Empire bee at this day, except wholesome prouidence had mixed the conquered with the conquerors. Shall any man be angrie with thee? reconcile thou him by thy benefits. The displeasure sodainly qualeth when as the one part forbearth to contend. No man higheth except hee be resisted. If both parts are contentious he hath the better hand, that first retireth him selfe, and hee is conquered that ouercometh. Hath hee stricken thee? flie backe, for in striking him againe thou shalt giue him both occasion to strike often & an excuse for striking: thou shalt not be parted from him when thou wilt. Would any man strike his enemy so grievously, that hee should leaue his hand in the wound, and could not recall himselfe from the stroke? but wrath is such a weapon as it cannot scarcely be recalled.

CHAP. XXXV.



WE furnish our selues with conuenient armes with a sword not long or ouer short, shall wee not auoid the impulsions of the minde more grievous, more furious, and irrevocable then these? we take pleasure in that Gelding that staith as soone as he is rayned in, that keepeth him in his ordinarie pace, that knoweth when to turne, and which may easily be brought backe to the place where hee began his first career. We know that our nerues are out of frame, when as they are moued against our willes. Hee is either aged or of a weak constitution who when he would walke, runneth: we suppose those motions of the minde to be the healthfullest and strongest, which are disposed at our pleasure and not as they list. But nothing hath profited vs so much as first, to behold the deformitie of a thing, and afterwards the danger. There is no passion more deformed then this which spoyleth the fairest faces of the World and maketh those eyes dreadfull which before time were peaceable. All seemelines abandoneth those that are angrie, and if he bee as decently arrayed as any man can desire, he will draw his gowne aside, and will cast of all care of himselfe. If the haire of his head be naturally or artificially well trimmed, a man shall see it stare and stand vpright. If the spirit be moued, the veines swell, the breast is shaken with vio-

Here is some
more breaking
of.

The third reme-
die to giue them
the upper hand,
whom wee haue
the aduan-
tage of.

The fourth to
giue place to
such as are quar-
relsome.

The fifth to dis-
charge our
furies of that
which hindereth
vs so much as
Anger doth.

The sixth consi-
deration, the de-
formitie of
Anger.

The discipline
of wrath both in
bodie and mind.

lent

A living description
of anger.

lent breathing, the voice in issuing forth puffeth vp the necke with furie. The joynts tremble, the hands shake; all the bodie is tossed like a Pinnace in a tempest. In what estate thinkest thou is the minde inwardly, when such deformitie sheweth it selfe outwardly? How more terrible is the inward countenance how more violent the breath; how more intended the passion, which would burst it selfe, vnlesse the enforced her passage? Such is their countenance, as the enemy hath, or wilde beastes imbrued with slaughter, or of such as are addressed to spoile and slaughter. So deformed furies as the infernall moniters are imagined by the Poets; begit wth Serpents and breathing fire. Such as the most dreadful moniters of Hell assume vnto themselves, when they issue forth to inkindle warres, to sow discord amongst Nations and to dismember peace. In such manner should we picture out anger, that hath fierie furie in her eyes, aerie compounded of puffing, lowing, mourning, and other such confused and dreadfull noyces, shaking in both her handes her dierfull weapons without care of couering her bodie, frowning, couered with blood and wounds; yea mortified with strokes which shee hath giuen her selfe, her gate ridiculous and furious, all her behaviour confused and confounded, running here and there to ouerthrow all that which the meeteth with all, hated of all, and above all things wilhing her owne death. And if she cannot doe worse, desirous to teare Heauens, Seas and Earth, from their places, in breue no lesse hurtfull then hatefull. Or if a man wil behold her in such sort as our Poets describe her:

She in her hand shaketh a blonddie whip.

or,

Hauing her cote or in many peeces rent,

And with the blond of guiltlesse men besprent.

Or if any man may imagine any more horrible face of a horrible passion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The use of a
glasse good to re-
fraine cholere.



OME (saith Sestius) that were angrie haue profited themselves by looking into a looking glasse, for they were troubled in beholding so great a change in themselves, in that they knew not themselves at that time. But how little was that which this image reflected from the glasse to represent and expresse their true filthinesse and deformitie? If the minde might haue bene scene; and might shine, and shew it selfe in any matter, she would confound vs in beholding her so fordid, so intraged, so deformed, and puffed vp. And now as yet her loathsomenesse is so great, that she passeth thorow bones, and flesh, and whatsoeuer other impediments. But what if shee were scene naked. For I beleue that no man is terrified from wrath by beholding a glasse: what then? hee that came vnto a looking glasse to reforme himselfe, had already conformed himselfe. They that are angrie haue no seemely countenance, their lookes are dreadfull and cruell, and such would they seeme to be as they desire to be. Rather ought we to consider this how many men wrath hath armed to wound themselves. Some thorow to much rage haue burst their veines, and by force of crying haue vomited blood, and abundance of humour being thrust into their eyes hath dulled and dimmed the sight and the cleernesse thereof, and such as were sicke haue

relapsed

The frenchie re-
medie, is to con-
sider how many
were he hath rat-
tled.

relapsed into diseases. There is no more swifter way vnto madnesse then this. Many therefore haue continued the furie of their wrath, neither could recouer againe that vnder standing that they themselves exiled. Furie prouoked *Seneca* to death, and wrath put him in furie. They with death to their children, poertie to themselves, ruine to their houses; and denie themselves to be Angrie, resembling those that are furious; who being enraged say they are not mad. Most friendly to their enemies; most dangerous to their dearest friends, forgetfull of Lawes except they may hurt thereby, incensed vpon the least occasion: neyther affable in speech nor companie or intertainment. They doe all things forcibly, they are addressed to fight with their swords & to die on their swords. For a mightie euill hath surprised them, and such as exceedeth all other vices. Other signes enter by little and little, the force hereof is sodaine and vniuersall. To conclud the keepeth all other affections in subjection, and conquereth the most vehement love. They haue therefore murdered the bodies whom they haue loued, and euen enfolded in these armes: whom they haue fitted to their graues. Wrath hath spurned at auarice, the most indurate and least flexible euill, enforcing her to scatter her riches, and to set fire on his house and goods, when they were all gathered together. What hath not the ambitious man cast away his so long affected tokens and titles of majestacie, and repulsed that honour which was offered vnto him? There is no affection ouer which wrath hath no power.

The conclusion is
that cholere is an
extreme euill
and the rather
because it spo-
reth no other
vices.

The end of the second Booke of Anger.



Aaa



A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

The third Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

The prologue to the other part of the remedie against Anger, which hee placed in the midst of his former Booke, but differed the same. That we sinne not in Anger, that is that wee refrain the same and repress it, which is performed in diuers sorts. But it must be done diuinely and presently in a head-long, and vnbredled affection which ARISTOTLE excofseth: But he accuseth him, and once more discovereth the foolishness of Anger. These things performeth he until the fourth Chapter. Then groweth hee to diuision alledging that he will speake of three things. First, how we may not be angry. Secondly, how we may be freed from Anger. Thirdly, how we may pacifie and please such a one as is Angrie. These although in other places he performeth with repetition of the former, yet performeth he it worthily, and profitably till the end of the Booke: and thou shalt haue golden and diuine admonitions and sayings.

CHAP. I.



NO W, my Novatus, will wee attempt to doe that which thou thy selfe hast most instantly desired, namely, how wee may roote out Anger out of our mindes, or at leastwise bridle it and inhibit the assaults thereof. This must be done sometimes openly and in all mens sight, when as yet the force of the euil is as yet so small as it cannot endure it: sometimes secretly when as it is too much inflamed and is exasperated and increaseth vpon euerie impediment. We must consider what forces the hath, and how intire they be. Whether she is to be chastised and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to giue place unto her, whilst the first tempest be pacified for feare least shee carrie away those remedies with her, that should reclaime her: and consideration is

To refraine
wrath in such
manner as wee
ouht, we must
learn the man-
ners of men
that are attaint-
ed therewith.

to

to be had, according to euery ones manners. For some are overcome by prayers, some insult, and are exasperated by submission: Some are overcome with terrors, some hath reproofe, other some confession, the third hath shame reuoked from their purpose: and some by delay, which is the true though slowest remedie of these so head-long passions, wherevnto at the last wee must descend. For other affections admit delay, and may be healed by little and little, but the sodaine and head-long violence of Anger proceedeth not leasurably, but is wholly intire in the beginning. Neither doth the sollicit mens minds after the manner of other vices, but she transporteth them, but vexeth them being no Masters of themselves, and that are as desirous of their owne euill as of an others. Shee sheweth her selfe not only furious against that she vnderstandeth, but against all that which casually encountereth her in the way. All other vices incite the minde, wrath calteth it downe head-long. The rest although they cannot resist their affections, at least the passions themselves maintain themselves, this no otherwise then lightning and tempest and other impressions of the ayre (which are sodaine and fall in an instant) reinforce it selfe and increaseth more and more. These other vices are changed from reason, this is wholly destitute, and is a furie. The rest haue light accessions and dectueable increases; in wrath the mindes of men are prostituted and dejected. There is no passion more astonished, that vexeth more, nothing that imploeyeth his forces more desperately, and swiftly, or whether it be that shee get the vpper hand (which maketh her more proud), or whether shee hath beene repulled (which inflameth her with furie) the giueh not ouer, neither retireth although she haue beene repulled, and when Fortune presenteth her not with any aduersarie shee striketh and biteth her selfe, provided that shee may maintain her selfe: For her beginnings are small, but she becommeth maruclously great.

CHAP. II.

SHEE ouerslippeth no age, shee excepteth no kind of men. Some Nations thorow the benefit of pouertie are exempted from dissolution, neither know they what it is: some others haue fled Idleness, because they are still in trauell and wander from one Countrie to an other. They that liue rudely and rustikely haue neuer vsed trumperies, nor fraud, nor any of those mischeefes which are bred in places more frequented. There is no Nation vnder Heauen, whether they be Greekes or Barbarians, how puissant soeuer they be, that can say that they are exempted from the assaults and intigations of anger, no lesse pernicious to those, who are subject to certaine Lawes, as to those whose Law is force and amongst whom the strongest is the greatest. To conclude those other passions invade men in particular, but wrath is the only passion that layeth hold vpon all men. Neuer was it seene, that one only Nation was supplied with the loue of one only woman. Neyther hath a whole Citie fixed their hopes vpon money and lucre. Ambition seazeth this or that man only. Tyrannie hath nordinom in all places. But oftentimes anger hath possessed whole troopes, men, women, old young, Princes and their people haue gathered together to satisfie Anger. And a multitude being incensed by two or three words of him that lead them the way, were moued to mutinie. Forthwith haue they addressed themselves to

That all ages,
men, and people
are attainted
with anger
which may not
be said by other
passions.

A kinde repre-
sentation of pub-
licke furie.

Aaa 2

fire

fire, and he that for his eloquence was accounted gracious in all mens eyes, in the middelt of honour and the height of his Discourte, hath purchased the displeasure of the whole Assemblie. The Legions haue darted their Iauelins against their generall. The people haue bandied against the Senate, and without expecting the elections or the nomination of Chieftaine of the Armie, haue suddenly of themselves chosen out Capitaines to execute their furious desires, and rushing into the houses of men of honour, and the best Citizens, haue executed and put them to death. They haue broken the lawes of Nations by outraging Embassadors, and vnspokeable furie hath possessed the whole Cittie, they haue not allowed time, to the end the publique insurrection might be pacified, but incontinently haue armed their Nauie, and manned it with the first Souldiers they could get. Without order, without respect of auncient ceremonies the people haue issued forth, being guided and gouerned by their own furie, laying holde on whatsoeuer weapons came casually to their hands, armed themselves therewith, and finally by a great and miserable ouerthrow, haue receiued a iust punishment for their rashnes and audacious follie.

CHAP. III.

This is the end of those Barbarians, who runne thus inconsiderately to warre, as soone as any appearance of iniury hath seized their light braines: they are suddenly moued, and whether despite driueth, they rush in desperation into those Regions which they intend to spoyle, without apprehension of danger, or obseruation of discipline; contrariwise, they seeke out misfortunes, they take pleasure to receiue wounds, and to runne in furiously vpon the points of the sword, and to make them way by the wounds which they receiued. It is not to be doubted, sayest thou, but that the effect of choler is very great and dangerous, shew vs therefore some remedies and means how it may be healed. But as I said in my former Bookes, *Aristotle* stands forth, and pleades for Anger, and willes vs not to extinguish it wholly in vs. He alleadgeth that it is the spur of vertue, and that if a man be depriued thereof, his heart is disarmed, and he becommeth recreant, idle, and vnable to execute any great attempts. It is very needfull therefore to reprove the villeny and beaustlines of this vice, and to see before mens eyes how monstrous a thing it is for a man to be so hatefully and violently bent against another, and what furie is in him who ruineth himselfe in ruining another, and pretending to plunge and drowne certaine things in the Sea, he cannot effect his purpose but by plunging and drowning himselfe. What then? Will any man call him sensible or discreet, who being surpris'd as it were with a tempest goeth not but is driuen, and serueth a furious passion? Neyther commanded other to execute his vengeance, but he himselfe will be agent to performe it, hauing his heart and hand stretched out to satisfie his cruelty, and without sparing (since hang-ma'n that he is) his owne and onely friends, yea, and those whom after he hath massacred, he will presently mourne for. Is it possible that any man should admitte this passion for an abbeter and companion, and vertue who shutteth out all counsailes, without which vertue can execute nothing. Fraile and sinister are those forces, and powerfull to their owne preiudice, into which the sicknesse and the violence of the fit haue driuen the sicke patient. Thinke not therefore that I employ my selfe vnprofitably in defining Anger,

He seeth a gentle Aristotle who maintaineth Anger, and sheweth the necessity and wisdom thereof.

as if men alreadie doubted thereof. I doe it because there are some found amongst the Philosophers of greatest note and reputation, who hath pleaded for her and said that she is profitable, and animateth the mind vnto batell, and that in humane actions and all other affaires, we ought to manage them with some vigour. But least any man should be deceived, or should imagine, that either in a certaine time and place it was a thing that were profitable, it becometh mee to discouer the violent and vnbridled rage thereof, and set her downe withall her equipage, such as are horracks, her nemes and strings, her lailes her gibbets and flukes to be burned at, and hookes to dragge dead bodies, diuers sortes of shackles, diuers sorts of tortures, the tearing of the flesh and members, the branding in the forehead, the denyes of sauage beasts. Let Anger be placed amongst all these instruments where she may gnath her teeth, and while out some direfull and horrible noyse, being of her selfe more hideous then all that wherof she maketh vse to execute her furie.

CHAP. IIII.

Certainly although we call the rest in question, yet is there no passion more deformed then this, as in our former Bookes wee haue presented her fierce and furious, sometimes pale, hauing suddenly repulsd all her blood to the heart, then inflamed againe, as if her whole heate and spirit were mounted againe into her countenance, hauing her colour bloudie, her veins swollen, her eyes sometimes quivering in sparkling, sometimes fixed and setled vpon something. Moreover, the hath teeth that grinde, crack one against another, desiring to deuoure some one, and making such a noyse as wilde Beares are accustomed to doe when they rub and sharpen their fangs. Adde hereunto the beating of her handes and breast, her often sighes, her groanes, drawne from the depth of her heart, the agiration of her whole bodie, her speech intercepted with sudden exclamations, her trembling lips sometime closed and mumbling diuers menaces. I beleue that the wilde beastes being pressed by famine, or that beare an arrow fixed in their entrailes, yea, and then likewise when they are at their last bay, are not so hideous as a man inflamed with choler. But if you will spare a time to heare her speeches and menaces, which the heart vttereth with tormented rage, would not euery man incontinently retire himselfe from such a danger, when he shall perceiue that Anger beginneth by his owne miserie? Wilt thou not therefore haue me admonish those, who do all that they can, to make it knowne, that they are cholericke, and thinke it to be a proofe of their value, that a man transported with choler cannot be called couragious and free, but feeble and slave vnto all others? Wilt thou not suffer me to aduertise those that are more circumspect to looke about themselves, that some other passions of the minde doe invade the wicked, but Anger stealeth into the hearts of the most learned Clerks, and that otherwise behaue themselves like good men, so that some men thinke Anger to be a token of simplicitie, and ordinarily we suppose that he that is most honest, hath his part of this infirmitee.

The continuance of this description, and a lively representation of Anger.

How hurtfull
with it, and
the three prin-
cipall remedies
thereof.



Hereto then tendeth this Discourse. To the end that no man should suppose himselfe to be warranted from this passion, because the indurct those men that are modest and peaceable by nature, to become rude and violent. Even as a good disposition of bodie, and the care to maintaine our felues in health, prevaileth nothing against the plague, which indifferently laeth holdeth both on weak and strong; so in Anger there is a danger as well for them that are disordered, as for those men that are sober and peaceable, and have care of themselves, the more the trouble, which Anger causeth in them is great. But for as much as the first remedie is not to be angry, the second to refrain Anger, the third to remedie another mans Anger, I will first of all shew the means how to avoide Anger, secondly, how we may discharge our felues of Anger, if it beginneth to be enkindled in vs; thirdly, in what sort we may pacifie a man that is displeased, and temper and vnde him to reason. We shall subdue Anger, if from time to time we represent vnto our felues all those vices that are hatched vnder this passion, and if we consider the same as we ought, with all their dependances and appurtenances; we must accuse her before our felues, condemne her, examine her infirmities, and lay her open to view; then compare her with the most detestable vices, to the end that as yet we may be better instructed what she is. Avarice gathereth and locketh vp for a honest man that is not covetous; wrath consumeth all, and gratifieth very few, and is welcome to none. An angry Master hath driven som of his seruants to runne away, some hath he put to death; when as he lost more by being angry, then that was for which hee was angry; wrath hath made the father mourne, the husband to bee diuorced, the magistrate to be hated, and the Candidate to be repulsed. It is worse likewise then ryot, because the taketh pleasure in her owne delights, this in another mans sorrow. She surpasseth malignitie and hatred; for they are contented to see any man become vnhappie, this will make them vnhappie; the other two reioyce at those euils which come casually, the cannot expect fortune, the will hurt him whom she hateth, and will not be hurt. There is nothing so grievous as secret hatred, but wrath concealeth it. What is more lamentable then warre? therein is it that men discover their displeasures. Moreover, that publike and private Anger is a weak and forcelesse warre. Furthermore without recounting those damages which we will adde hereafter, nor of ambushes, nor of perpetuall cares which engender so many quarrels, wrath intending to reuenge her selfe punisheth her selfe, she is the canker of humane nature. For Nature indurct vs to amitie, Anger to hatred; Nature commaundeth vs to assist one another, Anger to hate one another, the one commaundeth vs to profite, the other to hurt. Adde herunto, that whereas indignation proceedeth from an ouer great suspicion of himselfe, and seemeth to be courageous, yet is the weak and infirme; for no man is lesse then he by whom he suspecteth himselfe to be contemned. But a man that is truly valiant, and that knoweth his owne worth, reuengeth not an iniurie, because he feeleth it not. Even as arrowes recoil backe if they be not at some stonie and hard marke and such solid things as are stricken, procure his griefe that striketh them; so is there no iniury that may pierce a great heart, it is farre weaker then that the attempteth. How farre more worthy a thing is it to dispise all iniuries and contumelies, as if the minde were impregnable. Reuenge

is a confession of paine. The minde is not great which is animated by iniurie. Eyer a stronger then thy selfe, or weaker hath wronged thee; if he be weaker then thy selfe, spare him, if mightier support thy selfe.

Here no one more certain argument of true magnanimity, then if thou be worthy selfe, that nothing may befall thee that may moue thee. The highest and best gouerned part of the world, and nearest to the flames, is not troubled with clouds, nor subiect to tempests, nor afflicted with stormes: there is no tumult in the same, the inferior heauens push forth lightnings. In like sort a sublimed and high spirit is alwayes quiet, and placed in a peaceable station, restraining in himselfe that, whence Anger borroweth an occasion of contention: it is moderate, venerable and settled. But thou shalt finde none of these in an angry man: for who is he that is betrayed to sorrow and iurie; that hath not reioiced his former modesty? Who is he that is turbulent in passion, and incensed against another man, that hath not dispossessed himselfe of all himselfe? What man is he that is displeased, that keepeth any measure, or remembreth him of his duty; or containeth his tongue, who hath bene Master of one half part of his bodie; who could govern himselfe? That notable lesson of Democritus to finde out the true scope will profite vs infinitely, if we doe nothing either privately or publicly that exceedeth our forces. Neuer doe things succede so happily vnto any man who intermedleth with many affaires, but that sometimes by some one man, or from the affaires themselves, there ariseth some fault which disposeth the heart vnto Anger. Even as he that trauelleth hastily thorow the frequented streets of a Citie, must meete with many men, and in one place stop, in another be stopped, and in a third be besprinkled with dirt, from the traile of whelkes of this life, so confounded and confused, there happen many impediments and manie quarrels: the one hath deceived our hope, another hath deferred it, another hath intercepted it, the euents have not beene answerable to our expectation. Fortune is not so addicted to any man that he yieldeth him every way correspondence in his manifold attempts. It followeth therefore that he knoweth not what it is to endure men, nor the estate of humane affaires, who thinks that any thing befalleth him other wise then hee made reckoning of. To the end therefore that the mind may be quiet, it is not to be tossed neither as it is troubled with the managing of many affaires, nor to be charged with mighty affaires, and such as exceede her strength. It is an easie matter to carry light burthens, and to cast them from one shoulder to another, without letting them fall. But if any one hath loaded vs, and the burthen be heavy, we carry it with much labour, and finally we discharge it vpon those that are nearest vs, or if we pant vnder the burthen by reason we are overladen, it is hard for vs to goe forwards or backwards without staggering.

The effect of
true magnani-
mity, appro-
ved by a com-
parison.

CHAP. VII.

*How requisite
moderatie and
temperance are
in managing the
affaires of this
life, and intem-
perating and
quieting the
minde.*

Now thou that the same falleth out in ciuill and domestique matters. Those affaires that are easy and light, accompanie him that doth them, those that are ouer-great and exceede his might, that asteth them, are weasle to compasse, and after a man hath laid holde of them, they puzzle and oppresse him that carrieth them: finally when he thinketh that he hath best hold of them, hee stumbleth, falleth, and his burthen rowleth downe vpon him, and troubleth him. Thence falleth it out often times, that hee who undertaketh difficult matters, and would make them ealie, is frustrated of the most part of his thoughts. In all thinge enterprises, measure thy selfe together with those things which thou wilt manage, and whereunto thou addest thy selfe, otherwise the displeasure thou shalt conceiue in leauing thy worke vnperfect, will make thee maruellously peniue. In this place wee ought to obserue whether a man bee of a violent spirit, or settled, or fearefull: In a generous mind, repulse will inkindle wrath, in a faint and abject minde, sadnesse. Let therefore our action bee neyther too small nor too audacious, nor too wicked, let vs follow those things that are answerable to our hope, let vs attempt nothing, that when wee haue attained the same, will make vs wonder at the successe thereof.

CHAP. VIII.

*Noblesse/strati-
ons for all men.*

It vs take order that wee receiue not such an injurie which wee cannot digest. Let vs lead our liues with temperate and familiar men, not with those that are troublesome and foolish: men inuolt their manners with whom they are conuersant. And as some infirmities of the bodie are deriued and transported by attachment, so the soule communicateth her infirmities and passions, to those that approach her. A Drunkard hath drawne his companion into loue with wine, and the companie of dissolute fellows hath effeminat a man who should be as hard as the rocke. Auarice empoysonesth those that dwell neere vnto her; contrariwise, there is the same reason as is touching vertues, which moderate all things that are with them: neyther was any profitable country or wholsome aire more healthful for mans bodie, then for good mindes that are scarce settled to conuers with good men, which thing how auailable it is thou shalt vnderstand, if thou consider how wilde beasts are tamed by mens handling, and how the fiercest beast laieth by his furie, if he hath long time bin vnder the discipline of a man. That which is furious in her is lenised and tempered by little and little. Morpouer he that conuerseth with peaceable and good men, not only becommeth better by reason of their example, but in as much likewise as he findeth no occasions to be displeased, he is not in practise of the passion. He ought therefore to flee from all these, who in his knowledge are disposed and easily prouoked vnto Anger. And who are they, saist thou? many such as vpon diuers causes will doe the same. The proude man will offend thee with contempt, the rich man with contumely, the lasciuious man with iniurie, the hatefull man with malignitie, the quarrellsome by contention, the boaster and lyer by vanitie. Thou wilt not endure to be feared by a suspicious man, to be over-

come.

come by an obdinate, to be scorned by an effeminate man. Make choice of simple facile and moderate men, who wil neither prouoke thee to wrath, nor be moued though thou offend them. But as yet more profit shalt thou reape from submissile, courteous, and affable men, yet not so pliant as they may proue flatterers, for too much flatterie offendeth angry men. I had a friend & he an honest man, but yet otherwaies too ready to be moued, who was as litle pleased with flatterie as he was with reproofe. It is well known that *Calius* the Oratour was extremely cholericke with whom, as it is reported, there supped a client of his within his chamber, who was indowed with singular patience, but hard was it for him being met with such a companion, to auoid his displeasure, with whom he supped. He therefore thought it to be the best to smoothe him vp in whatsoeuer he said, & to giue way to him. *Calius* could not indure this smoothing, but exclaimed. *Speake somewhat against me that we may be riue.* But he also because being angrie, he saw the other pacified & silent gaue ouer his displeasure, because he had no aduersary. Let vs therefore at least wise make choice of these (if we be priuy to our own imperfections) that will apply themselves to our manners and discourse, vndoubtedly they will make vs delicate and bring vs into an euill custome, not to giue care to any thing that is displeasing vnto vs, yet shall this profit vs, that they allow vs some intermission and quiet in our error. A hard and untamed nature likewise will indure a flattering and affable entertainment. Nothing is harsh and displeasing when we smoothe and handle it gently. As oft as the disputation shall bee longer or more eager, let vs resit at first before it be enforced. Contention nourisheth it selfe and layes holde on those that flee her. It is easier for a man to abstaine from a debate, then to retire himselfe.

CHAP. IX.

Oreouer such as are angrie ought to forbear all serious studies, or at least wile they are to exercise them without lassitude, and the minde ought not to be busied in many things, but to be entertained with more pleasing studies. Let the reading of Poets pacifie him, and the ouerlooking of Histories content him with varieties, let him be handled more tenderly and delicately. *Pithagoras* pacified the perturbations of the mind by his Harpe. But who knoweth not that Clarions and Trumpets doe wonderfully moue? and that there are some straines of voice and mulick which make the mind tractable? Great things are profitable for confused eyes, and there are other colors that content the feeble sight, and the brightnes of some other doth blemish them, so the studie of pleasant stories doth comfort languishing spirits. We must flee the places, the pleas, and courts where audience is giuen, all which doe exulcerate the minde, and beware likewise to werie our bodies. For lassitude consumeth all that which is sweete and plausible in vs, and awakeneth that which is sharpe and stirring. For this cause they that haue no good stomack intending to imploy themselves in some matters of importance, are accustomed to repress the cholericke humor which trauell stirreth ouer much, by eating some little thing, and the rather because hunger extinguissheth natural heat, hurteth the blood, and staiech the course thereof, by reason that the veines are trauelled, or because the body being attenuated & faint encountereth the soule. Vndoubtedly for the same cause & consideration sick men & old men are subject vnto anger. And therefore for the same causes are hunger & thirst to be auoided because they exasperate & inflame mens minds.

CHAP.

*The fourth ex-
pedit against
anger is neither
to charge that
minde or body to
much.*

CHAP. X.

The fifth expedient is, the knowledge that we ought to have of our felices and our infirmities of our mindes.



T is an old saying, *That it is easie to driue a wearied man into the frets.* As much may bee said of him that is a hungrie, of him that is drie, and by euery man that is displeased at any thing. For as vicers vpon euery light touch, and afterwards vpon a shew of touching, seeme painfull, so the minde that is affected, is offended with the least things, in so much as a salutation, an Epistle, an Oration, and Interrogation prouoke them to displeasure. Such as are pained, are neuer touched without complaining. And therefore it is the best to take medicine vpon the first fence or appearance of the sicknesse, in like sort to giue no libertie to our discourses, but to restrain them carefully. But when the passions begin to take head, and burst forth it is an easie matter to restrain them. There are certaine signes which goe before a sicknesse. Euen as tempests and showers haue certaine signes before they fall, so Anger, loue, and all these stormes which vex the minde, haue certaine tokens to preface them. Such as are subiect to the falling sicknesse vnderstand that their fit is at hand, when as the tops of their fingers and toes are cold, when their sight is darkened, when their memorie faileth them, when their head turneth, and their nerues are contracted; Then haue they recourse to their accustomed remedies to prevent their fall: that is at hand: by potions or perfumes they driue away that sicknesse which in this sort alieneth their senses, with fomentations they resist the conflict of their cold, and the rigour of their infirmities. If these remedies relieue them not, they retire themselves apart and fall where no man seeth them. It shall profit a man much if he know his disease, and if hee bee experienced to cut of the violence thereof, before it hath gotten power to expaciate. Let vs consider what it is that offendeth vs most. One man is moued by bitter words, another by some outrages that are offered him. This man will haue his nobilitie supported, that man his beaurtie. Such a one desireth to be reputed a gallant fellow, that other to be most learned; this man is impatient of pride, that other of contumacie. He thinketh his seruants vnworthie to draw him to displeasure. The other is a Tyrant within doores, and gentle without. Such a one thinketh himselfe mocked, if he bee intreated. That other a contumely if hee bee not requested. All men are not strooken in one place.

CHAP. XI.

The sixth manner to briue Anger. Be not too curious.



Hou must therefore know what is weake in thee, to the intent that most of al thou maist prevent the same: it is not expedient for vs to see al things, nor to heare all things. Let many injuries passe by vs, and he that induceth himselfe not to know them, is for the most part waranted from the. Wilt thou not be angrie? be not curious. Who inquireth what is spoken against himselfe? Who wil found and search out what euill speeches are spoken by him secretly, doth himselfe disquiet himselfe. An euill interpretation maketh vs suppose that a word which is spoken by vs is a great outrage. Some things therefore are to be differed, some things to be deluded, and somethings to be pardoned. Wrath in diuers sorts must be circumseribed, and diuers things are to be turned to jest and sport. They say that *Socrates* hauing

hauing received a boke on the care, said nothing else but: *That it was a great fault, that men knew not when they should come abread with a helmes vpon their heads.* It skils not how the iniurie be done, but how it is suffered. Neither see I why moderation should be a hard matter, when as I knew that the minds of certaine Tyrants being puffed vp by fortune and libertie, haue repressed that crueltie which was familiar vnto them. It is reported that *Pissistratus* a Tyrant in Athens, when as a certaine Drunken man, that sat at banquet with him, had spoken maningings against this crueltie (and there wanted not some; who would haue executed whatsoeuer hee should haue commaunded, and one man on this side, and another on the other, laboured to inkindle his displeasure) that hee tooke all things patiently, and answered those, that prouoked him after this manner: *That hee was no more angrie with him, then if a blindfold fellow hauing his eyes tyed vp should runne vpon him.* The greater part of men haue bred quarrell to themselves; either by suspecting false things, or by aggravating small things.

CHAP. XII.



Primes Anger seeketh vs out, more oftentimes search wee her, which is neuer to bee called for, but euen then when wee light vpon her, then ought we to reject her. No man saith vnto himselfe, *This for which I am displeased, either I haue done my selfe, or else I might haue done it.* No man estimateth the minde of him, that committeth the fault, but the fact it selfe. Yet this is to be lookt into, whether he did it wittingly or casually; whether he were compelled or deceived; whether he did it for hatred or reward; whether of his owne accord or by another mans instigation. Furthermore, the age and fortune of him that doth this is to be respected much, to the end we may support the one with sweetness, the other with respect. Let vs put our felices in his place against whom we are displeased; now doth the wrong estimation of our felices make vs angry, and those things which we would doe we will not suffer. Each man is not patient; but the greatest remedie against wrath is delay, that the first furie thereof may be repressed, and that mist which dulseth our mindes cyther may be dispersed, or be lesse thicke. There are some of those things which carry thee away headlong, which I say not a day but an houre may rectifie, some of these will wholly vanish. If in this case we demand delay, it then appeareth that it is not Anger but reason that commandeth. Whatsoeuer it be thou wouldest know what it is, deliuer it into the hands of time. A man cannot diligently obserue that which passeth away swiftly. *Plato* could not obtain any delay from himselfe when he was angry with his seruant, but commaunded him presently to lay by his coat, and to yeeld his shoulders to the strokes of the whip, which he himselfe would by on. After he knew that he was angrie, he withdrew his hand that was ready to strike, and strooke like vnto him that was like to be stricken. Beeing afterwards demanded by his friend, who came thither by chance, what he did? *I (saith he) chastise a man that is angrie.* This wise man, astonished at this deprieved countenance and iesture, tooke no more heed to his slave, because he had found another, whom he ought rather to haue chastised; he therefore deprieved himselfe of that authoritie ouer his seruants; and notwithstanding because his seruant had committed some fault that was worthy punishment, hee said vnto *Sextus*, *I pray thee chastise my seruant with strokes, because I am angrie.*

The seventh means not to seeke out euill occasions, and if they present themselves to repress them.

angrie. He beateth him not for that which another had beaten him: I am angrie, said he, I shall doe more then I should. I will doe it more willingly. Let not this seruant be in his power that is not Master of himselfe. Will any man commit reuenge to a wrathfull man, since *Plato* hath taken his authority from himselfe? Let nothing be lawfull for thee as long as thou art angrie; why? because thou wilt haue all things lawfull for thee. Fight thou with thy selfe, if thou canst not overcome this Anger, she beginneth to overcome thee; if she be hidden, if we cannot giue her issue, let vs burie the signes thereof, and let vs as much as in vs lyeth keepe it hidden and secret.

CHAP. XIII.

The eighth
metaphor.
Contains three
Anger inwardly,
and shew it
not outwardly.

This cannot be done but with great labour; for the desireth to leap out to inflame the eyes, and to change the face: but if she may once shew her selfe without vs, she is aboue vs. Let vs hide her in the lowest retreat of our breasts, and let her there be concealed, but so, as the transport vs not; and which is more, let vs change all her signs, & all her marks to the contrary, let our countenance be more peaceable, our voyce more tempered, or pace more settled; let vs by little conforme both the interior and exterior parts. It was a signe of Anger in *Socrates* when he humbled his voyce and spake sparingly; for at that time it appeared that he resisted himselfe. He was therefore both perceiued and reproved by his familiars; neyther tooke he in ill part to heare the reproofe of his concealed Anger. Why should he not reioyce because many vnderstood his Anger, no man felt it, but it had bene perceiued, except he had giuen his friends power to chide him, as he himselfe had assumed the authoritie to reprove them. How much more ought we to doe this? Let vs intreat euery one of our dearest friends at that time, especially to vse his most libertie against vs, when we are least able to endure him, neyther let him flatter with our Anger. Against so powerfull an euill, and so forgiuous in our eyes, let vs call for our friends helpe whilst our eyes are opened, and we are Masters of our selues.

CHAP. XIII.

Now by example
expresseth he the
effects of choler.

They that can hardly beare Wine, and that feare the folly and insolence of drunkenness, command their seruants to carry them from the place where they solemnize their festiuals. They that haue the experience, that their intemperance hath been the cause of their sickness, forbad their seruants to giue them their wills during the time of their infirmities. It is the best for it to provide some impediments against knowne vices, and aboue all things so to compose our minds, that although it be shaken by the most grievous and sudden accidents that may be, it cyther feele not wrath, or to restraine and embase the weight of the iniurie, that hath bene vnadvisedly offered him, without discouering his griefe. That this may be done, it shall appeare manifestly, if out of a great many examples, I shall produce some few, out of which a man may learne both how great euill anger hath in it, when the vseth the power of the most mightiest men, and how much the may command, as soone as she is curbed by a greater feare. *Cambyfes* the

Herodot. lib. 3.

the King, a Prince too much subiect to wine, was admonished by *Praxaptes*, who was one of his Minions, to drinke lesse, saying, *That drunkenness was a loathsome thing in a King, who was followed by all mens eares and eyes.* To this he answered, *To the end thou mayest know (said he) that I am neuer out of temper, I will presently approve that after wine both mine handes and eyes can doe their office.* Hereupon hee began to drinke more freely then other wise he was accustomed, and in greater cups, and being thus loaden and drunke with wine, hee commanded his sonne who had reproved, to get without the doore of the Pallace, and laying his left hand on his head, to stand there vprightly; then bent he his Bow, and with the Arrow he shot, diuided he the young mans heart, as he had protested to do, and opening his breast he shewed him the head of the Arrow sticking in his heart, and looking backe vpon the father, he said, *Now Sir, is not my hand steady?* who denied that *Apollo* could haue shot with better leuell. The gods confound him, more slauih in mind then in condition; for praying such an action wherunto it was ouermuch for him to be an assitant. He thought he had gotten a good occasion to flatter, when his sonnes breast was diuided into two parts, and the heart as yet panted vnder the wound: he should haue contested for glorie against *Cambyfes*, and challenged him to a second prooue, whether he could as rightly hit the heart of the father, as he had done of his sonne. O cruell King, worthy that all his subiects bowes should be bent against him. When we haue cursed him that ended his banquet with punishments and fuggals, we cannot but detest *Praxaptes* for his vnnatural commendation of the thug, as well as *Cambyfes* for shooting it. We see how the father should haue demeaned himselfe, being vpon the dead bodie of his sonne, and witness of the murder whereof he was the cause. That which is now in question appeareth that choler may be suppressed. He cursed not the King, neyther vttered he one word of compassion, although his heart were as much wounded as that of his sonnes. It may be said, that he descreudly denoured his words, for had he spoken any thing as if he had bene displeased, he could haue done nothing that became a father. It may seeme, saith he, that he behaued himselfe more considerately in that case, then when he reproved *Cambyfes* for his immoderate drinking; and it had been better for him to haue suffered him to drinke wine then bloud, who hauing the cup in his hand, and being occupied in drinking, suffered others to liue in peace: he was therefore to be numbred for one of those, who to their great miseries haue made it manifest, how deare good counsailes cost them who are Kings fauourites.

CHAP. XV.

The second example of *Asiages* King of Persia, by reason whereof he was so much incensed, that he feasted the olde man with the flesh of his children, and afterwards asked him how hee liked the dressing. Afterwards, as soone as he saw that he was glutted with his owne miseries, he commanded their heads to be brought forth, and asked him, *How he liked them?* The wretched man wanted no words, he saluted not in his speech, but said, *With a King every supper is pleasant.* What profited he by this flatterie? This, that he was not inuited to therelicks of the banquet. I forbid not the father to condemne the Kings action, I forbid him not to seeke a condign reuenge.

The second example of *Asiages* and *Haces* pagus.

unge for so horrible an iniurie; but this in the interim will I say, that wrath which ariseth from extreme evils may be hidden, and be constrained to speake wholly contrary to his minde. This restraint of sorrow is necessary for those especially who haunt the Court, and are invited to Princes Tables. Thus must they eate with them, thus must they drinke, thus must they answere, thus must they smile at their childrens funerals. Let vs consider whether life bee a thing that should be so much let by, although it concerne not this matter. Shall we take pleasure to remaine in so loathsome a prison? Shall wee counsaile our selues to continue vnder the yoke of murderers? Contrariwise, we will make it knowne, that in all oppressions the way of libertie is laid open to vs. If the minde be infirme and miserable through his owne fault, he may end his miseries in himselfe. I will say both to him that attended the King, who shot his arrows against the hearts of his friends, and to him whose Master glutted the fathers stomacke with his childrens bowels. Why mournest thou mad man? Expectest thou that some enimie destroying thy nation, or that some puissant King marching out from a farre, shall revenge that iniurie which is done vnto thee? On what side soeuer thou turnest thy selfe, there is the end of these miseries. Seest thou yonder sleepe place? from thence mayest thou defend to thy libertie. Seest thou that Sea? Seest thou that Riuer or that Pit? Libertie stireth in the bottom thereof. Seest thou that thort, withered, and fatall tree? Libertie dependeth thereon. Seest thou thou thy throat, thy wofull pipe, thy heart? These are the meanes to escape seruitude. Thou thewest mee too dangerous and buie meanes to escape, and such as require a great minde and courage. Enquirest thou which is the way to libertie? Every veine in thy bodie.

CHAP. XVI.



So long therefore as there is nothing in our opinion so intollerable that it should expell vs out of life, let vs remoue Anger from vs in whatsoeuer estate we shall be. Pernicious is he to those that serue; for indignation serueth not but to increase her torment, and the commandments that are giuen her seem to be more grieuous and trouble some, the more obstinately shee suffereth them: so the wilde beast, the more he struggles in the net, the more is he intangled: so birds, whilst tearfully they shake off the bird-lime, intangle and snare all their feathers. There is none so hard a yoke that so much hurtheth him that beares it willingly, as him that repineth against it. The onely remedie of the greatest miseries is to suffer them willingly, and to apply himselfe to those necessities which present themselves. But whereas this continence is profitable for those that serue, so the bridling of affections, and of this especially which is so furious and vnbribled, a passion is most necessary for Kings. All things goe to wracke when fortune permitteth as much as Anger perswadeth; neyther can that power continue long which is exercised to many mens miseries: for great men put themselves into maruailous danger, when common feare ioyne with those together who lament in their particular. Diuers therefore of them haue been slaine by feuerall persons, and sometimes by the whole multitude, when sorrow hath constrained them to ioyne their displeasures in one. But diuers haue so exercised their Anger, as if it had bene a Kingly matter. Amongst these was *Drusus*, he (after he had extinguished the Empire of the Magies) overcame the Persians, and

Two stoicall and
prosaic resolutions,
touching man too
nere these
rockes, lest they,
sink these.

Of the patience
which is requisite
in aduersities.

and a greater part of the East. For hauing denounced warre against the Scythians that dwelt about the countrey, a Noble and auncient Gentleman called *Oebalus*, besought him that he would leaue one of his children behinde him, to be a comfort to his father, and content himselfe with the seruice of two of them, he promised more then he required at his handes, and that hee would dismisse them all; hereupon he caused them to be slaine, and cast their bodies downe before their fathers eyes, to the end he might not be esteemed cruell, if he had carried them away all three.

CHAP. XVII.



But how much more facile was *Zerxes*, who when *Pitihus* the father of five sons, required the dismission of one of them, which soeuer he pleased, gaue him leaue to chuse him whom he best liked, and afterwards when he had made his choyce, diuiding that somme into two pieces, he cast them on cyther side of the way, and by this sacrifice purified his armie? But this Prince was chastised according to his demerites: for after he had bene overcome and discomforted on euery side, and behelde the heapes of dead souldiers on euery side, hee marched thorow the midst of their murdered carcases. Such was the naturall furie of barbarous Kings, ignorant and enemies of good letters, whence ensued Anger. But I will bring thee forth *Alexander* out of *Artistiles* schoole, who in midst of his festiuals, and with his owne handes murdered his owne friend *Clitus*, who had bin brought vp with him, because hee could not flatter, and from a Macedonian free man would not become a seruile Persian. He likewise exposed *Lysimachus* (who was as familiar with him as the other) to the furie of a Lion. But did this *Lysimachus* (who had so happie fortune to escape the teeth of a Lion) for this cause become more milde, when he obtained a kingdom? no. For hee cut of the nose and eares of *Telephorus* the *Rhodian*, who was his deere friend and afterwards (as if hee had bene some strange beast) kept him closed in a cage, wherein he fed him, being vnable to obserue any thing of a man in him, by reason of the deformitie of his face, of hunger and filth, and his ordure, wherein this poore Creature lay buried; hauing his knees and handes hardned, because the cage was ouer low for him; and would not suffer him to stand, vpright. Besides by reason of often rubbing himselfe his sides were all fleed so that he seemed lothsome and dreadfull to all those that beheld him, and being made a Monster by this punishment, he lost almost compassion. Yet when he was most vnlike vnto a man, who suffered these things, yet was hee more vnlike, who did the same.

The furie example
of *Zerxes* and *Pitihus*, *Herod*
and *Plutarch*.

CHAP. XVIII.



Could haue wished that this cruell passion had remained amongst the Barbarians, and had not taken possession of the hearts of vs that are Romanes, with other vices drawne from forraigne Countreies, and with the furie of diuers new punishments, and meanes of reuenge. *Marcus Marius*, in whose honour the people had raised Statues in euery streete, to whom with frankincense and wine the Romanes sacrificed as

Other examples
taken out of the
Roman histories.

to a god. By *Lucius Sylla* command had his legges broken, his eyes pulled out, and his hands cut off; and as if he had killed him so oft as he wounded him, by little and little, he peece-meale drew every part of him in peece. Who executed this commandement? Who could it be but *Cataline*? Who at this time exercised his hands in all hainous stratagems. Hee cut this poore body in peece before the Tombe of *Quintus Catulus*, troubling with extreame insolence, the reuerend Althes of the mildest man of his time, on which *Marius* a man culpable in many kindes (yet agreeable to the people and not without cause, although it may be that it was more then reason) shed his blood drop by drop. Worthy was *Marius* to endure those things; *Sylla* to command it, and *Cataline* to execute it. But vnworthie was the commonweale to receiue into her body at once, the swords both of her enemies and Citizens. Why seeke I out so farre-for examples? Not long since *Caius Caesar* caused *Sextus Papinius*, whose father had bene a Consul, and *Bollennus Bassus* who had bene a Threfurer, and the sonne of his procer, and other Senators and Romane Knights, to be whipt and tormented in one day, not because they had offended, but for his minde sake. Againe, so impatient was he to differ his content, which his immeasurable crueltie incited him to take without delay, that walking in an Allie of his mothers garden, which leperateth the porch from the riuer banke, hee behaded some, with diuers Ladies and Senators by torch-light; what is that which prouoked him? what danger either publicke or priuate threatned him to execute those persons by night? Was it so great a matter to stay till day light? But he would not haue his Pantofles on, when hee caused Romanes and Senatours to bee murdered.

CHAP. XIX.

Here continueth
the monstrous
and description
of Caligulaes
cruelties.

How proude his crueltie was, it shall bee materiall to examine: although some may esteeme that wee wander from the purpose, and containe not our selues in the right path, but this shall bee a prancke of worth enraged aboue ordinarie. Hee had caused Senatours to be whipped: yea, so great was his insolence that it might be said, that it was an ordinarie matter. Hee had subiected them to those torments and so cruell; that might bee possibly inuented, as to traine them and brake them by ropes, to torment them by pressing, by racke, by fire, and by his furious countenance. And in this place, some may answere and say, what a trifling matter is this, if three Senatours were like base slaues whipped and burned, by such a man who daily meditated on the death of the whole Senate, who wished that the Romane people had but one head; to the end that there so many offences committed in so many places and times, might bee punished in one strooke, and at one time? What hath bene lesse heard of then night punishment? Whereas theses are wont to bee hidden by night: and punishments, the more publicke they be, the more profit they for other mens example and amendment. In this place some will answere me; That which thou so much admirest at, is this beastes daily exercise. Hee liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; Truly there shal no other man be found that had gouernement, ouer those whom he commanded to bee punished, that stopped their mouthes with a sponge, for feare least they should haue libertie to speake. What every dying man had not this benefit to bemoane himselfe? But hee

was afraide, least some extreame paine should make any man vtter his minde boldly: and he feared likewise lest he should heare those things which he would not. He knew also that there were many other infinite things, which no man durst object against him, except it were such a one that was ready to suffer death. When as spunges were not in readinesse, hee caused the wretches garments to be cut in peece, and to be thrust into their mouthes; what crueltie is this? Let it be lawfull for a man to draw his last breath, giue place to the Soule that shce may freely depart; Let her bee suffered to haue passage by some other way, then by the wound which the body hath receiued.

CHAP. XX.



It were too long a matter to adde vnto these, how many of their fathers whom hee had put to death, were murdered the same night by the hands of Centurions, by the command of this pitifull Prince, who thought good by these meanes, to deliuer the fathers from bewailing their childrens deaths! For my intention is not to discouer *Caius* crueltie, but the miserie of Anger, which not onely executeth her furie against one man or other, but also spoyleth whole Cities and Nations, and beateth riuers also which are free from all sense of paine: As *Cambyses* King of Persia, who cut off the noses of all the people in Syria, by meanes whereof the place was afterwards called Rhinocolura. Thinkest thou that he spared them, because he cut not off their heads? Hee tooke delight in a new kind of punishment. Such like should the *Aethiopians* haue suffered, who by reason of their long life, are called *Macrobij*. For against these, because they entertained not willingly the subiection that was offered them, but gave freer answers to those Ambassadors that were sent vnto them, which Kings call contumelious. *Cambyses* was mad at them, and without prouision of proant and victuals, without discouerie of the Countrey, by vnhauited and sands die wayes, heled all his troopes that were fit for the warre, which after the first dayes march wanted victuals, neither did the berraine and vnumanured Countrey, vntracted by any foote, minister them any thing. First satisfied they their hunger with the tender leaues and tops of trees, then by leather molished by fire, and whatsoever necessitie had made meate. But when as amidst the sands both rootes and herbes failed them, and the desert was found void of all liuing creatures, they killed euery tenth man, and thereby had sustenance more dreadfull then famine; yet notwithstanding, all this Anger caried the King on headlong. Hauing lost one part of his Armie, and eaten another, vntill such time as he feared least amongst others that were called, the lot should fall on himselfe, then at length founded hee a retreat. In the meane space, the best swile was kept for his vse, and the instruments of his banquetes were carried vpon Cammels, whilst his Souldiers cast lots which of them should die miserable, and which of them should liue worse.

The cause why
he made men
of Caligulaes
cruelties.

Cambyses br-
isth rage.

CHAP. XXI.

His man was angry with a Nation vnknowne vnto him, and innocent of himselfes, yet such as had he prospered should haue tasted of his furie. But *Cyrus* was angry with a Riuer: For marching on diligently to the warre, the greatest moment whereof consisteth in taking opportunities and intending to surprize Babilon, hee attempted to passe ouer the huge Riuer of Gynde, which was scarcely passable in the height of Sommer, and when the water is at the lowest. There one of those white horses which were wont to draw his Kingly Chariot, was carried away violently by the streame, whereat the King was mightily moued, and swore that he would bring that Riuer which had carried away his Princely baggage to that passe that euery vaine woman should bee able to get oner it without wetting their shooes. Which said, he employed all his forces herein, and continued so long that hauing digged nine score chanelles to turne the Riuer, he afterwards reduced it into three hundred and sixtie armes or brookes, so that that great channel became drie, the waters being dreined by so many other wayes. Thus spent he the time which is an irrevocable losse in affaires of consequence, thus abated he his Souldiers courage, who were broken by vnprofitable labours, and had lost their occasion and preparation for the assault, whilst he hauing proclaimed warre against his enemies, grew at odds with a Riuer.

CHAP. XXII.

His furie (for what else canst thou name it?) seized the Romans likewise. For *Caesar* ouerthrew a faire house of pleasure which was builded for pleasure neere to Ponzol, because sometimes his mother had bene kept prisoner in it, and made the fortune thereof notable hereby. For when it stood: the passengers that sailed by, enquired what it was, and now they demand why it is ruined. And as well oughtest thou to thinke on these examples, to the end to auoide them, as on those on the contrarie part which thou art to follow, which are both moderate and gentle; who neither wanted cause to bee angry, nor power to reuenge themselves. For what was more easie and facile for *Antigonus*? then to command two of his Souldiers to be put to death, who leaning vpon the Royall tent, did that which men doe most dangerously and willingly that thinke euill of their Prince. *Antigonus* heard all that they speake, because betwixt them that talked, and him that heard there was but a Tapetrie, which he softly pulled aside, and said *Get somewhat farther off for feare, lest the King heare you.* The same Prince vpon a certaine night, when hee had heard certaine of his Souldiers detesting and curling him diuers wayes, who had led them into that iournie and durtie march, came vnto them that were most displeased, and whereas they knew not by whom they were helped, he satisfied them, and said: *Now curse ANTIQVONS by whose fault you were drawne into these miseries, but wisht him well, notwithstanding who brought you out of this bog.* The same as patiently endured the reproches of his enemies, as of his Citizens. When as therefore the Gracians were belieged in a small Castle, and contemning the enemy

He returneth to Caligula by his example to make anger odious, and to in-
kindle others to mercy, he sheweth the mild behaviour of Antigonus.

mie by reason of the place jested vpon *Antigonus* deformitie, and sometimes derided his low stature, otherwhiles his hooked nose. *Iam glad said he, and conceiue some good hope if I haue SILEMVS in my Campe.* After hee had ouercome these brablers by famine, he vsed the captiues in such sort, that he placed those that were fit for warre amongst his owne companies and the rest he sold by the Crier, and this he said, he would not haue done vnllesse it had bene expedient for them to haue a Gouvernour who had so bad tongue. His Nephew was *Alexander*, who darted his Iavelin against his table-quests, who of these two friends which he had, as I told you a litle before, made the one a pray to a Lion, the other to himself. But of both these, he that was deliuered to the Lion liued.

This was Dacchus companion and the eldest amongst the Souldiers.

CHAP. XXIII.



He had not this vice eyther from his grandfather or his father: for if there were any other vertue in *Philip* it was this, that he was patient in all reproaches, which is a mightie instrument for the safetie of a Kingdome. *Demetrius*, who for the libertie and petulancie of his tongue was called *Parabolaster*, came vnto him amongst other Athenian Embassadors, and hauing courtuously giuen audience to their Embassage, *Philip* said, *Tell me if I may doe any thing that shall be gratefull to the Athenians.* *Demetrius* vnderooke the answer, and said, *Go and hang thy selfe.* They that stood about him were displeased at so vnhumane an answer, whom *Philip* commanded to be silent, willing them to dismiss that *Thersites* safe and sound. But you (saith he) the rest of the Embassadors, tell the Athenians that they are more proude that speake thus, then they that heare them spoken without reuenge. *AVGVSTVS CAESAR* spake, and did many things that were worthy memorie, whereby it appeareth that he was Master of his owne Anger. *Timagines* the writer of Histories had spoken somewhat against himselfe, somewhat against his whole family; neither lost he that which he had spoken, for an audacious kind of jesting is the soonest entertained and divulged by euery man. *Caesar* oft-times gaue him warning hereof, and wisht him to vse his tongue more moderately, and seeing that he persevered, he forbad him his house. After that *Timagines* liued till he was very olde, in *Asinius Pollio's* house, beloued of the whole Cittie, notwithstanding *Caesar's* reptile, euery mans doores was open to him. Afterwards he recited and burned those Histories which he had written, and cast those bookes into the fire which contained the acts of *Augustus Caesar*: and thus waged he warre with *Caesar*. No man for all this refused his friendship, no man fled from him, as though he were blasted: there was alwayes that gaue him entertainment in the height of his disgraces. All these, as I said, *Caesar* endured patiently, neyther was he moued therewith, notwithstanding that *Timagines* had violated both his praises and actions. He neuer was displeased with him that entertained his enemy, this onely said he to *POLLIO*, *Thou nourishest a beast*; and when he addressed himselfe to giue him an answer, the Emperour preuented him, and said, *He is at thy command POLLIO, much good do it thee with him.* And when as *Pollio* said, *If thou commandest me CAESAR, I will presently for- bid him my house. What said he, thinkest thou? I will doe this, who haue reconciled both of you and made you friends?* For *Pollio* in times past had bene angry with *Timagines*; neyther had he any other cause of dislike towards him, but because *Caesar* had entertained him.

The second example of great mildnes and mercie.

CHAP. XXIII.

What profit a
man should take
of the precedent
examples, and
what considera-
tions besides the
we ought to an-
nex, he better
to refrain Anger

Let every man therefore say vnto himselfe as often as he is prouoked, Am I more powerfull then *Philip*? yet he patiently suffered disgraces without reuenging them. Can I doe more in my private house then *Darius* *Cæsar* thorow the whole world? yet was he content to locke vp his gates against him that had slandered him. Or why should I for a bolde and jelling answer, a proude looke, or the grumbling and vntowardnesse of my slaue, expiate his fault with whips and fetters? Who am I that no man dare offend mine eares? Many haue pardoned their enemies, shall not I pardon such as are sluggish, negligent, and branglers? Let age excuse a childe, her sex a woman, libertie a stranger, familiaritie a domestick. He offended me but euen now. Let vs bethinke our selues how often he hath contented vs; But oft-times hath he offended other wife? Let vs endure that which we haue suffered long. He was my friend: he did that which he pretended not. Is he an enemy? He did that which he ought to doe. Shall we endure a wife-man? let vs pardon a foule. Whatsoeuer befalleth vs, let vs say vnto our selues, that the wildest commit many errours, and that no man is so circumspect whom Anger doth not sometimes take tardie: none so mature and stayed, eyther in his wordes or actions, whose grauity may by fortune be drawne into some inconsiderate action: no man so fearefull to offend, that whilst he flyeth from offences, falleth not into them.

CHAP. XXV.

A continuation
of the profits we
gather by the
precedent con-
sideration.

Let vs as a poore man taketh comfort in his miserie, when he seeth other great mens fortune stagger, and with a more temperate minde hath bewailed his sonnes death in a corner of his chamber, who seeth the wofull funerals of the heire of a Kingdome solemnized and borne forth; so with a more peaceable and contented minde shall he endure to be harmed and contemned by another man, whosoever bethinketh himselfe that there is no Potentate so great, who is not, or may not be attempted with iniurie. And if the most wisest doe offend, let vs thinke with our selues that there is no fault which is not excusable. Let vs consider how oftentimes our young yeares haue beene scarce diligent in performing duties, immoderate in speech, scarce temperate in wine: if he be angry, let vs giue him time: wherein he may consider what he hath done, and hee himselfe will reprove himselfe; in conclusion, hee will punish himselfe, yet for all this must not we be angry. This is vndoubtedly true, that he hath exempted himselfe from common men, and raised himselfe to a higher degree, that despiseth such as prouoke him. For it is the propertie of true magnitude, not to feele that he is strooken. So hath a furious beast, stalking a long with a settled pace looked backe on those Dogs that barked at him. So doe the enraged billowes of the Sea insult in vaine against an immouable rocke. He that is not angry hath neuer beene shaken by iniurie, he that is angry is moued: but he whom for the present I haue mounted aboue all incommodie, with a certaine embrace containeth the chiefe good, being equall not onely to himselfe, but also to fortune. Whatsoeuer thou doest, thou art not great enough to obscure the brightnesse

nesse that enlightneth me. Reason to whom I haue assigned the conduct of my life, defendeth the same. The Anger will hurt me more then the offence; and why? Because there is a certaine measure in the offence, but I know not how farre mine Anger will transport me.

CHAP. XXVI.

BVt, sayest thou, I can endure nothing, it is a grieuous matter to me to sustaine an iniurie. Thou liest: for who cannot endure iniury that can suffer Anger? Furthermore, thou pretendest to charge thy selfe with iniury and Anger both at once. Why sufferest thou the cries of a sicke man, the strange speeches of a lunatic, and the stroakes of thy little children? Forsooth because they seeme to be ignorant of what they doe. What killeth it by what error any man becometh imprudent, since imprudence is an equall excuse for all those that are attainted therewith? What then, sayest thou, shall he remain vnpunished? I thinke that thou wouldest, yet it shall not be so: for the greatest chastisement that a man may receive who hath outraged another, is to haue done the outrage, and there is no man that is so rudely punished, as he that is subiect to the whip of his owne repentance. Moreover, it behooueth vs to regard and consider the condition of humane affaires, to the end we may be vpriight Iudges of all accidents. But he is vnjust who vpbraideth a private man with that imperfection which is common to all. If a man be blacke amongst the Moores, or hath a redde head, and curled after the manner of the Almaines; this is no dishonour to him, but becometh him well. That which is common to a whole nation, defameth not a particular: but those things that I haue set downe before, depend but on the custome of one countrey, which is but a little corner of the earth. Consider therefore whether it be not an easier matter to excuse it, which is the practise of the whole world. We are all of vs inconsiderate and imprudent, all of vs vn certaine, irresolute, and ambitious. But why hide I a publique vicer vnder milder wordes? We are all of vs noughts. Whatsoeuer therefore is reprehended in another, that shall every man finde within his owne bosome. Why obseruest thou his bleakenesse of colour, his leanness of bodie? It is a common plague. Let vs therefore be more temperate one towards another, we liue euill men amongst euill men: there is one thing onely that can make vs quiet; a mutuall facilitie in conseruation. This man hath now injured me, but as yet I haue not harmed him; yet now perhaps hast thou hurt some bodie, or at leastwise thou wilt hurt.

CHAP. XXVII.

Estimate not this houre or this day, looke into the whole habite of thy minde, if as yet thou hast done no euill, yet canst thou doe it. How farre better is it that an iniurie should be salued then reuenged? Reuenge consumeth much time, exposeth her selfe to many iniuries whilst she is stung with one. Wee are all of vs more long time angry then we are hurt; how farre better is it to take another course, and not in this sort to fort vices together? Should a man be thought well in his wits if

A pertinent an-
swer to those
that allege that
they can endure
n thing, for by
this means they
deprive them-
selues of that
excell. in huppi-
niss, which coun-
tesa producelth.

How much the
consideration of
our weaknesse
heartnes the gainst
Anger, which is
the ninth mean
to refrain it.

if he should kicke at a Moyle with his heeles that had strooken him, or teare a Dogge with his teeth that had bitten him? These sayest thou, know not that they offend. First of all, how vnuit is he who is displeased when men come vnto him to reconcile themselves? Again, if it restraineth thee from being angry with beasts, because they are destitute of reason; in the same ranke number him that doth something without iudgement: for what skillerth it if he resemble not beasts in any other thing, in the fault which excuseth beasts, hee sheweth himselfe as brutish as they be? He hath offended; for this is the first and this is the last. Thou hast no cause to beleue him, although he saith, I will not doe it againe. Thou shalt see that he will once more offend thee, and another him, and the whole course of life shall be trauailed with errors: we must handle sauage things courteously. That which is wont to be said in sorrow, may effectually be spoken likewise in Anger. Whether wilt thou giue ouer once or neuer? If once, it is better to leaue off Anger, then to be left by Anger: but if this fault shall alwayes continue, thou seest how vnquiet a life thou denouncest to thy selfe, as it befalleth him who is alwayes swolne vp, and incensed by wrath.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The truth means, not to force any necessity of displeasure.



Furthermore, if thou thy selfe seeke not the occasions and meanes to prouoke thine Anger, and if thou enkindlest not thy displeasure, thou shalt see it depart from thee of her owne motion, and time will weaken it daily. How farre better is it for thee that thou shouldst surmount her, then that she should be Mistresse of thee? Thou art angry now with this man, now with that man, now with thy slaues, anon after with thy francklins, now with thy father or mother, now with thy children, with those of thine acquaintance, then with such as thou hast but newly met withall: for the occasions present themselves in euery place, except a peaceable minde containe and gouerne vs. Furie will driue thee hither and thither, and as new prouocations shall arise, thy rage shall be continued. Goe to vnhappy man and when is it that thou wilt loue? O how good time lookest thou in so bad a thing? How farre better were it now to get thee friends, and to mitigate thine enmities, to gouerne the Common weale, to transfer thy inuouours to the gouernment of thy familie, then to looke about thee what iniurie thou mayest doe another man. What wound thou mayest inflit eyther on his dignitie, or his patrimony, or his body? When as this cannot befall thee without contention and danger, although thou encounter with thine inferior. Although thou see him tyed hand and foote, and that he be in thy power to do with him what thou pleasest, oftentimes it hath bene scene that a man in striking another with all his force, hath put his shoulder out of ioynt, or his arme, or hand, or else in biting hath broken his teeth, and spoyled his gummies. Anger hath made many men lame, and hath weakened many; yea, even then when he hath gotten matter of patience. Adde hereunto, that there is not any thing so feeble in this world, that perisheth without putting him in danger that would crush or breake it. Sometimes griefe, and sometimes casuality hath matched the strongest with the weakest. And which is more, the most part of those things which moue vs, doe harme vs more then we hurt other men. But there is a great difference whether a man oppose himselfe against my pleasure,

The element of consolation, is, as we hurt ourselves more than we hurt others.

or whether he hinder it not, whether he take it from me, or giue it me not. But we account it all one whether a man take from vs any thing or denie vs; whether he cur of our hopes, or differ them: whether hee be against vs, or for him selfe; whether for the loue of another man, or the hatred he beareth vs: But some haue not only iust, but also honest causes to stand against vs. The one defendeth his father; the other his brother, another his vnkle, the third his friend. Yet pardon we not those that doe these things, which should they not doe; we would condemne them: nay more which is incredible, oftentimes we allow of the deed, but condemne the doer.

CHAP. XXIX.

BV T yet assuredly euery great and iust man affectioneth and wel respecteth him amongst his enemies; that most valiantly and aduenturously behaueth himselfe, for the libertie and conservation of his Countrey, and wilseth himselfe such a Citizen and such a Camerado as that is in his dangers. It is a shamefull thing to hate him whom thou prayest; but how farre more shamefull to hate any man, for that for which he is worthe of mercie: if any one being taken prisoner, retaineth as yet some remanders of his libertie, and sheweth not himselfe to readie in safe and troublesome busineses, if hauing thorough idlenesse gathered so much fat, that he cannot come so swiftly as his Masters horse or coach; if wearied with all dayes trauaile he sleepe; if he refuseth to labour in the fieldes or doth not bestow himselfe so, as a stout peasant should doe; by reason hee had liued in a Citie, where he had much ease, and that now he is tyed to a businesse that is tedious and continual; let vs consider whether he cannot doe that which we would require at his hands; or if he will not doe it: wee shall beare with diuers men; if wee inuouour our felices to iudge before we be displeased. But now we beleue that which the first assault of our passion buzzeth in our eares; afterwards although wee be moued vpon no ground: yet perseuer we least wee should seeme to haue begunne without any cause, and that which is most damnable, the iniquitie of wrath maketh vs more oblitrate. For wee nourish and increase the same as if it were an argument of iust Anger, to bee greediously angry. How farre better is it to examine the beginnings, and to consider how harmelesse? That which thou seest fall out in brut beasts, the same shalt thou discover in man, we are troubled with friuolous and vaine things.

The twelfth, beware to consult thy iudgments and hate not him whom thou prayest; and least of all him whose miserie requirerh thine assistance.

CHAP. XXX.

RED colour exasperateth Bulles, the Aspis is kindled in the shadow, a white Cloath prouoketh Beares and Lions. All things that nature hath made fierce and dreadfull are astonished at a little matter. The same befalleth disquiet and foolish mindes. They are strooken with suspicion of things, and in such sort as some times they call moderate benefits injuries, in which the most frequent, but the most, yet truly the most virgent causes of choler consist. For we are angry with our dearest friends, because they haue done vs lesse courtesie then we expected, then

The thirteenth, Except thou wilt become a beast, be not moved at friuolous and vaine matters as they are accounted to doe that are mistaken by anger.

other men haue done vs; when as there is a present and readie remedie for them both. Hath he fauoured another man more? let vs delight our selues with ours without comparifon: he shall neuer be happie, that tormenteth himfelfe at an other mans felicitie. I haue leffe then I hoped for? But happily I haue hoped more then I ought. This part is moft of all to be feared. Hence arife moft dangerous difpleafures, and fuch as invade the moft holiest and bleffedft things of the World. *Julius Cæfar* was killed by a greater number of his friends, then of his enemies: whose immeafurable hopes he had not fatisfied. Such was his intention, neither euer was there any man that carried himfelfe more better, or more liberally, when hee became Mafter of his enemies, for hee challenged nothing to himfelfe, but the power to diftribute; but here could hee fatisfie fo many importunate defires, when as all men defired fo much as one man could? Hee faw therefore with naked daggers, thofe followers of his about his throne; and amongst the reft *Tullius Cimber*, who before time had bene an affectionate paraker of his, and thofe other, who after the death of *Pompey* were become *Pompeians*.

CHAP. XXXI.

THis verie paffion hath rayfed the fubjects againft their Prince, and vrged the moft faithfull to confpire the death of thofe, for whom and in whole prefence, they had defired in times paft to loofe their lives. He that hath refpect to another mans good, neglecteth his owne. And thereupon wee are angrie with the gods likewife, becaufe fome one man out-ftrippeth vs, forgetting our felues how much and how important enuie followeth them at their backs, yet fo great is the importunitie of men, that although they haue received much, yet fuppofe themfelves to be indignified, becaufe in their iudgements, they are capable of more. Gauce he me a Prætor-ſhip? but I looked for a Conſul-ſhip. Gauce they me twelue Maces? yet they made mee not an ordinarie Conſull. Would hee haue me to vndertake the charge of numbring the yeare? but he failed mee in the election, when I fought for the Pontificall dignitie. Haue I bene brought into the Colledge of Bihops and Augures? but why in companie? Hath hee confumated my dignitie? but he hath allowed nothing towards my charge and patrimonie: Hee gauce mee that which he ought to haue giuen to another, he added nothing of his owne. Rather giue thanks for thofe things which thou haft received, expect the reft, and rejoyce, becaufe that as yet thou art not full. Amongft all other pleafures, it is no fmall one, to fee that there is fomething yet remaying, for which thou maift hope. Haft thou fped better then any other? rejoyce, becaufe thou art the firft amongst others that hath thy friends heart. Doe many exceede thee? confider that the number of thofe that march after thee, furpaſſeth thofe whom thou followeft.

CHAP.

The fourteenth
haue more
refpect to another
man's good then
to his owne
and neuer thinke
that they haue
obtained to little.

CHAP. XXXII.

Skeſt thou me what is the greateſt vice in thee? thou forgetſt falſe conſiderations, thou highly prizeſt thine owne giſtes, and neglecteſt others. Let one thing deter vs in an other. Let vs bee afraid to be angrie with ſome for reuerence ſake, let vs forbear other, and for pittie ſake endure other ſome. Vndoubtedly we ſhall performe a goodly peece of worke, if we ſhut our vnhappy ſlave in priſon. Why are we ſo haultie to beat him: and ſo fudden to breake his legges? this power will not be loſt, if it bee deferred. Let that time come wherein wee may be Maſters of our felues. Now ſpeake wee out of paſſion: when, ſhee is quailed, then ſhall wee ſee how weightie this debate is. For in this eſpecially are wee deceived. Wee come to knives, to capitall puniſhments: and by bonds, imprifonment, and fanning, we reuenge the crime which ſhould be chaſtiſed by whipping and ſlighter puniſhments. How (ſaiſt thou) commandeſt thou vs to conſider, how all theſe things, whereby we ſeeme to be harmed, are triſling, miſerable, and childiſh? But I for mine own part would perſwade nothing more, then to take vpon vs a great minde, and to exa mine and ſee how theſe things for which we quarrell runne and ſweat, after how humble and abject they bee, and ſuch as are not to be reſpected and thought vpon by any man, that thinkeſt on any high or magnificent matter. There is much bragging about monie, ſhee wearieth the Courts of Pleas, ſhee ſets the fathers and children together by the eares, ſhee mixeth venomous, ſhe deliuereth ſwords as well into the hands of the executioner, as of the ſouldier, ſhe it is that is embrewed with our blood. For heere the marriage beds of man and wife filled with brawles, for heere the Tribunals of Maieſtrates are ouer-preſſed with throng. Kings are enraged and ranſack countreies and ouerthrow Cities, which were builded by the labour of many ages, to the end that Golde and Siluer might bee caught out in the alch of the Citie.

CHAP. XXXIII.

I pleaſeth me to behold thoſe caſkets of monie, that lie heaped in a corner. Theſe are they for which men weepe out their eyes, for which the iudgement Halls are confuſed with muttering, for which Iudges being nominated out of remote Countreies ſit in iudgment to ſentence, whether of both parties avarice is moſt juſt. What if it bee not for a bag or caſket of monie, but for a handfull of ſilver, or for a pennie borrowed or lent to a man, an old man without heires and readie to die, is readie to burſt with Anger, what if for leſſe then the thouſand part of a mans intereſt, a ſickly Viſiter with crooked limmes and lame hands only left him to number his monie, crieth out and in the very violence of his acceſſions, cryeth out for monie to his ſervants. If thou bring me forth what ſoever monie that is current, and vſual in all kind of ſtates, if thou caſt before me what ſoever treſure, which avarice would bring againe after hee had digged it up, I thinke that all this heape is not worthe ſo to ſurrow up the brow of an old man. How much are they to be laughed at, for which wee ſpend ſo many teares?

Ccc

CHAP.

The fifteenth,
to dig it up
with a ſpade &
take leſſe care to
conſider what
commandment
the paffion hath
now ſhee, and
wherefore it is
founded.

The ſixteenth,
That all our
goods are not
worth halfe the
labour we employ
upon them and
the little care to
enjoy them is a
twofold miſery.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Resolute the rest somewhat further I pray thee, and consider the eating and drinking, and all that proud equipage that dependeth there vpon, so many labours to keepe the house cleane, so many stroakes giuen, so many outrageous speeches, and so many vnseemly countenances, suspitions restles iades, idle slaues, wicked reporters of other mens words: for from all these it cometh that in the end some thinke that nature hath done men wrong, in giuing them the facultie of speaking. Beleeue mee wee are bitterly angrie for such slight things, and for which children are wont to be froward, and to scratch one another. There is nothing serious or great in all that which we doe with so much care & thought. Thence groweth your Choler & Furie because you esteeme these things great which are nothing. Such a one would haue taken away my goodes, that man hauing long time had a good opinion of me, hath finally defamed me, this man would haue corrupted my minion. That which should bee the linke of loue which is to will one thing, is the cause of hatred and sedition.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE way that is straight mouth quarrell amongst those that passe thorow it. That which is open and large is ouer narrow for Armies that encounter together. These things which you desire because they are small, neither can be transferred to one except they be taken from an other doe incite quarrels and troubles amongst those that affect the same things. Thou art angrie if thy frackling or thy wife or thy retainer answer thee, & afterwards thou complainest that the commonwealth hath lost all libertie, which thou thy selfe hast exterminated out of thine own house. Again if thou speake vnto thy seruant, and he answer thee not thou termest it disdain and rebeldom. Thou wilt haue him speake, thou wilt haue him hold his peace, thou wilt haue him laugh, what before his Master saiest thou. I before the Father of the family. Why criest thou? why chidest thou? what mouth thee in the midst of thy supper to call for scourges, because thy seruants talke or because thy attendants are not seruicable, or because no man answers thee? Hast thou no cares but to heare Musicke, and pleasing songs and wordes well fitted and pleasing? yet must thou heare men laugh, crye, flatter, please, tell joyfull and tragical newes, and mens tongues and the cries of diuers Creatures. Poore man why art thou affrighted at thy seruants crye, at the cingling of a Beeson, at the noyce of a dore that is opened and locked? although thou bee so delicate, yet must thou heare the cracke of thunder. That which is spoken of the eares, may be transferred to the eyes, which are no lesse troubled with objects when they are badly addressed: for they are offended at a spot, or soyle, or iller plate badly clenfed and their tinnie platters; if they shine not at the sunne. For these eyes that are delighted with nothing but Marble and Iasper finely polished, that like no table except it be of costly wood, and well carued, which will not fix themselves in the house, except on these things that are gilded and embossed; without dores with content enough, behold the rugged and durie waies and

A more soft description of this notice of wealth which is torned at trifles and thought of no moment.

and the most part of those that meet with them badly clothed, and the walls of Cities halfe eaten away, ruined and vnequall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

What is the cause then why that which offendeth them: not as broad, chafeth and troubleth them thus in their houses, but an equitable and patient opinion in publicke, but a crabblish and quarrellsome disposition at home? All our senses are to be brought to a conformitie. By nature we are patient, if our mind cease to corrupt them, which is daily to be drawne vnto an accompt. This did Sextus, that when the day was spent and he retired himselfe to rest, was wont to examine his minde after this manner. What infirmities in thee hast thou healed this day. What vice hast thou resisted? In what part art thou bettered? Anger will cease and become more moderate, if she knowes that euerie day shee must appeare before a Iudge. What therefore is more laudable then this custome, to examine our daily actions? What sleepe followeth after this scrutine? how quiet, pleasing, and free is it, when either the minde is prayd or admonished, and being a watch-man and secret censor of himselfe, examineth his defects? I vse this power, and daily pleade before my selfe, when the candle is taken from me, and my wife holdeth her tongue, being priue to my custome. I examine the whole day that is past, and ruminate vpon actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let slip nothing: For why should I leare any of mine errors, when as I may say: See thou doe this no more: for this time, I pardon thee. In that dispute, thou speakest more rashly, see that hereafter thou contend not with such as are ignorant, they will never learne, that neuer learned. Thou hast more freely admonished such a one then thou oughtest, and therefore thou hast not amended him but offended him. In regard of the rest, see not only whether it were true which thou speakest, or whether hee to whom it was spoken can endure to heare truth.

CHAP. XXXVII.

A Good man reioyceth when he is admonished, a wicked man cannot brooke a reproouer. At a banquet some mens bitter jells and intemperate words haue touched thee to the quick. Remember to auyde the vulgar companie: after Wine mens words are too lauish, and they that are most sober in their discourses are scarce modest. Thou sawest thy friends displeased with the Porter of a Counsaillers chamber, or some rich man because hee would not suffer him to enter, and thou thy selfe being angry for this cause growest in Choler with the cullion. Wilt thou therefore be angrie with a chained dogge, who when he hath barked much will be pacified with a peece of bread? get farther off him, and laugh. He that keepeth his Masters doore, and seeth the threshold besieged by a troop of solicitors, thinketh himselfe no small bug, and he that is the Client thinketh himselfe happie in his owne opinion, and beleeueth that so hard an accessse into the chamber is an euident testimonie, that the Master of the same is a man of

Ccc 2

great

The eighteenth, Give over to corrupt thy senses and call thy custom every day to a reckoning.

The nineteenth, That it is impossible to continue in life except thou restrain thyselfe.

great qualitie and a favourite of Fortune. But hee remembreth not himselfe that the entrie of a Prison is as difficult likewise. Prefume with thy selfe, that thou art to indure much. If a man bee cold in Winter; if hee vomit at Sea, if hee bee shaken in a Coach, shall hee maruell hereat? The minde is strong and may indure all that whereunto hee is repared. If thou hast bene seated in a place scarce answerable to thine honour, thou hast bene angrie with him that stood next thee, or with him that invited thee, or with him that was preferred before thee. Foole as thou art, what matter is it, in what place thou art set at the table, a cushion cannot make thee more or lesse honest. Thou wert displeased to see such a one, because hee spake euill of thy behaviour. Art thou at that point? by this reckoning then *Ennius* in whose poetrie thou art no wayes delighted, should hate thee, and *Fortunus* should denounce warre against thee, and *Cicero* if thou shouldst mocke his verses, should be at ods with thee.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

WHen thou suest for an office doest thou not peaceably entertaine those that giue their voyces to the election, although they nominate not thy selfe? Some man hath disgraced thee; what more then *Diogenes* the Stoicke was, who discourfing one day very effectually vpon the subject of Anger, was scornfully spit vpon by a froward yongman; this iniurie entertained he both mildly and wisely. Truly (saith he) *I am not Angrie, yet doubt I whether, I ought to be angrie.* But our friend *Cato* demeaned himselfe better, whom as he pleaded a cause; *Lentulus* that factious and seditious fellow in the time of our fore-fathers, hawking vp from the depth of his stomacke a thicke and filthie spittle, blew it right into the midst of his forehead. For in wiping his face he laid no other thing but this. Truly *LENTULVS* I will now maintaine it against all men that, they are deceived, who say thou hast no mouth.

CHAP. XXXIX.

NOW my *Novatus* we are already instructed how to gouerne our mindes, if either they feele not wrath, or bee superiours ouer it. Let vs now see how we may temper other mens Ire, for not onely desire we to be healthfull our selues, but to heale others. We dare not attempt to moderate and pacifie the first anger by persuasion: for the is deafe and mad. We will giue her some time; remedies are best in the declination of fauours, neither will we attempt her when she is inflamed, and in furie, for feare least in striving to quench, wee inkinde the same; the like will we doe in respect of other passions. Repose healeth the beginning of sicknesses. How much (saist thou) doth thy remedie profit, if it pacifie, Anger when of her selfe, the beginneth to be pleased? First it is the cause that it ceaseth the sooner, then will it keepe her least she fall againe, and shall receive the passion it selfe which he dare not pacifie it. It shal remoue all instruments of reuenge

The twentieth
and last to take
profit by the ex-
amples of pa-
tience and me-
neste.

venge, it shall saue displeaseure, to the end that as a helper and companion in her sorrow, it may haue more authoritie to counsaile her, it shall coynce delays, and whilst she seeketh greater punishment, deferre the present. It shall by all means giue rest and remission to furie, if she be more vehement it shall cyther induce shame or feare in her, against which she shall not be able to resist; if she be weakie it shall inuent discourfes, cyther gratefull or new, and winde her away with a desire of knowledge. It is reported that a Phisitian when he had a Kings daughter in cure, and could not performe the same without the meanes of a launcet, that whilst he gently handled her Pap that was greatly swolne, he conveyed his launcet into a sponge, and so opened it. The mayden had repined should he haue ministred the remedie openly, and shee because the suspected it not, suffered the paine.

CHAP. XL.

SOME things are not healed except they be deceived. To one of these thou shalt say, Beware lest thy wrath be pleasing to thine enemy. To another, Take heed lest the greatnesse of thy minde, and thy repured courage in all mens iudgement be brought in question. Truly I am displeased with him, and that beyond measure, yet must we stay our time, and we will be reuenged. Conceale thy displeasure a while whilst thou mayest, and we will pay him home double. But to checke him that is angrie, and to oppose thy selfe against him, is to cast oyle on the fire. Thou shalt attempt him diuers wayes, and after a friendly manner, except happily it be so great a person, that thou mayest diminish his wrath, as *Augustus Caesar* did when he supped with *Vedius Pollio*, one of the seruants had broken a crysall glasse, whom *Vedius* commanded to be carried away, and to be pnnished by no ordinary death: for he commanded him to be thrown amongst his Lampries, which were in kept a great Fish-pond. Who could otherwise thinke but that he did it to entertaine his excoessive pleasures? The boy escaped out of their hands, and fled to *Caesars* feet, desiring nothing else but that he might die otherwise, and not be made meate for Fishes. *Caesar* was moued with the noueltie of the cruelty, and commanded him to be carried away, yet willed that all the crysall vessels should be broken in his presence, and that the Fish-pond should be filled vp. So thought *Caesar* good to chastise his friend, and well did he vse his power. Commandest thou me to be dragged from the banquet, and to be tortured by new kinds of pnnishment? If thy cup be broken shal mens bowels be rent in pieces? Wilt thou please thy selfe so much as to command any man to death where *Caesar* is present?

CHAP. XLI.

THUS ought we to oppose our selues against a powerfull person, to the end that from a more eminent place a man may assaile a wrath that is intractable, and such a one as this whereof I lately tolde you, fierce, cruell, bloudie, which could not now receive any cure, but by the feare of a thing more greater then it selfe. Let vs giue repose vnto our mindes, which we shall doe if we dilate continually vpon

How by words
well applyed, or
by authority we
may haue ouer
men, wrath may
be pacified.

Now addresseth
he himselfe to
exhortation, ger-
swading vs to a
noble furie.

upon the precepts of wisdom, and the acts of vertue, and likewise whilst our thoughts desire nothing but that which is honest. Let vs satisfie our conscience, let vs doe nothing for vaine glorie sake, let thy fortune be euill, so thine actions be good. But the world admireth those that attempt mightie matters, and audacious men, are reputed honourable, and peaceable are esteemed sluggards. It may be vpon the first sight, but as soone as a well-governed life sheweth that it proceedeth not from the weaknesse, but the moderation of the mind, the people regard and reuerence them. So then this cruell and bloudie passion is not profitable in any sort; but contrariwise, all euils, fire, and bloud feede her, she treadeth all modestie vnder foote, embrueth her hands with infinite murders; she it is that teareth children in sunder, and scattereth their limmes here and there; she hath left no place voyde of hainous vilenies, neither respecting glorie nor fearing intamic; incurable, when of wrath she is hardned and conuerted into hatred.

CHAP. XLII.

Let vs abstaine wholly from this vice, let vs purge our mind and pull vp those passions that are rooted in it, whose hold-fast be it neuer so little, will spring againe where soeuer it is fastened; and let vs not onely moderate our Anger, but wholly root it out, and driue it from vs. For what temper is there in an euill thing? But we may, if so be we will endeavour; neither will any thing profite vs more then the thought of mortality. Let euery one say vnto himselfe, as if it were vnto another, What helpeth it vs, as if we were borne to liue euer, to proclaime our hatreds, and mispend so short a life? What profiteth vs to transfer those dayes which we might spend in honest pleasure, in plotting another mans miserie and torment? These things of so short continuance would not be hazarded; neither haue we any leasure to loofe time. Why rush we forward to fight? Why beget we quarrels against our selues? Why being forgetfull of our weaknesse, embrace we excessive hatreds? And being readie to breake, our selues rise vp to breake others. It will not be long but eyther a seauor, or some other infirmitie of the bodie will preuent these hatreds which we hatch in our implacable mindes. Behold death at hand, that will part these two morall enemies. Why tempest we? why so seditiously trouble we our life? Death hangeth ouer our heads, and daily more and more layes holde on him that is dying. That very time which thou destinest to another mans death, shall be the nearest to thine owne.

CHAP. XLIII.

Why rather makest thou not vse of this short time of thy life, by making it peaceable both to thy selfe and others? Why rather enderest thou not thy selfe in all mens loue whilst thou liuest, to the end that when thou diest thy losse may be lamented? And why desirest thou to put him lower, whose authoritie is too great for thee to contend against. VVhy seekest thou to cruell and terrifie that base and contemptible fellow that barketh at thee, and who is so bitter and troublesome

The continuance of those passions which are easily to be pacified, especially if we consider the shortness and uncertainty of our liues.

The conclusion, Seneca he did consider humbly the goods that proceed from a peaceable life, so the costs that are payd by Anger.

troublesome to his superiors? Why frettest thou at thy seruant? thy Lord? thy King? Why art thou angry with thy client? Beare with him a little, behold death is at hand which shall make vs equals. We were wont to laugh (in beholding the combats which are performed on the sands in the morning) to marke the conflict of the Bull and Beare when they are tied one to another, which after they haue tyred one another, the Butcher attendeth for them both to driue them to the slaughter-house. The like doe we; we challenge him that is coupled with vs, we charge him on euery side, mean while both the conquered and the conqueror are neede vnto their ruine. Rather let vs finish that little remainder of our life in quiet and peace, and let not our death be a pleasure to any man. Oft-times they that were together by the cares haue forsaken their strife, because that during their debate, some one hath cryed fire that was kindled in a neighbours house, and the enteriue of a wilde beast hath diuided the thiefe and the merchant. We haue no leasure to wrestle with lesser euils, when greater feare appeareth. What haue we to doe with fighting and ambushes? Dost thou wish him with whom thou art displeased, any more then death? Although thou sayest nothing to him he shall die; thou loofest thy labour, thou wilt doe that which will be done. I will not, sayest thou, forthwith kill him, but banish, disgrace, or punish him. I pardon him rather than desireth his enemy should be wounded, then scabbed; for this man is not onely badly but basely minded, whether it be that thou thinkest of death or any one more slight euill, there is but a very little difference betwixt the day of thy desire, vntill the punishment which such a one shall endure, or till the time thou shalt reioyce with an euil conscience at the miseries of another man: for euen now, while we drawe our breath we driue our spirit from vs. Whilst we are amongst men, let vs embrace humanitie, let vs be dreadfull or dangerous to no man; let vs contemne detriments, iniuries, slaunders, and garboyles, and with great mindes suffer short incommunities, whilst we looke behinde vs, as they say, and turne our selues, beholde death doth presently attend vs.

The end of SENECAS three Bookes of Anger.



A DISCOVERSE OF CLEMENCIE,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO NERO CÆSAR.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IYSTVS LIPSIVS.

These Bookes were written in the beginning of NEROES reigne, which he himselfe manifestly proueth in his first Book and ninth chapter, where as he writeth that hee was entred into the nineteenth year of his age. And undoubtedly both the words and matter are worthy of a Prince; and I would to God they would reade the same, and from thence gather the fruits of mercie and magnitude. He beginneth with NEROES praise, and that deservedly; for his beginnings were moderate. Afterwards in his third Chapter he denieth his writings into three parts: the one of Manuduction, the other which explicated the nature of Clemency, which leadeth men thereunto and firmeth them. In the first, the first whole Booke intreateth thereof, and in the forepart he setteth downe the profite of Clemency, and how greatly it becometh Kings. That Clemency well becometh them, because they are the heads of the Common-weale, and we as the bodie and members. But who is he that spareth not and nourisheth not his body? And that bee is necessary also where there are many offenders, whom if thou punishest alwayes, thou makest the Common-weale a solitude. By the example of the gods, who spare vs. Likewise in regard of fame, because Kings actions are the objects of all mens eyes, and the least cruelty is too long. By their security, for they that governe thus are more secure, and he annexeth some notable actions of AVGVSTVS. Contrariwise, in tyrants who worke their owne destructions by cruelty, hatred, and perills. But a Prince doth therefore punish seldom, mildly and temperately, with the minde, and after the example of Parents, and that moderation is fruitfully used in Schooles, Campes, amongst beasts and seruants: yes, it is used by nature, by the example of Bees, whose King bath no sting. But now a Prince when he punisheth, either punisheth for his owne or another mans cause: in his owne cause he ought not to be rigorous, because he liueth in so high a fortune that he needeth not the solace of reuenge: not in another mans cause, but according to the law, to amend them, or make other better or more secure. And all these things the seldomnesse of punishment

ishment will effect, they that are often, are set light by, and are despised. In the flourishing up he setteth downe the detestation of crueltie, and the mischiefes and overthrowes that grow by her.

CHAP. I.



NERO CÆSAR, I haue determined to write of Clemencie, to the end that in some sort I may serue thee for a mirrour, and shew thee to thy selfe, in such sort, as thou mayest receiue a perfit contentment thereby: for although the true fruite of vertuous actions be to haue done them, and that without vertues themselves there is no recompence whatsoeuer, that is worthy of themselves, yet there is a certaine pleasure to examine and visit a good conscience euery wayes; and then to fixe a mans eyes vpon this infinite multitude, turbulent, seditious, passionate, that bathe themselves willingly in other mens blouds, yea, in their owne, if they haue broken the yoke that restraineth them, and to speake thus in himselfe to himselfe. I am he amongst all other mortall men, who haue bene agreeable to the gods, and whom they haue chosen for their lieftenant vpon the earth. I haue the power of life and death ouer all nations. It lyeth in my hands to dispose the estate and condition of euery man; fortune pronounceth by my mouth that which the intendeth, that euery man shall haue and possesse in this life: whole Nations and Cities conceiue occasion of reioyce by my commandements. There is no Nation whatsoeuer that flourisheth not by my good will and fauour; vpon the least inkling I shall giue, so many thousands of swordes, which haue bene sheathed by my peace, shall be drawne againe. It is in my power to ordaine what Nations shall be exterminated, which shall bee transported from one country to another, which infranchised, or made subiect; what Kings shall be conquered, and whose heads shall be adorned with the royall wreath; what Cities shall be ruined and what builded. Being thus possessed of so great power, neyther hath wrath, nor youthfully heate, neyther folly or insolence of men, who haue often made the most temperate to loose their patience, neither the proude designe to make shew of my power, in causing other men to feare, a glorie too frequent amongst such as are Monarches, haue neuer enforced mee to chastise or put any man to death wrongfully. My sword is hidden, nay more, kept in the sheath. The blood of my meaneest subjects is carefully spared by me. Although a man haue many imperfections, yet in regard he is a man, he is gracious in mine eyes: my severity is hidden and my Clemencie apparant. Such a watch haue I ouer my selfe, as if I were to yeelde an account to the lawes (which from obscuritie I haue brought to light) of all mine actions. I haue pardoned one by reason of his youth, another because he was olde, that man because of his magistracie, that other for his obscuritie: and when in those that were faultie I found not any occasion of mercie, I bare with them for the loue of my selfe. If the immortal gods summon me this day to yeeld vp my reckoning, I am readie to account for the whole world. Cæsar thou mayest boldly speake this, that of all those things which thou hast imbraced vnder thy protection and safe-guard, thou hast taken nothing from the Common-

How requisite it is for the great men of this world to studie how to moderate their minds, which they may doe the better if they meditate what preeminence they haue above other men.

Common-wealth, either by violence or cunning. Thou hast wished and purchased innocency, which is a praise very rare, and such as yet hath not bin granted to any Prince. Thou lookest not thy paines, and this thy singular bountie hath not met with ingratefull or misconceiuing subiects. Each one acknowledgeth the good thou hast done them. Neuer was man so beloved by another as thou art by the Romane people, whose great and continuall felicitie thou art. But thou hast laide a waighte burthen on thy shoulders. No man speaketh more now of the former yeares, either of the Empire of *Augustus* or *Tiberius*. Neyther seeke they any patterne besides thy selfe, whereby they may gouerne their life. One yeare of thy gouernement sheweth that which we hope for in the yeares that follow, which would hardly be imagined, if this thy bountie were borrowed for a time, but is naturall. For no man can long time conceale his imperfections, and the actions suddenly discouer what the hidden nature is. Those things that containe verity, and which grow from that which hath some fimitie in it increase, and from time to time waxe better and better. The Romane people were very much perplexed whilst they stood in expectation, whereunto thy generous nature would apply it selfe at the first. Now are all mens desires accomplished and assured; for it is not to be feared that thou wilt forget thy selfe suddenly. Too much felicity maketh men over-greedy; neyther are desires at any time so tempered, that they stay themselves vpon that good which is befallne them. Euery one ascendeth from great vnto greater, and they that haue attained such things as they hoped not for, embrace strange designs: yet all thy Cittizens do now confesse that they are happy, and that nothing can be added to their felicitie, except it should be perpetuall. Many things cause them to confesse thus much, namely, their great and assured repose, with all the commodities of life, which is a good which befalls a man very hardly, and vpon the end of his yeares. Furthermore, a iustice placed about all iniurie. They represent vnto themselves, and see an excellent forme of publike gouernement, which containeth all that which is requisite to establish a perfect libertie, provided, that it be seconded by a continuall diligence. But principally both great and little are rauished, in considering thine affabilitie, so equal and answerable to all mens expectations. For as touching thine other vertues, euery one partaketh them according to the proportion of his fortune, and expecteth more or lesse of thy larges; but all of them in general depend vpon thy Clemencie: neyther is there any one so assured in his innocency, that had not rather prostrate himselfe before thy Clemencie, which is so ready to excuse and winke at euery mans faults.

CHAP. II.

Although the
merits and be-
neuity of
Princes sereth
for such as are
guilty in expect-
all, yet hath the
innocent and
serious scope a
preiudice thereby.

BVt I know there are some that thinke that Clemency emboldneth those men that are most wicked, because it standeth in no lead, except it be after that the fault is committed, and this vertue only ceaseth amongst those that are innocent. But first of all, euen as the vse of Physique is as honourable amongst the sicke, as it is amongst the whole; so although the noient cry vpon Clemency, yet the innocent forbear not to reuerence it. Moreover, Clemency hath place in the person of those that are innocent, because the qualitie of the persons putteth them in danger; and Clemency not only assisteth the innocent, but oftentimes ver-

ue

tuelikewise by reason, that the times may become such, that such things may be oppressed and punished, which should be praised. Moreover, a great part of men may grow to an amendment in their liues; yet must we not alwayes pardon the greater number that offend. For where the difference betwixt good and bad men is taken away, there followeth a confusion and a breking forth of errors. There must therefore be some moderation prafticed that knoweth how to distinguish good minds from reprobate; neyther ought a Prince to haue a confused and vulgar, neither too restrained Clemency: for it is as great cruelty to pardon all, as to pardon none. We must holde a meane; but because moderation is hard to be obserued, whatsoeuer is like to be more then equitie requirith, must incline more to humanitie then rigor.

CHAP. II.

BVt these things shall more fitly be decided in another place: for the present I will diuide this matter into three parts. The first shall serue for a Preface or Induction. The second shall expresse the nature and habitude of Clemencie: for whereas there are vices that counterfeit vertues, they cannot be distinguished except thou set downe some markes whereby they may be knowne. Thirdly, we will enquire how the minde attaineth to this vertue, how he fortifieth himselfe thereby, and by vse maketh her his owne. But it must needs appeare that of all other vertues there is none more conuenient for man, because there is none more humane then it: and not onely amongst vs Stoicks, who maintaineth that a man is a sociable creature, and is made for the common good of others; but also amongst those that giue men ouer to pleasure, all whose speeches and actions tend to their particular profite. For if a man seeke for repose and idleness, he hath found in Clemencie a vertue agreeable to his nature (which lotheth peace and cleaueth the hand). But of all others Clemencie becometh no man more then it doth a Prince: for so is great power honourable and full of glorie in great Potentates, if they vse it for the comfort of many; as contrariwise fore is pernicious that serueth to no other end but to offend others. A man cannot sufficiently expresse how firme and wellgrounded his greatnesse is, whom all men know to be as much for them, as he is more highly raised above them, whom they obserue to keepe continuall watch, for the safetie of them all in common; and of euery one in particular (vpon whose approach they runne not away, as if any euill menred them; or that some euill beast broke out from his denne) but they shooke and run vnto him, as to a gracious and shining sunne, ready and addrested to aduantage vpon their weapons who haue plotted treasons against him, and to make a bridge of their bodies for him, if for the conservation of his life it were needfull for him to march vpon the bodies of men that were mangled and cut in peeces. They watch about him during the time that he sleepech, by day that they insult on his person on euery side, and lest any one should hurt him they expose themselves to all dangers for him, whatsoeuer they be that present themselves. This consent of Nations and Cities, in louing and maintayning their Kings, and employing their bodie and goods in defence of a Princes life, is grounded vpon good reason. Neyther is this beneficence and madnesse in them for one man yea, and he sometimes olde and decrepit, in so many thousands to attempt vpon the points of their enemies weapons,

Distinction of the
Book.

An excellent
compariſon.

weapons, and to redeeme one ſoule by the death of many, and that one an olde and weake man ſometimes. Euen as the whole bodie ſerueſh the ſoule, and by meanes thereof ſeemeth more great and of fairer appearance, whereas the ſoule contrariwiſe, lyes hid and inuilibile, without any certaine knowledge in what place it remaineth; and yet notwithstanding the hands, the feete, the eyes doe ſerue the ſame, the ſkin as her Bulwarke defendeth her, and ſhe it is that layeth or maketh vs runne hither or thither at her pleaſure; ſo that if ſhe be couetous we trauell whole Seas to become rich; if ambitious, we preſently offer our right hands to be burned, or we voluntarily leap into the fire: ſo this infinite multitude which inuiron one onely ſoule, is governed by the ſame, and guided by reaſon it ſelfe, which would otherwiſe depreſſe and oppreſſe her owne forces, except ſhe were ſuſtained by his counſaile;

CHAP. IIII.

The loue be-
tweene Prince
and ſubiect is
the maintenance
of an eſtate.

They therefore loue their owne ſafetie, when as for one man they leade ten legions to the battell, when they runne reſolutely to the charge, and preſent their breasts to bee wounded, to the end their Emperours colours ſhould not be taken. For he it is that is the bond, whereby the Common-wealth is faſtened together; he is that vitall ſpirit by which ſo many thouſands liue: of her ſelfe ſhee ſhould be nothing but a burden and pray, if ſo be that ſoule of the Empire were taken from her.

*The King in ſafetie, all men liue in peace,
The King once loſt, ſhen ſaith and troth doth ceaſe.*

To gouerne well
and to obey well
are the two fi-
nemes of an e-
ſtate.

Such an accident ſhall extinguiſh the peace of Rome, this ſhall bring the fortune of ſo great a people vnto ruine. So long ſhall this people be freed from this danger, as long as ſhe knoweth how to endure gouernement, which gouernment if at any time ſhe ſhall ſhake off, or hauing caſt it off by any caſualtie, ſhall reſuſe to vndergoe againe this vnitie and contexture of ſo great an Empire, ſhall be diuided into many partes, and euen then ſhall Rome ceaſe to command when ſhee reſuſeth and neglecteth to obey. It is not therefore to be wondered at that we loue Princes, Kings, and Tutors of publique States (by what name ſo euer they be called) more then our private familiars. For if men of the beſt iudgement doe thinke that that which concerneth the Common-wealth is of greater importance then that which toucheth their owne particular, it followeth that he, vpon whoſe ſafetie the whole Common-wealth hath an eye ſhould be more dearely loved then any other. In time paſt *Cæſar* ſo vnitied and enſoformed himſelfe in the Common-wealth of Rome, that the one might not be ſeparated from the other without the ruine of them both; for as he had neede of forces, ſo had they of a head.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

It ſeemeth that this my Diſcourſe is eſtranged too farre from mine intended purpoſe, but to ſpeake the truth, it neerly concerneth the matter. For if it be ſo as we may truly conclude, that thou art the ſoule of the Common-wealth, and ſhee the bodie; Thou ſeeſt, as I thinke, how neceſſary Clemencie is: for thou ſeekeſt to ſpare thy ſelfe when thou ſpareſt others. Thou oughteſt therefore to beare with euill ſubiects, no otherwiſe then thou wouldeſt doe with languishing members; and if ſometimes there be neede of bloud-letting, take heed leſt the veine be opened more largely then the ſickenefſe requireth. Clemency therefore, as I ſaid, is agreeable vnto all mens nature, but eſpecially it beſt beſitteth Princes, becauſe in them the findeth more people to preferue, and a greater matter wherein to ſhew herſelfe. For how little hurteth a priuate cruelty? but Princes diſpleaſure is a warre. But whereas amongst all vertues there is a certaine concord and agreement, neyther is the one more better or more honeſt then the other, yet are there ſome vertues that are more fit for ſome perſons. Magnanimity becommeth euery mortall man, yea, euen he that is the moſt baſeſt and abiecteſt man of the world. For what is greater and more manly then to reſuſe aduerſe fortune? Yet this magnanimity ſheweth it ſelfe more amply in greater fortune, and appeareth more powerfull in the Tribunal then neere the earth. Into what ſo euer houſe Clemencie commeth, ſhe maketh the ſame more peaceable; but in the Pallace the rarer it is, the more wonderfull it is: for what is more wonderfull then he againſt whoſe wrath nothing can make head, to whoſe ſeuere ſentence euen they that are condemned giue conſent; whom no man will queſtion with, why he did this, nay if he be extraordinarily angry, dare intreat for any thing; to lay hold on himſelfe, and to vſe his power more mercifully and mildly, and to thinke this in his heart no man can kill contrary to law, no man can pardon but my ſelfe? A great minde becommeth a great fortune, and if he mounteth not himſelfe as high as ſhe is, and if hee raiſe not himſelfe aboue her, he embraceth her likewiſe, and bringeth her to the ground. But it is the propertie of a great minde to be pleaſing, peaceable, ſetled, deſpiſing all iniuries and offences, as being raiſed to a higher eſtate. It is a womanish qualitie to be enraged with wrath, and after the manner of wilde beaſts (and they not the moſt generous) to bite and trample downe thoſe that are vnder their feete. Elephants and Lions paſſe by thoſe whom they haue murdered and caſt downe. Thoſe beaſts that haue no noble heart are the moſt obſtinate. Inexorable and cruell Anger becommeth not a King; for he is not very much eminent aboue him, with whom by reaſon of diſpleaſure, he maketh himſelfe equal; but if he giue pardon, but if he giue dignitie to thoſe that haue endangered and deſerued to looſe their eſtates; he doth that which no man elſe can do, except he that hath power and principallity: for life is often taken from him that is a ſuperiour, but neuer giuen to him that is an inferiour. To ſaue is the propertie of an excellent fortune, which may neuer more be wondered at, then when he hath gotten the opportunity to doe that which the gods doe, by whoſe beneſite both good and euill men are borne into this world. That Prince therefore that taketh vpon him the minde of the gods, let him willingly entertaine ſome of his ſubiects becauſe they are good and profitable, leave the reſt as men to make vp the number, let him reioice that for ſome, & other ſom let him ſuffer.

D d d

CHAP.

By the ſimilitude
of the head and
members, that
clemencie is
wholly neceſſary
to Princes, ſince
their ſubiects re-
poſe themſelves
to all dangers
for them.

CHAP. VI.

*Crueltye dispe-
pleth Cities and
Counties, mer-
ciles them
fortunate.*

Thinke what folitude and defolation there would bee in this Citie (in which a World of people going and coming incessantly by the spacious streetes cease not to iustle one another as oftentimes as something hindereth their walke which is as a violent torrent which a man would staie, in which three streetes are requisite at one time, for three Theaters and in which as much corne is consumed as is gathered in many Countie) if a man should leaue none but such, as a seuerer Iudge would absolue. Who is hee amongst the receiuers and treasurers that shall get his *Quietus esse*, if he be as strictly examined: as he doth others? Is there ever an accuser without a fault? And I know not whether there be any man more difficult to giue pardon then he that hath often deferred to begge the same. Wee are all faultie, the one more, the other lesse, the one of deliberate purpose, the other being driuen there vnto by aduenture, or drawne by other mens wickednesse. Sometimes we haue not constantly persevered in one good resolution, and haue lost our innocence with griefe, and in spite of our selues; neither only for the present doe we amisse, but vntill the last houre of our life, we shall be still full of sinne. Although a man hath so well purged his minde that nothing can trouble or deceiue him any more yet by sinning hee attained his innocence.

CHAP. VII.

*A most strong
reason to per-
suade Princes
to be mercifull
to their subjects.*

Because I haue made mention of the gods behold heere an excellent patterne which I present vnto a Prince, to conformance himselfe ther vnto (that is to say) that hee deale with his subjects in such sort as hee would haue the gods to deale with him: were it expedient for vs that the gods should neuer excuse our pardon or faults, but that they should persecute vs with all rigour? Should there bee any great Prince in this World be found who should liue in assurance and whose members the *Auspices* should not gather vp? But if the mercifull and iust gods punish not the faults of mightie men by confounding them by lightning, how much more iust is it, that a man who hath the charge ouer men should exercise his Empire with mercifull minde, and thinke whether the state of the World be more gracious or fairer to the eye, in a faire and bright day, or when as all things are shaken with thunder-crackes and lightnings flash on euerie side. But one and the same is the estate of a quiet and moderate Empire, of a faire and shining Heauen. A Kingdome where crueltye raigeth may be compared to a troublesome and obscure time, vnder which euery one trembleth and waxeth pale, by reason of the sodaine crackes of thunder, and where he that troubleth others is as wonderfully troubled for his own part. We pardon those private men more easily, who reuenge themselves obstinately, for they may bee hurt, and their sorrow commeth from iniurie. Besides they feare contempt, and not to reuenge an iniurie, seemeth rather to bee an infirmite then Clemencie. But hee that may easily reuenge, and yet forbearth the same, obtaineth a certaine commendation of mercie. Men of bare qualitie may more freely exercise their hands, contest, strue, and giue libertie to their passion. The strokes betwixte

quals

quals are light, but exclamation and too much intemperance in wordes, ill becometh Majestic.

CHAP. VIII.



Thinkest thou it a grieuous matter, that the libertie of speech should bee taken from Kings and permitted to inferiours? This saiest thou, is a feruitude and not an Emperie. But their condition is different, who lie hidden in community which they exceed not, whose vertue appeare not but struggle long time, and whose vices lie hidden in obscuritie. But common report awakeneth your actions and wordes, and therefore there are no men that should bee more carefull of their reputations, of whom men speake much, and in diuers places, whether they doe well or euill, How many things are there which are vnlawfull for thee, but permitted vs by thy benefit. I may walke alone in any part of the Citie without feare, although I be accompanied by no man, and no man attend me from home, and without any sword by my side, but in the fullnesse of thy peace thou must liue armed. Thou canst not wander from thy Fortune, she will besige thee, and whether soeuer thou goest a great traine will follow thee. Beholde whereunto Soueraigntie is subject, she cannot become lesse, but this necessitie is common to thee with the gods. For they are tied vnto Heauen, it is not permitted them to descend from thence, neither is it secure for thee to descend from the throne of thy greatnesse. Thou art nayled to thy greatnesse. Few men know our delignes and businesse, wee may goe forth and returne and change our fashion without any publike note taken of vs. Thou canst no more bee hidden then the Sunne. A great brightnesse inuironeth thee round about, towards which all men bend their eyes. Thinkest thou that thou comest forth? no thou risest like the Sunne. Thou canst not speake but all the people of the World vnderstand and marke what thou saist. Thou canst not be angrie but all men tremble. Thou canst not afflict any man, but all that are about thee shake for feare. Euen as the lightnings fall to few mens perill but to all mens feare, so the chastisements of mightie Potentates are more full of feare then of euill, and not without cause. For in him that can doe, all men consider not what he doth, but what he may do. Moreouer, patience maketh those private men, disposed to indure those injuries that are offered them easily enough. But Clemencie is a more assured safegard to great men. Because a frequent reuenge represseth the hatred of a few men, but prouoketh infinitie others. The will to reuenge ought sooner to faile then the cause. Otherwise as the trees that are pruned, spread forth in many more branches, and many Kindes of seeds, are cut to the end they may grow more thicker; so the crueltye of a King increaseth the number of his enemies in extinguishing them. For the Parents and Children, the Allies and Friends succeed in their place, who are slaine.

Ddd 2

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

THE OW true this is I will admonish thee by a domestique example, *Cæsar Augustus* was a mercifull Prince, if any man shall estimate him, from that time he undertooke the Empire (although in the common calamitie of the Common-weale, his sword was vnto thee.) When as he had growne to those yeares of age whereunto thou hast now attained, and had gotten nineteene yeares on his backe; and had hidden his dagger in the bosome of his friends, laid ambushes to defeat *Marke Antonie* the Consull, being one of the Confederates in the Triumvirate; about the fortieth yeare of his age, and being resident in France, there was tidings brought vnto him, that *Lucius Cynna* a man of weake judgement had conspired and plotted treason against him. It was told him where, when, and how he should be attempted by one of those, who was a partie in the confederacie. Whereupon he resolved to reuenge himselfe vpon him, and caused a counsell of his friends to be assembled. Heooke no rest that night, where as he thought with himselfe, how hee should put a young Gentleman to death of Noble parentage, and who but for this one fault was vpriht enough: and besides was *Cneius Pompeius* Nephew. Now could he not execute one man alone, because at supper time hee had discovered to one that was called *Antonius* the whole edit of the proscritiō: Griuing therefore and disquiet in minde, hee vetered diuers speeches, and each of them contrarie the one vnto the other, what then (saith he) Shall I suffer him that would murder mee to walke at his pleasure, and shal I liue perplexed. Shal he remaine vnpunished, who not only hath resolved to kill me, but to sacrifice mee (for their intent was to assaile him at a sacrifice) who haue bin assailed in vain by so many ciuill warres, and attempted by so many battels both by Sea and Land? After some pause and silence he exclaimed againe more violently against himselfe, then against *Cynna*, and said why liuest thou, if thy death be profitable and pleasing to so many? When shall I see the end of so many punishments? is there not bloud enough shed yet? my head is the marke wherat so many yong Roman gentlemen's swords are aimed. Is my life so deere vnto mee that for the conservation thereof, so many soules should perish? At last *Luia* his wife interrupting his discourse, said vnto him: Will you vouchsafe a womans counsaile? Doe that which Physicians are accustomed to doe. Who when as vsuall remedies take no effect, doe attempt the contrarie. Hetherto thou hast profited nothing by seueritie. After *Saludienus* thou hast ruinated *Lepidus*, after *Lepidus* *Murena*, after *Murena* *Cæpio*, after *Cæpio* *Ignatius*, without reckoning vp the rest, whose impious and impudent attempts make me ashamed. Now make thou triall what thy mercie will profite thee. Pardon *Lucius Cynna*, his treason cannot be denied; hee cannot hurt thee now, but may increase thy renowne *Cæsar* being glad, that he had met with such an aduocate, gaue his wife thanks, and presently discharging those friends he had called to counsaile, he caused *Cynna* alone to be called vnto him, and commaunding all the rest out of the Chamber, after he had commaunded them to set *Cynna* a chaire fast by him, hee begunne thus. Tis first of all doe I require at thy hands, that thou interrupt me not, neither that thou exclaime in the midst of my discourse, hereafter thou shalt haue libertie to speake. Thou knowest *Cynna*: that hauing found thee in mine enemies Campe; and knowne thee not only to be a suggested, but a born enemy vnto me, how I saued thy life, and restored thee

The great wisdom of Luia.

thee to all thy patrimonie. At this day thou art so happie, and so rich that the Conquerours beare enuie against thee that were conquered, when thou wast a tutor for the *Pontifex*, I gaue it thee neglecting diuers others whose parents had attended me in my warres. Hauing thus and so well deferred at thy hands, thou hast resolved to murder mee. When as *Cynna* began to crie out, that such madnesse was farre from him, *Augustus* staid him and said. Thou keepst not thy promise with me *Cynna*? for it was agreed between vs that thou shouldst not interrupt me, I tell thee thou preparest to kill me, he told him the place, the confederates, the day, and the order of the ambush, and who was the man should strike the stroke. And when he perceived him troubled, and not only silent because he had promised to be so, but because he was guiltie. With what minde said he doest thou this? Tis to the end that thou thy selfe maist bee Emperor! Truly the Common-weale should bee hardly incombred, if none but I were the let of thine authoritie and dignitie. Thou canst not gouerne thine owne house. Of late a franckling of thine hath had the credit to condemne thee in iustice for particular affaires. Is this the easiest businesse thou canst undertake to contest and contend with *Cæsar*? Take it to thee, if I bee the only man that hinder thy hopes, I surrender it; *Paulus*, *Fabius Maximus*, the *Cypri* and *Strutians* and so many Gentlemen of value, and Children of such worthy persons, that doe honour to their Statues, thinkest thou they will induce thee? But least in repeating his Oration, I should fill vp the greater part of this volume, who was well knowne to haue debated with him for the space of two whole houres, after he had long time discoursed vpon that punishment wherewith he would content himselfe, he added. Well *Cynna*, once more I giue thee thy life, before times as to mine enemy, now as to a Traitor and a Paracide. From this day forward let friendship be continued between vs, and let vs stricke to the vttermoest to make it knowne, whether I haue giuen thee thy life with a better heart, or thou accepted the same with a more assured thankfulness. After all this of his owne accord, and vnasked he gaue him the Consulship, commaunding of him that hee durst demand nothing, so that euer after *Cynna* was a most affectionate and faithfull seruant of his, and made him his heire, and neuer after this did any man conspire against *Augustus*.

The effect and fruit of mercie.

CHAP. X.

THE Y great grand-father gaue them life, whom hee ouercame, for had he not pardoned them our whom should hee haue had gouernment? *Salust*, the *Coccians*, the *Duillians* and all the Souldiers of the first companie of his Gard had borne Armes against him, notwithstanding he inrowled them, & chose them to be the nearest about his person. The *Domitians*, *Messalæ*, *Asinians*, and *Cicerones*, and all the most famous personages in Rome were indebted to his Clemencie. How long time bare he with *Lepidus*? he suffered him for many yeares to walke with that Equipage that became a Prince, and would not suffer the Office of high Bishop to be transferred vnto him, except it were after his death, for hee had rather that it should bee called an honour then a spoile. This Clemencie of his brought him to that securitie and felicitie which hee inioyed, this made him gratefull and gracious in all mens eyes, although hee had laid holde on the Common-weale, who as yet knew not what it was to endure the yoke of sub-

Other testimonies of Augustus his mercie.

lection, such a name at this day doth this mercie of his giue him, that other Princes will hardly obtaine during their liues. We beleeue him to be a God, not by any decree or ordinance: we confesse that *Augustus* was a good Prince, we acknowledge him well worthy of the name of the father of his country, for no other cause then for this, that hee reuenged not those contumelies that were offered him (and which in Princes eares are wont to sound most harshly) no more then he did his actuall injuries, for that he smiled at reprochfull speeches that were offered him, for that he seemed to punish himselfe when he persecuted others, for that whomsoever he had condemned for the adulteries of his daughter, he was so farrre from executing them, that in their dismission, and for their better securitie he gaue them passports and safe conducts. This is truly called pardoning, that when thou knowest that there are diuers that are addressed to be angrie for thee, and gratifie thee if thou hast caused any to be put to death, thou not onely contentest thy selfe to giue life, but also procurest that he to whom thou hast giuen it be maintayned and conferred.

CHAP. XI.

To persuade Nero to continue his clemencie, he compares him with Augustus Caesar, and sheweth that Nero had the advantage in this respect, because his predecessor had that praise also after his cruelty committed, he in the continuance and infancie of his government.

What care Princes should haue to make their end next an honorable & his beginnings.

Hus *Augustus* behaued himselfe when he was olde, or at leastwise when olde age began to seize vpon him: In his youth hee was hote, wrathfull, and did many things which he neuer lookt backe vnto without remorse. No man dare compare *Augustus* courtlesse to thy Clemencie, although he equall thy young yeares with his more then mature age. Suppose that he were moderate and mercifull after he had dyed the *Asian* Seas with blood of Romanes, sunke in the Scitilian both his owne and forraine ships, sacrificed a great number of men vpon the altars of Perusa, and caused many multitudes of men to be put to death in the time of the Triumvirate. But I call not this Clemencie, but warietie crueltie. The true Clemencie and mercie, O *Caesar*, is that which thou shewest, which hath not begun with the repentance of cruelty, thine is not foyled, thou hast neuer shed the blood of Roman Citizens. This in a Prince is the true temperance of a minde, and an incomprehensible loue towards mankind, not to be enkindled with any desire or rashnes, not to be corrupted by the example of former Princes, not to weigh how farrre his authority may extend over his subiects, but to dull the edge of the Emperiall sword and dignitie. Thou hast exempted thy Citie, O *Caesar* from all bloudie massacres, and performed this, which with a great minde thou mayest glorie in, *That thou hast shewd the whole world thou hast not shed one drop of mans blood*: and the more great and wonderfull it is, because the sword was neuer committed to the hands of any one more yonger then thy selfe. Clemencie therefore doth not only make men more honest, but more secure; and is not onely the ornament but the assured safetie of Kingdomes, who thorow Princes haue attained long life, and left their governments to their children and nephews, but the power of tyrants is execrable and short. What difference is there betwixt a Tyrant and a King? In appearance they haue one and the same dignitie, the difference is, that Tyrants take pleasure in their tyrannie, Kings doe iustice but vpon cause and necessitie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

WHat then, are not Kings sometimes accustomed to put men to death? It is true, but so often as they are assured that it is for publique profite. The Tyrants heart is set vpon murder. But a Tyrant differeth from a King in fact, not in name. For *Diogenes* the elder may iustly be preferred before diuers Kings. And what letteth vs to call *Lucius Sylla* a tyrant, who gaue ouer killing when hee found no more enemies? Although he forsooke his Dictature, and tooke vpon him the robe of a priuate Citizen: yet what Tyrant hath there euer bene that so greedily drunke vpon humane blood, then he was who commanded seuen thousand Roman Citizens to be slaine? And when as being in counsaile in the Temple of *Bellona*, neere vnto the place where the execution was done, hee had heard the cries of so many thousands that groined vnder the sword, & perceiving that the Senate was affrighted thereat, *Let vs intend our businesse* (sayth he) *Fathers Conscript, these are but a few seditious persons, whom I haue commaunded to be slaine.* He lyed not herein; for these seemed but a few in *Syllas* eyes: But hereafter we will learne by *Sylla* how we ought to be angrie with our enemies, especially if being separated from the bodie of Citizens, they haue taken vpon them the name of enemies. Meane while, as I said, Clemencie effecteth this, that there is a great difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, although both of them are enuironed with guards. But the one maketh vse of these forces to maintaine peace, the other that by great feares, hee may pacifie great hatreds. Neyther securely doth he beholde that very guard, to whose custodie he hath committed himselfe, but one contrary thrusteth him into another; for he is both hated because he is feared, and will be feared because he is hated; and vseth that execrable verse which hath ouerthrowne many.

And let them hate me for they feare.

Not knowing what furie is engendered in the hearts of subiects when their hatreds are increased: about measure. For a moderate feare restraineth mens mindes, but a continuall violence, and such as is raised even vnto the brimme, awakeneth and emboldneth those that are deepe asleep, and giueth them courage to hazard all. If thou keepest saunge beausts fouled vp in gins and nets, a horseman may assault them with his weapons at their backs, yet will they attempt their flight by those places they were wont to flee, and will spurne feare vnderfoote. That courage that groweth from extreme necessitie is marvellous forcible. Feare must leaue vs some gap to escape out at, and shew vs lesse danger then hope, otherwise he that was not determined to defend himselfe, seeing himselfe in equall danger, will adventure vpon dangers, and hazard that life which he esteemeth not his owne. The forces which a peaceable Prince shall gather for the good of his subiects are faithfull and assured; and the braue souldier who seemeth to adventure for publique securitie, endureth all trauaile willingly, as being one of the guards of the father of his country. But touching the violent and bloudie Tyrant, his guard must needs be aggranted at him.

The difference betwixt good Princes and Tyrants.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A description of
the miseries of
Tyrants and
cruell Princes,
all intending to
this point, to re-
commend Cle-
mency more and
more.

NO man can haue ministers of a good and faithfull will whom he vseth in tormenting, in racking, and butchering men to death, to whom he exposeth men no otherwise then he would to beasts. Such a one liueth in no lesse pain and torment then those whom he holdeth in prison, because hee feareth both men and gods as witnesses and reuengers of his crimes, and who is already come to that passe, that he dare not change his manner of liuing. For amongst all other things crueltie harh this cursed euill in her, that she is incorrigible, she perseuereth and is not able to recouer any other better course. One wickednesse must be sustained by another. But what is more vnhappy then he is, who cannot chuse but be euill? O how wretched is that man, but truly to himselfe? For as touching others, it were very ill done by them to haue pittie of him who hath exercised his power with slaughters and rapines, who hath feare of all things as well domesticke as foraine, that fearing armes hath recourse vnto his weapons, neither trusting to his friends faith nor his childrens pietie: that hauing regarded in all sorts that which he hath done, and that which he pretendeth to doe, and comming to open his conscience replenished with mischiefs and torments, oftentimes feareth death and desireth it againe as often, more odious to himselfe then to those that serue him. Contrariwise, he that hath the care and charge of a Common-wealth, although he haue a more intent eye to the conseruation of some things more then other things, yet entertaineth all the members of the State as carefully as those of his bodie, enclining alwayes vnto sweetnesse: and if it be expedient for him to doe iustice, he sheweth that hauing no enmity or heatinesse in his heart, it is to his hearts-griefe that he layeth his hand on his weapon. Such a one, desiring to approue his gouernement to his subiect, exerciseth his power peaceably and to all mens profit, reputing himselfe in his own iudgment sufficiently happie, if he shal make his fortune and condition known, affable in speech, facile in access, amiable in countenance, which most of all winneth the peoples hearts, fauourable to honest enterprises, enemy to euill designs; he is loued, defended, and reuerenced by all the world. The same speake men in secret of him as they doe in publike. They desire he should haue issue, and that sterility caused by warres and other publike euils should be abolished: no man doubteth but that he shall deserue wel at his childrens hands, to whom he shall shew a world to happy. This Prince liuing in security, by his owne meanes, hath no need of guard or garrisons, he vseth his armes as the meanes of his ornament.

CHAP. XIII.

Another instru-
tion for a
Prince, to teach
him to keepe a
meane in his
warre.

WHat therefore is his duetie? That which belongs to good Parents, who are wont sometime to admonish their children gently, sometimes to chastise them with threats, and sometimes with stripes. Doth any man of a seled iudgement disinherit his sonne vpon the first offence, except many and mightie injuries ouercome his patience? except there be somewhat more that he feareth then that which he condemneth, he will not blot him out of his Testament. Hee assayeth diuers remedies

remedies before hand to reclaime him from his dissolute and inconstant disposition, but when he hath no more hope then assaith hee his last remedies. No man cometh to practise his extremest chastisements, except hee hath consumed all his remedies. That which the Parent doth, the same ought a Prince to doe: whom wee haue called the *Father of the Countrie* not led thereunto by vaine adulation. For those other names are given for honour sake. We haue called them *Great, Happie and Augusti*, and haue heaped vp whatsoeuer titles wee could inuent for ambitious Majestie: attributing them vnto these. We haue called him the *Father of the Countrie*, to the end he might know, that he had a fatherly power giuen him ouer his Countrie, and consequently very moderate, careful of his children, and prouiding for their good, rather then his own particular. If the father must cut of some one of his members it shal be as late as he can, and after he hath cut it of, he wil desire to reuiue it againe, and in cutting it of, he wil sigh and differ long time, and in diuers sorts. For he that condemneth too soone condemneth willingly also. He that chastiseth ouer severely, ordinarily chastiseth vniuilly. In our memorie the people of Rome flabbed to death a Roman Knight called *Erux*, with their bodkins, for whipping his sonne to death. Scarce could the authoritie of *Augustus Caesar* redeeme the same from the handes of displeased Fathers and children.

CHAP. XV.

ARIVS hauing discovered, that his owne sonne had attempted and conspired his death, after hee knew of the fact banished him, for which acte of his all the people commended him, especially for this: that hauing banished the parricide to *Marsus filius*, hee furnished him, with as great an annall peation, as hee had allowed him before hee had trespassed in this fort. This liberaltie was the cause, this liberaltie of his was the cause, that in that Citie, where the baddest causes want no aduocates, that no man doubted but that hee that was guiltie, was deseruedly condemned, since the Father who could not hate him, had the courage to condemne him. By this very example I will giue you the meanes to make a comparifon betwixt a good Prince, and a good Father. When *Titus Arius* would draw his sonne into question, hee called *Augustus Caesar* to counsell, who came from his own pallace to this priuate mans house, sat downe as a partie of the counsell; and he said not why came he not to my house? which had it hapned, the censure of the fault had bene *Cesars*, and not the fathers. The fact being vnderstood, all circumstances examined, the yong man hauing bene heard in his defence, and his answers and accusations considered, *Caesar* required every one of the Counsaillers to set downe their opinions in writing: to the end that no man should subscribe to his opinion, or if hee spooke that other men should follow him: and before that the billets were opened, he swore that he would not be his heire, who was reputed a rich man. Some base fellow will say, that *Caesar* was afraid, lest he should seeme to giue entrance to his hope by the condemnation of the yong man. But I thinke otherwise, that every one of vs to defence our selues against the false opinions, that men might conceiue against vs, sought to fix our selues vpon the assured confidence of good conscience. Princes ought to doe many things, to get them a good report: He swore that he would not be his heire. That same day *Arius* lost another sonne but

Having compe-
red a good
Prince to a Fa-
ther, he maketh
mention about
the end of the
precedent
section of an euill
Father and
here of a good,
to the end to ex-
press by the
same that a good
Prince ought to
affayle means
in respect of his
subiects before
hee decideth in
extreme iudg.

but *Cæsar* redeemed the libertie of his sentence, and after he had approued that his seueritie was without respect of recompence, of which thing a Prince should haue an especiall care alwaies, hee sentenced him to be banished to that place where his father should thinke fit. He iudged him not to be sowed vp in a sack, to be made a pray for Serpents, or to die in prison, remembering himselfe that he sat not there as a Iudge, but as a Counsailler to the father. Hee said that the father ought to content himselfe with the mildest kind of punishment, in regard of his sonne, who was as yet yong and drawne vnto this wicked act, in pursuie of the execution whereof, he had shewed himselfe to be fearefull, which excused him in some sort, and that it sufficed therefore to banish him from Rome, and from his fathers presence.

CHAP. XVI.

By comparison of fathers and Masters and others in authority, and by the example of their government, a Prince should be taught, as a thing, to be exact and too much seueritie.

TPrince, worthy alwaies to be called by fathers into their Counsaile, worthy to be made coheire with their innocent children. This Clemencie becommeth a Prince, that whether to cure hee cometh, should make all things more mild. Let no man be so abiekt in a Princes eye, that hee hath no feeling of his death or danger, whatsoeuer he be, he is a part of the Empire. Let vs make a comparison, betwixt the smallest Kingdomes and the greatest Empires; There is but one kind of Government. The Prince commandeth his Subjects, the father his children, the master his schollers, the Captaine or Lieutenant his Souldiers. Shall he not be reputed a wicked father, who with continuall whipping vpon the sleightest occasion, seeketh to still his children? Whether should that Master be more worthy the liberal studies, who teacheth his Schollers, if they haue not exactly remembered their lessons; or by reason of their weake sight haue faulted in their reading; or he that had rather mend them, and teach them by admonitions and modestie? Giue me a Captaine or Lieutenant that is cruell, he will make his Souldiers forsake him, and yet these are to be pardoned. Were it a reasonable matter, to handle a man worse then we doe bruite beaſts? But hee that is a good breaker of horses, terrifieth them not with often strookes, for by that meanes he will become more fearefull and stubberne, except thou handle and stroke him with a gentle hand. The same doth the Huntsman, who teacheth his hound to draw drie foote, and who vseth those whom he hath already trained to the game to rowle or hunt it. Neither doth hee often threaten them, for therefore their courage is directed, and whatsoeuer forwardnesse is in them, is daunted by degenerate feare; neither doth hee giue them libertie to wander and stray here and there. To these maiest thou adde those that haue the driving of slower Cattle, which being bred vnto reproach and miserie thorow too much crueltie, are enforced to refuse their yoke.

CHAP. XVII.

Since a man is the most valiant creature of the world, we ought to handle him gently.

THere is no liuing Creature more vtoward; none more vtactable by heart then a man is, yet no one is to be spared more then hee; For what folly is it for a man to be ashamed to spend his spicene vpon Dogges, and Horses, or Asses, and to intreat a man more rudely? Wee cure sicknesses and yet are not angrie with them

them, but this disease of the minde requireth a gentle medicine and that hee who cureth the same should not be angrie with the sick. It is the part of an euill Physician to dispaire that he shall not cure. The same ought hee to doeto whom the febricitate and profection of all men is committed, in these whose mindes are affected, hee must not suddenly, taſt by his hopes, neyther incontinently pronounce what deadly signes there are in the infirmities. Let him strue with vices and resist them, let him vpbraide some with their infirmities, deſtroye other some by a gentle cure, because hee is likeleſt more to ſone and better to heale them by deſeigneable medicines. Let a Prince intend our carefully not onely to cure but also to giue a smooth cicatrix to the wound of offence. A King obtaineth no glorie by cruell punishment for who doubteth but hee may? But contrariwise his glorie is most excellent, if hee containeth his power, if hee deliuer many from the furie of their Enemies, and ruinaeth no man by his displeasure.

CHAP. XVIII.

IT is an honour to know how to command a mans seruants modestly, and in our slaue wee are to thinke not how much punishment he may endure and withstand vpon him without reproofe, but what the nature of right and iustice will permit thee: which commandeth vs to spare our Captiues and such whom we haue bought to be our bond-slaves. How much more iust is it for thee not to abuse men free, ingenious, and honest, as thy bond-men, but to entertaine them, for such as are vnder thy government, to defend them as thy subjects, and not afflict them as thy slaues. It is lawfull for bond-men to ſlie to *Cæſars* slaues! Although wee haue authoritie to doe what wee liſt with our slaues, there is ſomewhat which the common right of liuing Creatures permitteeth vs not to execute vpon a man, because he is of the same nature that thou art. Who hated not *Vedius Pollio* more worse then his owne slaues did, because hee ſitteth his *Lamproies* with mans blood? and commanded those that offended him to be caſt into the ſiſh-pooles to what other end then to feede Serpents? O wretched man worthe a thousand deaths, whether hee preſented his slaues to be deuoured by those *Lamproies* hee would feed vpon, or whether to this only end hee nourished them, that in that ſort he might nourish them. Euen as cruell Masters are pointed at thorow the whole Citie, and are reputed both hateful and detestable: ſo the cruell demencie of Princes, who haue contracted infamie and hatred againſt them ſelues, are inregiſtred in Hiſtories to be a hatred to poſteritie. Had it not bene better neuer to haue bene borne then to be numbered amongſt thoſe that are borne for a publique miſerie?

CHAP. XIX.

THere is no man that can bethinke him of any thing that is more ſeemely for him that is in authoritie then Clemencie in what manner ſoeuer, and by what right ſoeuer he hath the preheminence ouer others. And the more higher his dignitie is that is induced with this vertue; the more noble ſhall wee confeſſe his ornament.

Another reason taken by comparison betwixt the greater and the lesser if all things are not lawfull in a Master over his seruants, they are no lesse lawfull for a Prince over his subjects that are men.

Now concludes he as in a general sentence that which he said in the beginning that merice is the most noble vertue in Princes.

nament, to be which should not be hurtful but composed according to the law of nature. For nature hath invented Kings, which we may know by other living Creatures and in particular by Bees, whose King hath the largest room in the Honey Combe, and is lodged in the middle and most secure place. Besides he labourerth not but examineth the labour of the rest, and when their King is lost the whole swarme is dispersed; so they suffer but one, making choice of him that is the boldest in fight. Moreover the King is noted for his scemelinelle, in that he differeth from the rest both in great cleane and good linelle: yet herein is he most distinguished from them; Bees are the most angrie and felicit: Creatures that be according to the capacite of their bodies, and leave their stings in the wound, but their King hath no sting. Nature would not have him cruell nor to seeke reuenge: that might hazard his life, and therefore tooke away his weapon, and disarmed his wrath. All Kings and Princes ought to consider this excellent example. It is the custome of nature to discover her selfe in little things, and the least Creatures minister vnto vs the most noblest examples. Let vs not be ashamed to learne some good thing of the smallest Creatures, since the minde of man ought to be more exalted then euill which hee doth is hurtful and dangerous. By my consent I would haue man reduced to this condition that his wrath should be broken with his owne weapon, and that he might haue no more meanes to hurt then once in his life, nor exercise his hatreds by an other mans hands: for easily would furie be wearied; if of necessitie he should act that which hee should commaundeth, and if he should expresse her power by the hazard of her life: neither as yet is shee secured in her match. For the most needes bee surprised with as much feare, as shee would haue other haue feare of her, her eyes bee fixed on euery mans hands, and at such times as a man intendeth not to touch her, shee beleueth that hee will assault her, and hath not one only minute of repose. Is it possible that any one would liue vnhappily, when the meanes is offered him to passe his dayes without the hurt of any man, and consequently execute the affaires of his charge in all securitie, and with great contentment? He abuseth himselfe that supposeth that a King is secure in that place, where there is not any one but is afraid of him. One securitie must be assured by an other mutual securitie. We need not build strong Citadels on high hills, nor fortifie vnaccessible places, nor cut downe the sides of Mountaines, nor enfonce our selues with many walles and towers. Clemencie will secure a King in the open field. His only impregnable forreist, is the loue of his Citizens. What more worthy thing can a Prince wish for, then to liue in all mens good opinion, and in such loue of his subjects, that their vovues and prayers should incessantly and secretly bee powred forth for his securitie: that if his health be crafed, they listen not after his death, but are wonderfully afraid, least they should loose him; that there is nothing so precious in any one of their eyes, that they would not exchange for his health, and securitie; that thinke that whatsoever hath befallen the Prince, is fatal to themselves? Hereby the Prince hath approoued by continuall arguments of his goodness, that the Common-weale is not his, but that hee is the Common-weale. Who dare contrarie any danger towards him? who would not if hee could, prevent any disaster that is toward him, vnder whom iustice, peace, modestie, securitie and dignitie doe flourish, vnder whom the wealthie Cities abound in the plentie of all good things? neither with other mindes reuerence they, or behold they their gouernour, then if the immortal goddes should vouchsafe them the libertie to behold themselves. And why doth not

he

he that followeth the nature of the goddes, which is to bee gracious, liberrall, and powerfull, to doe good, become a second to them? This is it that becometh a Prince to affect; this ought he to imitate: and as they desire to bee the greatest, so let them inducure to be the best.

CHAP. XX.



He Prince is accustomed to doe iustice for two causes, eyther punisheth he the faults that are committed against himselfe, or against another. I will will first of all speake of that which concerneth him. For it is a harder matter for a man to temper himselfe, when hee chastiseth others, to satisfie his priuate disgust, then to propose it for an example. It were in vaine in this place to admonish a Prince, not to beleeue lightly, to examine the truth, to fauour innocence, that it may appeare, that he is no lesse careful to examine that which concerneth him that hath offended, as that which toucheth the Iudge. But this appertaineth to iustice, and not vnto Clemencie. For the present we exhort him, that being manifestly wronged, he remaine Master of his own heart, and giue ouer punishment, if so be he may safely doe it; or at least wile differ it, and bee more inclined to pardon those faults which are committed against himselfe, as against others. For euén as hee is not liberrall, that curseth a large thong out of another mans leather, but hee that taketh that from himselfe which hee giueth to another: So will I call him mercifull, not that weepeth, and is grieued at another mans affliction, but him who hauing iust and vrgent occasion, passionateth not himselfe, and knoweth that it is the act of a great minde in the height of his authoritie to suffer injuries, and that nothing is more glorious in a Prince, then to pardon those who haue offended him.

CHAP. XXI.



Reuenge is ordinarily wont to produce two effects, for eyther it bringeth him comfort that hath receiued the iniurie, or putteth him in securitie for the time to come. A Princes Fortune is so great, as it needeth not such like solace, and his power is more manifest, then that hee neede to seeke the opinion of his greatness from the ruine of another. This, say I, when hee is assaulted or violated by any of his inferiours, for if he seeth those who sometimes were his equals, become his vnderlings, he is sufficiently reuenged. A Seruant, a Serpent, an Arrow haue slaine a King. No man hath saued a King, except he that saued him were greater then himselfe. He therefore that hath attained the power ouer life and death, ought to vse so great an authoritie bestowed vpon him by the gods courageously, especially towards those, who in his knowledge haue sometime opposed themselves against his greatness: hauing attained this dignitie, he is sufficiently reuenged; and hath done that which was requisite for an entire punishment. For he that should die, hath lost his life; but who neuer from a high degree, hath beene prostitute at his enemies feet; where hee quencheth the definitive sentence of his Crowne and life, liueth with his great glorie; that prelateth him: and addeth more to his renowne by his life, then if he had sentenced him

Ecc

to

Having generally discoursed of Clemencie and Mercie as the perfection way of iustice, he digresseth together that which hath bene said in diuers Chapters, and sheweth that whether a man regard the person of a Prince, or of a private man, there ought no cruelty to be vsed.

A subdintion of his matter, tending to that which he hath spoken of, and shewing that siner that by reuenge, neither increase nor maintaineth his estate, he ought not to suffer him selfe to be mastered by such a passion.

to death. For hee is the continuall spectacle of another mans vertue, In a triumph he had quickly pass by. But if his Kingdome likewise may safely be delivered into his hands, and hee might be restored to that prebendence from whence he was fallen, his praye riseth above all measure, that was contented from a conquered King to take away nothing but his glorie. This it is to triumph truly in a mans victorie: and to testifie that he found nothing worthin the Conquerours hands, that was answerable to his worthinesse and value. As touching our Citizens and men that are vnknown to vs, and such as are of base condition, the more moderately must we deale with them, the lesse honour we shall get by afflicting them. Pardon some men willingly, disdaine to reuenge thy selfe on other some, and retire thy hand from them, as if they were some little silly creatures that would soyle thy fingers, if thou shouldst touch them; but as touching those that are eyther to be pardoned or punished in the eye of the State, make vse of the occasion of thy accustomed Clemencie.

CHAP. XXII.

He prauctereth his partition, and sheweth that a gentle chastisement profiteth more, both to him that is chastised, and to the Prince himselfe, then cruel rigour.

ET vs passe ouer to those injuries that are done vnto another, in punishing which the Law hath obserued three things, which a Prince likewise ought to follow, either to amend him whom he punisheth, or to the intent that his punishment may make the rest better, or that by cutting of the euill, the rest may liue more securely. Those, shalt thou more safely amend with lesse punishment, for he lieth more diligently, that hath some dayes of his life pardoned him to liue in. No man careth for his decayed dignitie. It is a kind of impunitie not to be able to be punished any more. But the fewnesse of executions reformeth the Cities manners the more. For the multitude of offenders breedeth a custome of offence, and the note of infamie is the lesse, the greater the number of delinquents there be: and seueritie by being ouer vsuall looseth her authoritie, which is the greatest honour she hath. That Prince seeth good manners in his Citie, and more happily extinguisheth the vices thereof, if he wink at them, not as though he allowed them; but as if hee were agreed at them, and with great heart-griefe, was enforced to punish them. The Clemencie of him that gouerneth maketh them ashamed that offend. The punishment seemeth the more grievous, when the sentence is giuen by a mercifull man.

CHAP. XXIII.

This continuall and cruel punishment, doe not so much repress offences, as the prudent Clemencie of Princes.

Elides, thou shalt see those things oftentimes committed which are often times punished. Thy Father within the space of five years sowed vp more paricides, then were condemned to death in all the ages before, as farre as we can gather. As long as there was no law established against this famous crime, no children durst attempt or imagine this so vnnatural a wickednesse. For those Law-makers and notable persons most wise and well experienced, thought it better to make no mention of this crime in their Lawes, as a most incredible matter, and such as man should not be so cutted, as to imagine, then to publish by the establish-

establishment of seuerelawes against the same, that so horrible an offence might be committed. Parricides therfore began with their law, and their punishment taught them their offence: Piety was in a desperate estate after we saw these fackes more often then gallowies. In those Cities where men are punished very seldom, euery one agreeth to liue innocently, and they entertaine innocencie as a publique good. Let the Citie thinke her selfe innocent and the shal be: if she see the number of such as are dissolute is but small, she is vexed the more. Beleue me, it is a dangerous matter to let a Citie see that there are more wicked then good.

CHAP. XXIII.



Here was a decree set downe in times past by the Senate, that our slaues and free-men should be distinguished by their attire, but afterwards it appeared what danger was imminent if our seruants should haue begun to haue numbered vs. Know this, that if no man be pardoned, this is likewise to be feared, that it will quickly appeare what aduantage the worser part hath ouer the better: no lesse dishonourable are many punishments to a Prince, then many funerals to a Physitian. He that gouerneth more mildly, is obeyed more willingly. Mans minde is naturally rebellious, ouerthwart and proude, he followeth more willingly then he is led. And as generous and noble horses are better guided by an easie bit, so voluntary innocencie followeth Clemencie of her owne motion: in the Citie this sweetnesse is a good that deffueth to bee maintayned. So then there is more gotten by following this way. Crueltie is humane euill, it is vnworthy so milde a minde: this is a beast-like rage to reioyce in blood and wounds, and laying by the habite of a man, to translate himselfe to a wilde beast.

CHAP. XXV.



Or tell me *Alexander*, I beseech thee, whether of these two is more strange, eyther that thou command *Lysimachus* to be cast vnto the Lions, or that thou thy selfe teare him in pieces with thy eager teeth. The throat and crueltie of the Lion is thine owne. How gladly wouldest thou haue had these clawes, and that great throat, capable to deuoure and swallow men? We request thee not that this hand of thine, which hath put to death three of thy dearest friends, should doe good to any man, nor that thy felon heart, the vnstable ruine of Nations should glut it selfe otherwise then in blood and murders: we will take it for thy Clemencie, and so call it, if in murdering thy friend thou make choyce of an executioner amongst the number of men. This is the cause why crueltie is most of all to be abhorred, because the passeth the bonds, not onely of custome but of humanitie. She searcheth out new punishments, and applyeth her mind thereunto, she inuenteth instruments to multiply and prolong paine, and to content her selfe in those torments which other men suffer. Then doth that dire sicknesse of the minde grow into most desperate rage, when crueltie is turned into pleasure, and to murder men is reputed a May-game. For such a man is attended by confusion, hatreds, venoms, swordes, by as many dangers as he assault-

He prauctereth for the third part both by similitude and examples, that punishments assure his good men.

ted as he is the danger of many men, and sometimes by priuate counsailes and sometimes by publique calamities he is surpris'd and circumvented. For the flight and priuate ouerthrow of some particulars, incenſeth not whole Citties: that which begetteth to rage on euery ſide, and indifferently attempteth all men, armeth euery man againſt it. The ſmaller Serpents ſlip by vs; neyther are they much fought after, but if any one waxeth about ordinarie meaſure and bigneſſe, and becommeth a monſter, when hee hath infected the fountaines by drinking in them, and ſcorched with his breath, and rent with his tallants whatſoeuer he treads vpon, we ſhoote at him with Baliliſils and Crofbowes. The ſmaller euils may ſpeake faire and ſo eſcape, but wee make head againſt the great ones. If there be but one ſicke in a houſe, it makes no great matter, but when it appeareth by the death of many that the plague is there, the Citie cries out and euery man flies, and each man liſteth vp his handes to heauen. If ſome priuate houſe be ſet on fire, the neighbours bring in water and quench it; but when the fire is ſcattered abroad, and layes hold on many houſes, it cannot be quenched but by the ruine of a part of the Citie.

CHAP. XXVI.

Seruite handles likewise haue reuenged the crueltie of particulars, although they ſaw their death before them. The cruelty of Tyrants, the Nations, people & thoſe that were oppreſſed, and ſuch as were moſt neerely threatned thereby, haue attempted to conſound. Sometime their owne guards haue conſpired againſt them, and exerciſed vpon them that perfidiouſneſſe, impiety, and cruelty which they themſelues had learned of them. For what can any man hope from him whom he hath trained vp to be euill? wickedneſſe appeareth not long time, neyther ſinneth ſhe as much as ſhe is commanded. But put caſe that cruelty be aſſured; what a Kingdome hath ſhe? No other then the forme of ſacked Citties, and the terrible faces of publique feare. All things are ſad, troubleſome and conſul'd, even the pleaſures themſelues are feared: they banquet not ſecurely, and in their feaſts though they be drunke they muſt haue a watch over their tongues: they cannot truſt their Theaters where men ſecke occasions to accuſe and put to death nowe this man, now that man. when their banquets be prepared with greater charge, and Kingly riches, and by the excellent inuention of cunning Artiſts, who is he, I pray you, that would take pleaſure to depart from his ſports to a priſon? Good gods what a miſchiefe is this, to kill, to rage, to delight in the noyſe of ſhackles, to cut off Cittizens heads, to ſhedde bloud in euery place, whereſoeuer he commeth, to terrifie men and make them flie from his terrible looks? What other life would there be if Lions & Beares did raigne? if Serpents and euery other noyſome creature ſhould haue power ouer vs? They being voyde of reaſon, and being condemned by vs for the crime of immanitie, abſtaine from thoſe of their owne kinde, yea, and ſimilitude is a protection amongst the ſavage beaſts, but amongst men only rage for bareth not his deereſt friends, but maketh one account of ſtrangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more buſily creepe into priuate mens ſlaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations. He reputeth it to be for his royaltie to caſt fire vpon houſes, and to plough vp olde Citties: he beleueth it to be ſcarce Kingly to command one or two to be ſlaine, except at one time a troupe of miſerable

He ſerueeth what danger it is for a man to take pleaſure in cruelty, and how much good Princes get by comible and courteous entertainment. He concludeth that Clemencie is the ſureſt flower in their Garland.

ferable men ſtand ſubject to his ſword, he accounteth his crueltie to bee informed and retained. Theſe men ſtand in ſuch a way, and call themſelves from death, that are as much bound to death as the ſmall Coward by Clemencie. There is no ſuch thing as to be ſure, but to be ſure, the great neceſſity of a Prince their ſuch a Crowne, with the inſcription *Obſequi ſuſcipere*, not the Charities of barbarous Nations be ſprinkled with bloud, nor ſpoyle gotten by ſwary. This is a diuine power to ſave men by companies, and publicly, but to murder many and they vnder a ſeale of ſeal.

Tyrant and Murderer.

ADRIANVS RVFVS IMAGINVS

ADRIANVS RVFVS IMAGINVS

The end of the ſiſt Booke of Clemencie.



A DISCOURSE OF CLEMENCE,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO NERO CÆSAR.

The second Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

Nero hee praiseth NERO and his excellent voice. Then passeth hee over to the second part and sheweth the Nature of Clemencie, and defineth the same. He explaineth it the more by the contrarie vice, and bringeth forth Crueltie and describeth it. Afterwards he belineth Clemencie, and will haue it removed from Compassion, for this is a vice amongst the States. Neither ought he to give pardon, but to spare and to provide for, and after that he shall be able to do then as he will. At the end of the Booke hee sheweth the manner, and by the manner it appeareth that things are wanting, which have bene already done in the first Booke. He is to be praised for in so far as this is a Booke, which had it not bene in any other Booke, this second Booke had, equalled the first.

CHARACTERS



That which most chiefly moved mee Nero Cæsar to address and dedicate this discourse of Clemencie unto thee, was a speech of thine which not only raised me with admiration, at such time as I heard it, but as when afterwards I recited it to others. A generous speech, the argument of a good mind and greater lenitie, which was not studied for to flatter other mens eares, but sodainly brake forth; and brought thy beautie that contended with thy Fortune into the publicke eye and censure of all men. Burrus a Capitaine of thy Gard, a man of honour and knowe by vs for such a one, having charge to carrie two theefe to execution, laboured, that thou wouldst signe the sentence that was given against them both: which being deferred diuers times, he insisted at last that it might be dispatched. But after that, to thy owne heart-griefe

and

He animateth Nero to continue in his will begunne government, with that placability hee hath thereto used, he secondeth his Counsailes with praises which serve as a good minde.

and thy dilact he had drawne the writing out of his bosome, and delivered it in worthy hands, thou thyselfe, and all those Nations that inhabit the Roman Empire, and by those neighbour Countries, that are scarcely assured of their libertie, and by those likewise who both in minde and might arme themselves against their prosperitie. O verie worthe to be requied in the open assembly of all liuing men, and whereof Kings and Princes might make vie when they should take their oath unto their Subjects. O heere worthe the ancient innocencie of Mankind, in whom where the former ages should have beene against. Truly this is the booke, wherein all of vs ought to be assured in equitie and Clemencie, driving far from us this course downe to every other mans fortune, whence all the infirmities of the minde doe arise. Now is it that pietie, integritie, loyalty, and modestie, should lift up their heads, and the vice, which have for manye hundred years, dominion over vs, should finally cast their place, and be signe to an aggraue happy and pure.

I Dancwell, hope and promise, that the greater part of the world shall come to praise. This Clemencie of thine shall by little and little be published, and spread morow, all the booke of thine Empire, and all things shall conforme themselves according to the example which thou givest them. Good health proceedeth from the head, and afterwarde causeth that all the members be nimble and strong, as contrariwise they languish, if the spirit that quickeneth them, be amated. And both thy Citizens and associates shall be worthe of this bountie, and good maners that be established thorowout the whole World, & shall be extended in euerie place. Suffer me to insist a little longer on this point, not to the intent to tickle, or flatter thine eares, for it is not my custome. I had rather offend thee in speaking truth, then please thee by flatterie. What is the cause then, why I desire thou shouldst bee so familiarly exercised in the knowledge of thy good words and actions? Truly no other but that one day thou mayest live and doe that with judgment, which now thou sayst and doest by a naturall impulse of thy minde. This consider I with my selfe that many great, but they delectable speeches of Princes are entered into mens hearts, and are ordinarie in their mouthes as this.

Whereunto resembleth that Greeke verse, who will say that when he is dead, hee shall be as the solid Earth, should with him. And others of this kinde: But I know not how such points, so prodigious and so hatefull, have expressed their violent and furious conceits in a more plentiful manner. I haue neuer as yet heard a proud word, uttered by a good and mercifull Prince. What is it then that thou art to say? Forsooth this, that as fackly as thou mayest and with some remembrance, with some slaves also until such time

He profereth the continuance of Neros Clemencie, to the comfort of his Subjects and the amale of his enemies.

He profereth the continuance of Neros Clemencie, to the comfort of his Subjects and the amale of his enemies.

time as thou art informed thereunto, thou write that which draweth thee in hatred of good letters, yet thou doest in temporizing and delaying divers times.

What Clemencie
is, and the defini-
tions thereof.

BUT I fear some time this goodly and pleasing name of Clemencie should happily decrease, yet let us see what Clemencie is, what a one she is, and to what end she rendereth Clemencie chemis a moderation of the minde, that restraineth the power which a man hath to revenge himselfe, or is a gracious moderation of the superiour towards his inferiour, in establishing of punishment. The best way shall bee to set downe divers definitions, for feare least one suffice not to expresse the same, and that the forme thereof (if we may so speake) cleaveth not. One may therefore say, that it is an inclination of the minde, tending to shew himselfe mercifull when he ought to chastise. This definition will haue some opposition, although it bee such a one as draweth nearest the truth. If we say that Clemencie is a moderation remitting somewhat of the punishment which is deserved and due, some one will reply that there is not any vertue that doeth less then the ought. But all men know that Clemencie is that vertue which restraineth somewhat of that which the might exact. They of weakest judgement suppose that seueritie is opposed against it, but neuer was one vertue contrarie to another.

CHAP. III.

Of Crueltie op-
posed against
Clemencie, and
the definition
and kinds there-
of laid open by
examples.

WHAT therefore is opposed to Clemencie? Crueltie which is no other thing then a crueltie of minde in exacting punishments. But there are some that are cruell although they do not punish any: such as they are who kill men whom they never saw, but meet with in the way, not to the intent to lessen the number, but killing them because they took pleasure in killing. Moreover not content to murder, they tortured more bodies in *Hadria Praetoria* did, and those Pirates who first of all beate their prisoners and afterwards burne them to death and dye. Truly this is crueltie, but because it followeth not revenge (for he was not injured) neyther is displeased at any mans offence (for no crime hath overlipped before) it is not comprised in our definition, which definition containeth an intemperance of the minde in exacting punishment. Wee may well say that this is not crueltie, but beastly furie which taketh pleasure to torment the bodie, and we may likewise call it madness; for their bee diuers kindes thereof, and none more certaine then that which extendeth it selfe to murder and massacre men. I will therefore call them cruell, who haue no occasion to punish, yet such as keepe no measure, such as *Phalaris* was, who not contenting himselfe with putting innocents to death, exceeded in his executions all humane and probable measure. We may to adde all easill, say this crueltie is an inclination of the minde vnto most grievous punishments. Clemencie driueth this crueltie farre of from her, because she hath better correspondence with seueritie. It is very pertinent to the matter to enquire in this place what mercie is; for diuers men prayle.

praye her for a vertue: and call a good man mercifull. But this is an imperfection of the minde, Crueltie and Mercie are the two extreames of Seueritie and Clemencie, we must flee both, the one and the other, for feare least vnder appearance of Seueritie we become cruell, and vnder colour of Clemencie shew our selues mercifull. There is not so great danger herein, but they that fall into one extremitie are as much out of the way, as they that fall into the other.

CHAP. V.

EVEN as therefore Religion reuerenceth the gods, so Superstition violateth them, so all good men should thew Clemencie and Meeknesse, but auoid mercie. For it is nought else but a baseness of the heart which melteth in beholding an other mans miseries. It is therefore most familiar to those of the basest metalls and mindes. Such as are old women and tender hearted females, who weepe to see them weepe, that are condemned, who would willingly breake vp prisons, if so be they were permitted to doe it. Mercie regardeth not the cause but the condition, but Clemencie is conioyned with reason; I know that amongst ignorant men, the sect of the Stoickes is condemned, for being ouer seuer and such a one as could not giue good counsailes to Kings and Princes. For it is objected against them that they will not suffer the wife man to vse mercie, and to pardon. These objections considered a part, and by themselves are odious. For this were to cast all those headlong into despair that haue offended, and to subject all offences to punishment. If this bee so, who are more seuer then this sect, which forbiddeth vs to remember that we are men; and exclude mutual helpe, which is the assuredest Haue against the tempest of Fortune. But I say that there is no sect more benigne and gentle then this is, nor that loveth men better, nor that is more intent to the good of all men, in such sort as all the scope thereof, is to serue, succour and procure the good, not only of his Schollers, but also of all other men as well in generall as in particular. Mercie is an infirmite of the minde, by reason of the appearance of other mens miseries, or a sadnesse conceived for the evils an other man suffereth, and suppoeth that he suffereth them wrongfully. For a wife man neyther troubleth nor tormenteth himselfe, his vnderstanding is alwayes cleere, neyther can anything happen that may obscure the light thereof. Nothing becommeth a man more then greatnesse of courage; But hee cannot haue a noble heart, that feare and sorrow may animate it, or any of these passions obscure or contract it. This shall not befall a wiseman; no, not in his calamities, but he shall dart backe againe all these arrowes that Fortune hath shot against him, and shall breake them before her face. He shall retaine one and the same countenance, alwayes both peaceable and constant, which hee might not doe if sorrow were lodged in his heart. Ad hereunto that a wiseman is proud, and hath his counsell in a readinesse; But that which is cleare and pure, neuer proceedeth from sadnesse, which is a trouble of the Soule, and is not proper to examine any action; nor to inuent profitable things, neither oportunitie to auoid dangers. So then a wiseman is not mooued with sadnesse for an others miserie, because hee is exempt from miserie, but otherwise, he will willingly and with a ioyfull heart, do all that which the mercifull would doe against their wills.

CHAP.

A paradox of
the Stoickes,
which Aristotle
answereth in the
fourth of his
Ethicks and
Adrials.

In this Chapter,
he maintaineth
the Doctrine of
the Stoickes, A-
gainst affection,
approving that
those Philoso-
phers were not
so conserual as
they were repor-
ted to be.

CHAP. VI.

*The description
of a wife man
according to the
doctrine of the
Stoicks.*

HE will assist his neighbour that weepeth, without weeping himself; he will lend him his hand that is in danger to be drowned; hee will lodge him that is famished, feede him that is poore, not with out rage, as for the most part they doe, who would be esteemed mercifull, who disdain and repulse the poore when they aide them, and fearing least they should touch them, but as a man to a man he will giue, as out of the common purse. He shall pardon the Sonne for his Mothers teares, command his greiues to be loosed; he shall preserve him from the furie of wild beasts, to whose rage he should haue bene exposed, to the content and pleasure of the people, hee will burie the carkeies of him that was condemned; But he will doe all this with a peaceable minde, and without change of countenance. He will not therefore be moued, but will helpe, will profit, as being borne for the common good and the seruice of the Commonweale, whereof he will giue euery one his apart. Yea, he will extend his bountie to the miserable by proportion, and will reforme such as are wicked and to be amended. But to those that are afflicted and oppressed, he will yeeld his assistance more willingly. As often as he may, he will not suffer aduersities to touch them. For how might he better employ his forces and riches, then in relieuing those whom the inconstancie of worldly affaires hath ouerthrowne. Hee will neither be abashed nor dismaide, to behold the disfigured face of a sicke man, or a begger, or of an olde man leaning on his staffe, but hee will assist all those likewise that deserue, and after the maner of the gods, behold with a bountifull eye the poore that are oppressed. Mercie is a neere neighbour to miserie, for shee hath, and draweth somewhat from her. Know that those eyes are weak which are bloudshot themselves, in beholding another mans suffusion: euen as assuredly we ought not to call them ioyfull but sicke, who cough vpon euery occasion, and that yawle as soone as they perceiue an other man open his mouth. Mercie is an imperfection of the minde, that is too much affectioned vnto miserie, which if a man seeke for in a wife man, it were as much as if he should require him to crie out at the Funerals of those whom hee neuer heard of. It remaineth to declare why a wife man pardoneth not.

CHAP. VII.

A question depending on the former discourse, whether a wife man pardoneth? He answereth by distinction to maintaine that which he said of Mercie.

ET vs now set downe likewise what pardon is, to the ende we may know that a wife man ought not to giue it. Pardon is a remission of deserued punishments. But why a wife man ought not to pardon, is fully debated by those who decide this matter to the full. For mine owne part to speake shortly, as in a matter referred to an other mans iudgement, I say that he is pardoned that should be punished. But a wife man doth nothing but that he ought, neither pretermitteth any thing of his due, and therefore hee quitteth not the punishment which he ought to exact, but that which thou wouldst obtaine by the meanes of pardon, hee giueth thee by a more honest expedient. For hee supporteth, counselseth, correcteth, and doth as much as if he pardoned, although he pardon not, because he that pardoneth, confesseth that hee hath omitted something which ought

ought to be done. He will be contented to admonish some without chastising them, considering that they are old enough to amend. Hee will dismisie an other in safetie, although he be apparently guiltie, because he hath bene deceived, and fell into the offence being drowned in wine. He will dismisie his enemies in safetie, and sometimes with commendations, if they haue undertaken Warre vpon honest grounds, as for their faith, consideration or libertie. These are not the workes of Pardon but of Clemencie. Clemencie hath free will, shee iudgeth not according to vse and custome, but according to equitie and right, and shee may absolute and take the charges at what rate shee listeth. Hee doth none of these things, as if hee had done any thing lesse then iust, but as if that which he had committed were most iust, but to pardon is this, not to punish those things which thou iudgeth worthy of punishment. Pardon is the remission of a deserued punishment. Clemencie effecteth this principally, that shee declareth those whom shee dismisseth to be exempted from the punishment they should suffer. Shee is therefore more accomplished and honest then pardon. In my iudgement, the controuersie is vpon the word not vpon the matter. A wife man will forgie many things, and haue many that are scarcely wife, yet such as may become capable. Hee will imitate good husbandmen, who not onely cherish straight and tall trees, but applie vnder-propes likewise to uphold those which are made crooked by some accident. They loppe some left leouer-thickness of their bowes doe hinder their growth, they nourish some that are infirme by reason of the sterilitie of the soyle, and to those that spring vnder the thickness of a couert, they giue them open ayre.

According to these, a wife man shall see how hee ought to entertaine euery nature, and by what meanes those that are depraued, may be strengthened and straightened. *Many things are here wanting.*

The end of the second Booke of Clemencie.





A TRACT OF BLESSED LIFE,

WRITTEN
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA TO
IVNIVS GALLO HIS
BROTHER.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

His wrote this Booke when he was olde, and set it downe for an Apologie against those that calumniated his welth and behaviour. He approoveth that blessed life consisteth in vertue, yet that wee despiſeth not these externall things: if they befall her. It is a leſtie writing, and excellent in the parts thereof, and because it containeth golden sentences and excellent sayings. There are two parts thereof, first, what Blessed life is, and how a man may attaine thereunto. As touching the former, he denieth that it is to be sought, either in Opinion or Maner; if we keepe the ordinarie way, we stray the farther from her. Reason onely is to be given care unto. He saith that blessed life is to be sought in vertue, that is placed in vertue, not in pleasure. Epicurus should have said so, and desiredly he refelleth this with the flaws thereof, so farre as he will neither have pleasure in vertue, but aboliseth his name utterly. Till the sixteenth Chapter, Seneca followeth the other part to the attainment thereof, therefore is every man to be embraced. And are the rest to be despiſed? He denieth it. He saith that externall things may be admitted, but not as the end. Yea, hee maintaineth, that they yet are but in the way, and amongst the number of those that are prudent, have made of some indulgence of fortune. Here cunningly and manfully every man defendeth for his owne cause, and induceth an aduersarie to say: Why hast thou spoken these of vertue? hast thou not other helps. Why hast thou servants? Money? Armour, and thousand things? Hee answereth diversly? And first of all that he is no wise man. But that hee endeavoureth to be wise. Afterwards for these worthy men, Diogenes, Zeno, and Aristotle, against whom in times past there were objections. Seneca is a wise man, they are to be honoured who labour to ascend, although during their ascent, they fall or are hindered. Then purposely speaketh he of Riches, which a wise man ought to have them; From the one and twentieth Chapter. And he auereth that they are had but not beloved, yet gotten honestly.

nessly that they are, and must be spent beautifully. Hee, whether his stile against these long-tongued babblers, and under the penne of SOCRATES, armeth the edge of his stile against them. But the end is spanning, and these things that are usually added, are of an other mans writing, and of a different Argument.

CHAPTER I.



AL men brother Gallo are desirous to line happily, yet blinde are they in fore-seeing that which maketh the life blessed & happy: and so difficult a matter is it to attaine this blessed life, that the swifter every man is caried with adeseire to compass her, the farther off departeth hee from her, if he haue failed in the way: which when it leadeh vs to the contrarie, the very swiftnesse thereof is the cause of our greater distance from her. First of all therefore we ought to consider what that is which we require: then to looke about vs by what way we may more speedily attaine thereunto, being assured that in our jurnie, (so the way be true and straight) we haue daily profited, and howe neerer wee are vnto that whereunto our naturall desire impelleth vs. As long as wee wander hether and thither and followe not our guide, but the dissonant bruite and clamour of those that call on vs to vndertake different wayes, our short life is wearied, and wome away amongst errors, although we labour day and night to get vs agood minde. Let vs therefore aduise both, whether we tend, and by which way we pretend, and walke forward vnder the conduct of some wise man who is exactly instructed and practized in those pathes which wee are to tract: For the condition of this voyage is farre different from other peregrinations: for in them if any certaine place belimited, and we doe but inquire and question with the inhabitants of that place, they will not suffer vs to wander: for here the worst way, and that which seemeth the most shortest and vsuall doth most of all deceiue vs. There is nothing, therefore that is more to be prebented by vs, than that we follow not like innocent sheepe, the troope of those that walke before vs, walking forward not whether we should adrestre themselves, but whether we are led by other men. But there is nothing that entangleth vs in greater miseries, then that we couple & apply our selues to euerie rumour, supposing those things to be the best which is most approued and received by the conceit of all men, and wherof there are most examples, and liue not according to reason, but only according to other mens fashio. From thence proceedeth this so great heape of men tumbling one vpon an other. That which falleth out in a great presse of men, when the people themselves, throng themselves, where no man so falleth, but that he draweth downe an other after him, and the foremost are the cause of the ruine of those that follow: this mayst thou obserue, and see it fall out in euerie estate of life. There is no man that erreth to himselfe, but is either the cause or Authour of other mens error. For much are we hurt because wee apply our selues to those that goe before vs, and whilest euerie man had rather belieue, then iudge, wee neuer iudge of our liues but content our selues alwayes to belieue: thus error deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand,

It suffeeth not to desire happiness, we ought to know what true happiness is, and afterwards by what means we attain thereunto.

vexeth and ouerturneth vs, and we perishe by other mens examples. But wee shall be healed, provided only that we separate our selues from the vulgar. But now the people stand out against reason in defence of their owne error. This therefore cometh to passe that is vsual in Common Assemblies, wherein, those men whose voices made the Pretor, admire to heare him named; when the inconstant fauour of such a multitude hath whirled it selfe about. Wee approue and condemne one and the same thing. This is the end of all judgments in decilion whereof diuers men giue their opinions.

CHAP. II.

He taxeth those
who think them-
selues well gover-
ned if they follow
the multitude.



Hen the question is of happie life, thou must not answere mee according to the custome of those debates which are censured by voyces: *This part seemeth the greater*, for therefore is it the worst. Humane affaires are not disposed so happily that the best things please the most men. It is an argument of the worst cause when the common sort applaudeth it. Let vs enquire what is best done, not what is most vsually done; and what planteth vs in the possession of eternal felicitie, not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worst interpreter of truth. I call the multitude, as well those that are attired in white, as those that are clothed other wayes, for I examine not the colours of the garments wherewith the bodies are clothed, I trust not mine eyes, to informe me what a man is, I haue a more better and truer light, whereby I shall distinguish truth from fallhood. Let the soule find out the good of the soule. If once she may haue breathing time to retire her selfe into her selfe, O how will shee confesse vnto her selfe, after she hath bene examined by her selfe and say: What former I haue done, yet I had rather it should be vndone; What fouer I haue said when I recollect it, I am ashamed of it in others; What fouer I wished I repute it to be the execration of mine enemies; What fouer I feared, good gods, how better was it then that which I desired? I haue quarrelled with many men, and (if any societie be amongst euill men) I haue altered their hatreds and drawne my selfe into fauour with them; and yet as yet I am not friendes with my selfe. I haue indeuoured to the vttermost to get in fauour with the multitude, and make my selfe knowne vnto euery man by some noble action: What other thing did I but oppose my selfe against weapons; and with hatred a place wherein he might bite me? Seest thou these who praise eloquence, that follow riches, that flatter authoritie, that extoll power? all these are enemies or can be enemies, for in effect they are all one. How great fouer the number be of those that admire, as great is there number who doe enuie.

CHAP. III.

Since we seek for
that good which
is truly a good not
apparently good,
let vs not desire
our example, cy-
ther from the ex-
terior aspect or
the publick ap-
plause.



H Y rather seeke I not some thing out, which is good in vse that I may finde in my minde, not shew in outward appearance? These things wher at we gaze, these things wher at we staie, and with admiration one man sheweth vnto another, doe outwardly shine, but are inwardly miserable. Let vs seeke out that which what that is good not in appearance; but solide and vnited, and faire in that which

which appeareth the least. Let vs discouer this, neyther is it farre from vs, wee shall finde it. Yet hadst thou need to know whether thou shouldest stretch thy hand. But now as if we were in darknes we passe by these things that are neereft vs, and stumble vpon those things which we desire. But least I draw thee thorow a Labyrinth I will let slippe other mens opinions, for it were too long a matter to reckon them vp and confute them, and let thee know our owne. And when I tell thee ours, I will not tie my selfe to any one of our principall Stoicks: I haue authoritie enough to speake what I thinke, I will therefore follow some one, I will command another to giue a reason of his, and happily being cited after all others, I will disallow none of those things which the former haue decreed, and I will say: *This thinke I ouer and beside*, and in the meane while following the common consent of the Stoicks; I will consent to Nature which is the mother of all things. For it is wisdom not to wander from her, but to forme our selues according to her Law and Example. The life then is happie which is according to her nature, which can no otherwise happed the if the mind be first of all found, and in perpetuall possession of her health. Again e, if shee be strong, and vehement, and fierce, and patiently likewise apt for the times, curious of the bodie, and those things that appertaine thereunto; yet not ouer carefull or diligent in those things which maintaine life, disposed to vse the presents of Fortune, without admiration of any thing: without wondering at any of them, no wayes inclined to seruitude. Thou vnderstandest although I aime it not, that from thence there followeth a perpetuall tranquillitie and libertie, driuing away farre from vs all those things that eyther prouoke or terrifie vs much. For instead of the fraile pleasures, (and for those things that are small and friuolous, and that hurt vs at that time, when wee make vse of them to satisfie our passions) there succeedeth an excellent ioy assured, and a continuall peace and repose of the soule, and a greatnesse of the minde accompanied with mildnesse. For all furie proceedeth from infirmite.

CHAP. IIII.



Man may likewise define our good after an other sort that is to say expresse the same thing in other termes. Euen as one and the same Armie sometimes spreadeth it selfe out at large, sometimes restraineth and locketh vp her selfe in a little place, cyther bendeth her selfe like a *Crescent* with hornes on cyther side and hollow in the midst; or marcheth in a Battalion hauing wings to warrant them, and how fouer she is disposed, yet hath she alwayes the same force and resolution to maintaine the partie for which she is leuiued, so our definition of the Soueraigne good may sometimes be extended out a farre, sometimes comprised in few words and gathered as it were into it selfe. It will all come to one if I say: The Soueraigne good is a minde despising casualties, and content with vertue: or an inuincible force of the minde well experienced in the affaires of this World, peaceable in his actions, full of humanitie and regard of those with whom he conuerseth. It pleaseth vs likewise to define it thus: that we call him a blessed man, who esteemeth nothing eyther good or euill, except a mind eyther good or euill, a respecter of honestie, content with vertue; whom neyther casualties extoll nor depresse, who knowes no other greater good then that which he can giue him selfe, who reputeth it for a true pleasure to contemne pleasures. Thou maicst if thou wilt expatiate, turne this definition into one or two other

The diuers de-
scriptions of a
happie life.

forts provided that the principall remaine. For what forbiddeth vs to esteeme him happye that hath his spirit free, rayfed, assured, and firme, estranged from all feare and desire, that esteemeth nothing but vertue and disdaineth nothing but vice? All other the base multitude of things, neyther detracting any thing nor adding ought to blessed life, come and goe without increase or detraite of the chiefest good. He that hath layed so good a foundation, shall bee alwayes followed whether he will or no, with a continuall joy, with a profound content that proceedeth from excellent thoughts, because hee contenteth himselfe which hee possesseth, neyther desireth any more then that hee hath at home why should he make a scruple to change willingly the light frivolous and afflicted, motions and pleasures of the bodie with goods, so certaine as these other are? that day hee shall recence no pleasure that very day shall hee conceiue no grieffe.

CHAP. V.

How maist then see into what dangerous and miserable seruitude hee fallth who desireth pleasures and sorrowes (two vnfaithfull and cruell commanders) to possesse him successiually. We must therefore issue out and find libertie and this doth no other thing giue vs then the neglect of Fortune. Then shall that inestimable good arise, namely the repose of the minde retired into an assured place, and mounted so high that the seeth all the mists of errours incontinently, scatter themselves in such sort that from the knowledge of the truth, there proceedeth a great and constant joy a sweetnesse and freedome of conscience wherein the vertuous man shall take pleasure not as they are goods, but as the fruits which proceed from the ground of that good which is in him. Because I haue begonne to discourse liberally, I say that he may be called blessed, who by the benefite of his reason, neyther feareth nor desireth any thing. I make mention of reason because stones, and beasts are both of them destitute of feare and sadnesse, and yet no man will say that they are happye Creatures, because they haue no sense or vnderstanding of felicitie, put into this ranke, those men whose dulnesse of nature, and ignorance of themselves hath drawne them into the number of sheepe and beaues. There is no difference betwixt these and them, because the one haue no reason and the other their reason depraued, and if the discouereth it is onely to weaken and ruinate her selfe. For no man can be called blessed, who is exiled from the truth. That therefore is a blessed life which is grounded vpon an vpright, certaine, and immutable judgment. For then is the minde pure, and exempt from all euils; when it hath no feeling of any rentings or prickings. Whatsoeuer resolute to persist there, wherefoeuer he is settled, and resolute to maintaine her abode, in spite of wrathfull and repynning Fortune. For in regard of pleasure, although it be dispersed in euery place, although it come from euery part, and trie and attempt by all meanes whereby the may intangle vs, cyther in whole or in part: what man is he amongst men that hath any impression of manhood in him, that will suffer himselfe to bee flattered and tickled therewith day and night, and forsaking the soule, will haue a care of the bodie?

CHAP.

He confuseth
those that fit
their felicitie
or pleasures of
the bodie, and
desireth what a
happy man is.

CHAP. VI.

BV T the soule likewise (saith hee) shall haue her pleasures. Let her enjoy them, and let her sit as Iudge ouer dissolution and pleasures. Let her glut herselfe withall those things that are wont to delight the senses. Furthermore, let her looke backe to those things that are past, and remembering her selfe of her decayed pleasures let her enjoy those that are needest her, extend her hand to the future, ruling her hopes, and lifting vp her thoughts to that which is to come whilst the bodie tumbeth in delights and surfeits. This in my judgment is a meere miserie, because it is a madnesse to embrace the euill in stead of the good. Neyther is any man blessed without health, neyther any man healthie, that longeth for hurtfull, and letted healthfull things passe. He therefore is blessed, who hath a right judgment. Blessed is he that is contented with the present whatsoeuer they be, that is a friend to his owne affairs, blessed is hee who in the government of his whole life giueth eare vnto reason. As for those that haue said that the Sovereigne good consisteth in pleasure it behoueth them to consider how fordid and abject a place it is wherein they haue lodged a thing so precious. For their excuse they alledge that a man cannot separate pleasure from Vertue, and they say likewise that no man can liue honestly except hee bee pleasant and ioyfull; and that to be ioyfull and honest, is one and the same thing. Yet fee I not how these two things may be coupled together. And why I pray you may not pleasure be deuided from vertue? Forsooth, because euery beginning of good proceedeth from Vertue. From the rootes hereof euen these things spring which you loue, and desire so much. But if these were inseparable, wee should not see that some things are pleasing, but yet not honest, and some things most honest but difficult and such as may not be recovered but by dolour and paine.

CHAP. VII.

ADde hereunto likewise that pleasure intermixeth it selfe with a most vicious life, but vertue admitteth it not: It is with pleasure yea for pleasures sake that some are unhappy. Which would not come to passe, if pleasure had intermixed it selfe with vertue, which vertue often misseth neuer needeth. Why vnite you things different, nay more, contrarie? Vertue is a thing high, kingly, inuincible, infragible; pleasure humble, feeble, weak, frail, whose actions and boundes are Tauerines and Broddish houses. You shall find Vertue in the Temple, in the market place, in the Court, in the Court of Guard (mustered in duty) and with heart, hauing hard hearts; pleasure of times lying hidden and affecting darkness about butchers and Hor-houses, and such places as beare the Conspectus, daintie, effeminate; soured in Wine, and Perfumes, pale (painted), and discolored with medicine. If her chiefest good is immortall, it cannot perish, neyther hath it varietie; neyther repentance; for the iust mind is neuer altered; he is neuer hateful to himselfe, neyther being her selfe the best, hath she assumed any thing. But pleasure at that time when she most delighteth is extinguisht. Neyther taketh shee of great roome, and therefore she quickly filleth and doothleth hind after the first assault pinch away, and as there is nothing certain, whose nature is in motion

An answer vnto
those that would
couple the
pleasures of the
bodie and the
soule together.

A continuation
of the former
revelation where
he beweth that
pleasure is in-
compatible with
Vertue, and con-
sequently is which
is estranged from
the chiefest good.

so can there not bee any substance of that thing that commeth and passeth quickly, and such as is like to perish in the verie use thereof. For he hath attained thether where he should end, and in beginning hee already regardeth the end.

CHAP. VIII.

In continuing his reflections, he declares what this matter of speech meaneth, that to live happily, and according to Nature, is one and the same thing.

Furthermore the euill haue their pleasures, as well as the good. And the basest take no lesse contentment in their absurdities, then great men doe in things that are excellent. And therefore the Ancients haue commanded, that we should follow the better and not the most pleasing life. For Nature must gouerne vs, she it is that ruleth and counsaileth reason. To liue then happily and according to Nature is one and the same thing. I will now tell you what this is. If we carefully and confidently conserue the goods of the bodie, according as wee ought, and as they are agreeable vnto Nature, as gifts that haue no continuance, but communicable, from day to day: If wee intrall our selues not to their seruitude, and if those that haue beene distributed to our neighbours possesse vs not, if that which is agreeable vnto vs, and given vs as an ouerplus to the bodie serueth vs only in that Nature, as spies and forlorne hopes in an Armie: in briefe, if they serue vs and command vs not, then may wee say that they are profitable and necessarie for the soule. A man that is entire ought not to be surmounted with exteriour things, he must admire nothing but himself, he ought to be confident, disposed against all casualties, a composer of his own life, and see that his resolution be accompanied with science and constancie, that that which he once hath conceived, remain vnalterd, and that no exception accompanie his resolution. It is vnderstood likewise although I adde it not, that such a man bee adressed and ordered as he ought, gracious and magnificent in all his entertainments the true reason shall be ingrafted in his senses, and take from thence his principles. For from thence it is and from no other place, that these extendeth her selfe, to apprehend the truth, and afterwards returneth into her selfe. The V World likewise that imbraceth and comprehendeth all things, and God who is the Gouernour of this World, extendeth himselfe truly to exteriour things, and yet hee returneth in euerie part intirely into himselfe. Let our minde doe the like, that after these hath serued the senses, and by the means thereof, hath extended it selfe to external things, he may possesse her selfe, in briefe that he may lie and stay her selfe vpon the chiefeest good. By this meanes these shall become a facultie and power according with her selfe; and that certaine reason shall arise which is neither shaken nor extravagant in her opinions; apprehensions or persuasions, but being well ordered and well agreed with her parts with which these faith, (if we may so say) in the same time, these hath attained the fulnes of her felicitie. For these hath no way that is rugged or slipperie to passe thorow, neyther any wherein the may stumble or fall. She shall doe all that which the listeth, and nothing shall befall her that is vnexpected, but all that which she shall doe shall turne to her good, easily, addressedly, and without delay. For identlesse and want of resolution discouer contradiction and inconstancie; thou maiest therefore boldly maintain that the peace of conscience is the Soueraigne good, because it must needs follow, that the vertues remaine there where consent and vnion haue their abode, vices are at odds amongst themselves.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

BV T thou likewise (saith he) honourest Vertue for no other cause but for that thou expectest some pleasure thereby. First Vertue is not therefore sought after, because shee bringeth with her some pleasure, for she produceth it not, and yet is not without it. Neyther laboureth she for this, but her labour is, although she hath an other aime to attaine this likewise. Euen as in a field that is ploughed vp for Corne, some flowers spring vp amongst the good graines, and yet no labour is bestowed on this herbe, although it delight the eye. The purpose of him that sowed the Corne was farre otherwise, this came by chance: so pleasure is not thereward or cause of Vertue but an acceffion vnto Vertue. Neither is it pleasing because it delighteth; but because it is pleasing it delighteth. The chiefeest good consisteth and is grounded on iudgement & the habit of a good mind, which hauing fulfilled his habitude, and confined himself within his limits, the chiefeest good is consummate, neither desireth any other thing more. For without all them is nothing, no more then beyond the end. Thou art therefore deceived when thou askest me, what that is for which I require Vertue: for thou seekst for somewhat that is about the chiefeest. Thou askest mee what I pretend from Vertue? her selfe: for nothing is better, she is the reward of her selfe. Is this a small thing, when I say vnto thee, that the Soueraigne good is an inflexible vigour, a providence, a firme disposition, a libertie, a concord, and beautie of the soule? doest thou looke for any thing more, whereunto these may be referred? why namest thou pleasure vnto me? I seeke for the good of a man, not of the belly, which is more disordered then any brut bea.

CHAP. X.

IHou pretendest to be ignorant (saith he) of that which I say: For I denie that any man may liue pleasing, except he liue honestly likewise: which cannot befall brut beastes, which measure their good by their bellies. I protest I tell thee both painely and publicly, that this life which I call pleasure, cannot consist without the adiection of Vertue. But who knoweth not that euen the very foolishlest amongst you are the fullest of pleasure, and that iniquitie aboundeth in delight, and that the minde it selfe not only suggesteth some Kindes of pleasure, but also many? First infolence and ouer great esteeme of a mans selfe, a pride surpassing all other, a blind and improuident loue of that which a man hath, affluent delights, a joy proceeding from trifling and childish occasions, detraction, and arrogancie, reioycing in contumelies, sloth and dissolution of the sluggish mind, that is benumbed in it selfe. But these doth Vertue discusse, shee puls vs by the care, and estimateth pleasures before shee admit them; neyther careth she much for those, she hath entertained, (although shee admit them) neyther is she delighted in the use of them, but temperance is joyfull but when as temperance diminisheth pleasures, shee injurieth the chiefeest good in meddling with the same. Thou imbracest pleasure, I moderate it: Thou enjoyest pleasure I vse it: Thou thinkst it to bee the chiefeest good I scarcely deeme it good: Thou dost all things

The peace of Conscience is the chiefeest good, but Seneca place it this peace in the fledge of humane reason, which we must beare with all in a Stoice and a Yagan, who knew not what the gift of regeneration was

That there is neither content nor ioy in the pleasures of this world, when they are neuer so little separated from Vertue, which matcheth vs of those pleasures with moderation

things for pleasures sake and I nothing when I say that I doe nothing for pleasures sake I speake of that Wife man to whome alone thou grantest pleasure.

CHAP. XI.

That the voluptuous person is not wise, and consequently is deprived of virtue and both no part in blessed Life.

BV T I call not him a wife man that is subject to any passion about all things, if he be a vassall to pleasure. For being subject vnto her how shall he resist labour, danger, povertrie, and so many tempests as storme about this life? how shall hee endure the sight of death and sorrow, how shall hee sustaine the assaults of this World & of so many other dreadful aduerfaries, if he be conquered by such an effeminate enemy? He will doe all that which pleasure perswadeth him vnto. Go to: seest thou not how manie follies she will perswade him to. Shee cannot fault thou perswade any thing vndecently, because she is accompanied with Vertue. Seest thou not againe what the chiefest good should be if he had neede of such a Guard to make him good. But how can Vertue gouerne pleasure, when she followeth her when as it is the part of a seruant to attend, and of a Master to command. You make her the seruant that should command. But you preferre Vertue vnto a goodly office, you make her a taiter to pleasures. But we will see whether Vertue bee lodged amongst those who haue done her so many outrages since she can no more be called Vertue, if she hath giuen ouer her place. In the meane while (for it is that whereof we intrate) I will shew that there are diuers voluptuous men on whom Fortune hath powred all her goods whom thou must need, confesse to be euill. Looke vpon *Romentanus* and *Apicius* two carefull ingrossers (as these men call them) of whatsoever delicate eyther Land or Sea affordeth, and who present vpon their tables all the choise Creatures, that are fit for meate in euery Countre. Behold these very men who from there beds, behold their Kitchens, who fill their eares with Musicke, their eyes with pleasing shewes, and delight their pallats with sundrie sauces, with soft and gentle fomentations, all their bodie is supplied, and least in the meane while their nostrils should be idle, that very place is filled with diuers odours, wherein the funerall banquet of dissolusion is celebrated. Thou wilt say that these men haue their pleasures, yet are they not at their ease, because they reioyce not in goodnesse.

CHAP. XII.

That the pleasures of wicked men are not truly pleasures but follies, and vices, contrarywise to those the wise are made of.

TWill will besall them (saist thou) because diuers things happen in the interim which trouble the minde, and contrarie opinions shall disquiet the spirits, which I grant that it is so. Yet notwithstanding standing those very follies. Those inconstant follies whom vncertainty attendeth at the heels receiving great pleasure that we must needs confesse that they are so far from all trouble as from a good mind and (that which befallth many) they are pleasant follies, and merie mad-men. But on the contrarie part, the pleasures of wise men are remiss and modest, feeble enough secret and lesse obscured, because they are not sought after, and if they come without calling, they are lesse made account of or entertained. For they intermixe

intermixe the pleasures of this life, as men are wont to mingle their serious matters with sports and pleasant discourses. Let them desist therefore to yoyne inconueniences, and to implicate Vertue with pleasure, for by such false opinions they seduce those who are already much corrupted with vice. The one of these abandoned vnto his pleasures alwayes drunke and tumbling on the Earth, knowing well that he liueth voluptuously: belieueth also that hee followeth the Tract of Vertue: because he beleueth that pleasure cannot bee separated from Vertue, and afterwarde intireth his vices with the name of wisdom, and publisheth those things which should be hidden. So these kind of men who haue not learned it of the Epicure, surfer in their delights, and being drowned in vices, hide their voluptuousnesse in the bosome of Philosophie: and haue their recourse thither where they heare that pleasure is praised. Neyther estimate they rightly (for such vndoubtedly is my opinion) how sober and moderate his pleasure is: but flie vnto the name seeking out a patronage and excuse for their lusts. They therefore loose that one good which they had in euils which is the shame of offending. For they prayse these things whereof they were afhamed and glorie in their vice, and therefore youth cannot rowle and recouer it selfe, when they ascribe so faire a title to so foule an error.

CHAP. XIII.

Why the praise of pleasure is pernicious.

THis is the cause why this prayse of pleasure is so pernicious because honest precepts remaine buried hereby, and that which most corrupteth is most apparant. But my opinion is (although I speake it to the disgust of those of my Sect) that the precepts of the Epicure are holy, right, and if thou examine them more neerely seuer enough. For he scanteth the wing of pleasure very much, nayther giueth her any libertie, but impleth the same Law vpon voluptuousnesse that wee doe vpon Vertue. Hee commandeth her to obey Nature, but that which sufficeth Nature is too little for dissolusion. What is it therefore? hee that calleth slothfull idleness, and the varietie of gourmandize and dissolusion, felicitie; he seeketh a faire pretext for an euill thing, and whilest he commeth thither being shrouded vnder a name of respect he followeth pleasure not that which he hath learned, but that which hee had in her selfe, and thinking his vices had bene taught him in some Schoole, he pleaseth himselfe in them, not fairefully, nor obscurely, yea he surfeitteth on them in the sight and presence of all men, I will not therefore say as diuers of our Stoicks doe, that the Epicures Sect teacheth nothing but wickednesse, but this I say that it hath an euill report and is vnderferedly defamed. No man can know this thing except he be admitted to know the secrets of this Schoole. The front and that which appeareth outwardly is the cause why men detract the same, and speake so sinisterly of it. It is as if it were a valiant man clothed in an effeminate robe. As long as thou maintainest modestie, Vertue is in securitie. Thou wilt say that thy bodie is not addicted to any vncleanesse, but thou holdest as (some say) the Drumme in thy hand, and awakenest others to doe euill. Make choise therefore of an honest title, and let the inscription be such as may incite the minde to repell those vices which weaken, as presently as they are intainted, who sooner approacheth Vertue, he giueth hope of some generous thing. He that followeth pleasure

pleasure seemeth to bee weake, broken, effeminate, disposed to doe wickedly. Except some man decipher vnto him what pleasures are, to the end hee may know which of them are limited within a naturall desire: which are carried away head-long and are infinite, and the more they are fulfilled the lesse are they satisfied. Well then let Vertue leade the way, and our steppes shall bee assured. Ouer-great pleasure is hurtfull, in Vertue it is not to be feared that there should bee any thing excessive, for hee her selfe only is the meane. That which is tired with his owne greatnesse is not good.

CHAP. XIII.

How a man will
agree pleasure
with Vertue.

BV T to those that haue a reasonable Nature, what better thing then reason may be propofed? If this vnion bee agreeable, and if a man will trauell in fuch companie towards happie life, let Vertue goe before and pleasure follow after, as the shadow doth the bodie. It is a small matter for a great minde to giue pleasure for a Hand-maid to attend on Vertue, which is the most honourablest Mistresse that a man may meeete with all. Let Vertue march before and carrie the Ensigne, yet notwithstanding we shall haue pleasure, although wee bee Masters and gouernours of the same. Shee will presse vs to grant her something, but shee cannot constraîne vs thereunto. But they that haue giuen the superioritie to pleasure, haue wanted both, For they loose Vertue; Moreouer they haue not pleasure; but pleasure is Lord ouer them, with whose want they are eyther tormented, or else in abundance strangled. Wretched if they be forsaken by her, and more wretched if they be ouerpressed. Like these who are entangled in the Syrtes: Now are they left on drie Land, presently hurried away with the violence of the streame. But this falleth out thorow too much intemperance, and the blind loue we beare vnto the same. He that requirerth euill for good, casteth himselfe into great danger if hee obtaine the same. Euen as wee hunt wilde beastes with labour and hazard, and when we haue caught them it is a hard matter to keepe them: for oftentimes they teare their Masters in peices; so fareth it with those who haue great pleasures, for they turne to their great miseries; and surprize them when they imagine they haue the masticke ouer them. Which the more and greater they be, so the lesse is he, and more subject and slave vnto many whom the common sort call happie. To continue and prosecute the similitude which I haue propofed: Euen as hee that searcheth the haunts of wilde beastes and accounts it a great matter to catch such dumbe Creatures in his nets, and enuiron some great Forreill with a kennell of hounds, to the end to follow their Traçt, forsaketh his better affaires, and renounceth many other offices: so hee that followeth pleasure, neglecteth all other things, respecteth not his former libertie, but dependeth on his belly, neyther buyeth hee pleasures for himselfe, but selleth himselfe to pleasures.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BV T what (saith he) letteth Vertue and voluptuousnesse be confounded in one, to the end that from them both the Soueraigne good might be deriued? To that it might bee one thing to be honest, and to be pleasaunt. Because there is but one honestie which is not bought, neither shall the chiefe good haue her sinceritie, if she discover ought in her selfe that is unlike the better. Neither is that joy which proceedeth from Vertue, although it be good, a part of the chiefe and absolute good. No more then mirth and tranquillitie, although they are deriued from most excellent causes. For these are goods: yet such as attend the Soueraigne good, but perfect it not. But wholesome will assure Vertue, and pleasure; and not equal them; by the frailtie of the one hee more respecteth all that which is active in the other. Finally hee intrueth in that inuisible libertie that knoweth nothing more precious then her selfe. For hee beginneth to haue need of Fortune which is the greatest seruitude of all others. And hee is attended by a doubtfull, fearefull, and suspicious life; fearefull of casualties, and suspended vpon the moments of time. Then giuest not Vertue a solid and immoueaible foundation, but commandest her to stand in a slippery place. But what is so vncertaine as the expectation of casualties, and the variablenesse of the bodie; and such things as affect the bodie? How can hee obey God, and entertaine euery thing that happeneth to him with a good minde; and cease to complaine of Fate, and be a faithfull interpreter of his owne casualties; if he be shaken with the smallest assaults of pleasures or sorrows? Neither can hee be a good tutor or defender of his Countrey, nor a maintainer of his friends; if hee be inclined to pleasures. Whether therefore doth the chiefe good ascend from whence she may not bee drawne by any force. Whereby there is neyther entrance giuen to sorrow, hope, or feare, nor to any other thing which may in-dammie or lessen the greatnesse of the chiefe good. And only Vertue may ascend thereunto, by her steppes this slippery rocke must be broken, shee will stand stilly, and whatsoeuer shall happen will endure: hee not onely patient but also willing, knowing that euery difficultie of time is but the Law of Nature. And as a good Souldier will endure wounds, number his capes, and though thrust throw with many weapons, will dying looke that Captaine for whose sake he breatheth his last: so will Vertue haue this Ancient precept in minde, March after God. But wholesome complaineth, weepeth, and mourneth, is compelled to doe that which he is commanded, and notwithstanding is violently enforced to doe that which is enjoyed. But what madnesse is it rather to bee drawne then to follow? As great in truth, as if thorow foolishness and ignorance of thy condition, thou shouldst lambe, because some misfortune is befallne thee, or shouldst be amazed and diffident that thou couldst not endure that which happeneth as well to the good as to the euill: that is to say sickness, death of parents and friends, want of helpe, and such other inuinciblenesse of mortall life. Let vs courageously endure all that which the common condition of all things that are created subiecteth vs vnto. We are obliged vnto this, to endure all the accidents of our life without troubling our selues with those casualties, which we know how to auoid. We are borne vnder a Royall domination: It is libertie to obey God.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XVII:

Hee concludeth,
that a happie
life consisteth in
Vertue, and
sheweth what
counsailer the
Vertue giueth;
and what good
thee bringeth.

Thus felicitie therefore is placed in Vertue. What wil the counsaile thee to? That thou thinke that neither good or euill that happeneth vnto thee, neither by Vertue, nor by malice. Afterwardes that by the meanes of God thou shalt remaine alwayes firme and confident against euills, and that hee giue as breath in thy power the followe God. What then is that which is promised thee, if thou behauest thy selfe after this manner? Great things, and such as are answerable to those that are diuine. Thou shalt be enforced in nothing. Thou shalt want nothing, thou shalt be free, assured and exempt from all damage; thou shalt vndertake nothing in vaine: thou shalt doe that which thou pleasest without trouble or disturbance. All things shall fall out as thou wishest. Auerfitione shall not touch thee. What then? shall Vertue onely which is thus perfect and diuine suffice to liue happily? And why should it not suffice? I say this, it is more then sufficient. For what can he want that is contented with euery thing and desireth nothing whatsoeuer? he hath gathered all things that are his into himselfe; hath no need of any externall thing. But he that sendeth vnto Vertue although he hath gotten the greater part of his way, yet hath he need of some indulgence and fauour of Fortune, who as yet is entangled amidst the cares of this life, and hath not as yet acquit himselfe of those bondes which tie him captiue to this World. What difference then is there, some are tied, some are lockt vp, and some are fettered. But hee that hath gotten more high, and is as it were lifted vpp from the Earth draweth his chaine, being as yet not at full libertie, and reputed for a man that is wholly free.

CHAPTER XVII.

Having so highly spoken of the soueraigne good and of a happie life, He taxeth those that flatter vices.

If therefore any one of these that barke at Philosophie alleage that which they are accustomed, why then speakest thou better then thou liest? whence cometh it that thou flatterest a man more greater then thy selfe that thou esteemest money to be a necessary aide, that thou art moued if thou losest the same, that thou weepst if thou hearest news of the death of thy wife or of thy friend, that thou art glad if thou be praised and spoken well of in all places, and that detractions torment thee? Why are thy Country grounds better trimmed, then the natural life requirith? why keepest thou no ordinary rule in taking thy repast? what meaneth thy house better furnished then other mens? What moueth thee to drinke Wine more older then thy selfe? why is euery thing well ordered in thy house? whence cometh it that thou plantest trees, which serue for no other vse but for shade? whence is it that thy wife careth the renewen of a rich family hanginge aboue eares? And what is the cause that thy Pages are so richly apparelled? why hast thou an arin in thy house to know how to serue the table, and that thy plate is not set vpon thy boord rashly, and at euery mans pleasure, but is serued in by course, and that thou hast a caruer to cut vp thy dainties? Adde hereunto if thou wilt, Why hast thou goods beyond Seas? And why art thou Master of so many goods that thou knowest not how to number them? Art thou so dishonest and negligent that thou knowest not three or foure

Of Blessed Life.

of thy seruants? or so dissolve that thou hast them in so great number that thy
memorie sufficient not to containe their names? Hereafter I will affixe thee in
speaking of me; and besides this will propose aginst my selfe, more then thou
thinkest: For the present, behold what answer I will make thee: I am not
wife, and to dissuade thy displeasure the better I shall not be wife. I require none
more of my selfe to be equal with the Sun, but to be better then the world
is sufficient meritor of day by day some part of my vices; and to correct my
imperfections my health neither, nor shall be able. I have vnguented but
not exact remedies for my paine of the gouerning my selfe in trouble, in
with often, and that it be loffe furious, and burning then it is: If I be compared
not thee, for swiftnesse of pace I am but a weakle runner.

СНДР. XVIII.

I Speake not this for my selfe: (for I am drowned in vices) but for him that alreadie hath gotten ground; / Thou speakest, faist thou, in one kinde but beleest in another; / This hath bene reproched by some leud companions, enemies of all good men to *Plato*, to the Epicure and to *Zeno*. For all these shewed how *Virtue* ought to liue, and not how they themselves liued, I speake of Vertue not of my selfe. When I blame vices I first of all reprocure mine owne, and when I may possibly I will liue as I ought. / This malignitie infected with diuers poysons shall not driue me from my laudable designes: This venom which you vomit out against others, and wherewith you poison your felues shall not hinder me from praying that life, according to which I know that I ought to gouerne my selfe, although I gouerne not my selfe in that sort as I ought therein. / You malignitie (I tell you) shall not refraine me from adorning that Vertue, which I follow not, although it be estranged and farre off from me: Shall I expect that approach, shall I in any sort refraine her handes which neither respected *Nature*, nor forbare *Cato*? Why should not any man in these mens opinion, beouer rich to whom *Demetrius* the Cynicke seemed not poore enough? O exact person and aduerfariie to all the desires of Nature, so farre as he forbade himselfe to demand those things from the vltie whereof he had rescolued to abstaine. For he maintaineth that the wiseman wanteth nothing. Marckst thou this? he professed not the sciencie of Vertue but of poeuerie.

С Н А Р. XIX.

Hey denie that *Diadorus* the Philosopher and the Epicure who not long since hastened his own death, by cutting his throat with his own hands, followed not in this act the Doctrine of the Epicureans. Some import this into furie, some into folly, and vain glorie. He contrariwise content and furnished with a good conscience hath given testimonie to himselfe in departing out of this life, and hath praised the repose of his dayes and arraigned at the port pronouncing that which you have heard, in despite of your teeth and that which you your selues also must feele when your turne cometh.

*Long have I liv'd and fully have I ended,
That race of life that Fortune first commanded.*

66

Yon

That this v.
proach is not
new, That a
wiseman in con-
demning other
mens vices be-
ginneth with his
owne, and hath
a desire to mem-
birselſe, That
we ought paſſes
to endue ſoules
because the best
men haue not eſ-
caped them.

*A paradox of the
Stoickies, who
praise those
that murder
themselves.
The iniquitie of
those men that
accuse others
and yet amend
not themselves.*

You dispute of an other mans life, of an other mans death, and barke like little Dogges, against the names of great and laudable men; as if you met with men that were vnknowing. For it is expedient for you, that no man should seeme good, because an other mans vertue should not reproch your iniquities. To your great hearts griefe you compare famous things with your aburdities; neither perceiue you that this holdeneth of yours woundeth you vnderstandfully. For if the Schollars of Vertue be concupiscous, voluptuous and ambitious; what name shall we give you, who haue the very name of Vertue? You obiekt that no man doth that which he teacheth; and that he doth other wise then he teacheth. Is this to be wondered at? Considering that they propole great and valourous things, which are above all the compasse of the world; and stringe to mayle themselves to the Crosse, wherein euery one of you hath planted some nayle: yea, before they are at the place of punishment, they are content to bee tied to any wood that they meete withall. They that doe not chastice and reprove themselves by themselves, are so many times tied vnto the Gibbet, as there are passions that draw them hither and thither, and are so ready to out-rage another; I would beleeue them, were their not some of them that from the gallows cursed and spit on those that beheld them.

CHAP. XXV.

THe Philosophers performe not what they speake; yet performing they very much, because they speake that which they haue conceived with an honest mind. For if their words and deedes were one, what were more blessed then they? In the meane space, thou hast no cause to despise good words, neither those hearts that are full of good thoughts. You ought to praise the faire and honest occupations of the minde, and the studie of good Sciences, although there follow no effect thereupon. What wonder is it if they that haue attempted high matters, attaine not to honour? Reuerence thou the hardie and difficult enterprises of Vertue, admire the men, although attempting great matters, they faile of their purpose. It is a generous thing, for a man that considereth not his owne; but natures forces, to attempt and vndertake high matters, and to conceiue that in his thought which the most ablest men in the world cannot effect; who hath purposed and said this vnto himselfe; I will keepe the same countenance in beholding death, as I kept when I heard that shee approached me. How great waight so euer shall be imposed on me, I will yeeld my shoulder, and my minde shall sustaine my body. I will make as small reckoning of those goods that I haue, as of those that I haue not, if they lie on the ground in another mans house, it shall not trouble me; neither if they thinke about me will I bee proude. I will neither respect the present prosperitie or future aduersitie; I will looke vpon euery mans land as if it were mine owne, and on mine as if it were all mens; I will forgiue, as if I knew that I was borne for others, and for that will I giue thanks to nature that hath appropriated me to that vse. What could shee doe more for me? Shee hath giuen me onely vnto all men, and all men vnto me alone, what so euer I haue, I will neither keepe it too niggardly, nor spend it too prodigally. I will beleeue that I possesse nothing more; then that which is well giuen me. I will not esteeme any benefits by the number or weight, nor esteeme them any other wayes, but in respect of him that receiue them.

That

That a man both
purchased much
that he with got-
ten mighte good
thoughts, al-
though the effects
follow not al-
wayes.

That shall neuer seeme too much to me, which a worthy man receiue at my hands; I will doe all things, not for opinion but for conscience sake. I will beleeue it is done in the sight of all men, whatsoeuer I doe vnwittingly. The end of my eating and drinking shall be to satisfy the desires of nature, not to fill and emptie my belly. I will bee pleasing to my friends; gentle and facile to mine enemies. I will graunt before I be asked, and will preuent all honest demandes. I will remember that the World is my Countrey; that the gods who gouerne the World are about me, and stand about me as censors of my deedes and words. And as often as nature shall redemand my Soule, or reason dismisie it I will depart this life with this testimonie; that I haue loued and laboured to haue a good conscience; and to bee exercised in laudable actions; that no mans libertie hath bene diminished by me, nor mine by any man.

CHAP. XXVI.



Whoeuer resolue with himselfe to doe this, hee will assay he will walke towards the gods, and aspire vnto great things, although he alwayes attaine them not. But you that hate Vertue and such as are vertuous doe nothing new. For like eyes are afraide of the Sunne, and those creatures which see not clearly but by night, are astonishd as soone as the bright some day appeareth, and retire themselves to their lurking holes; In briefe, those creatures that feare the light, locke them vp in their retreats. Griefe and spend your wretched tongs in detraiding good men; barke and bite at them, sooner shall you breake your teeth then lay hold or hurt them. But why liueth such a one, who saith hee is a friend of Wisdome so deliciously? Wherefore saith he should a man despise riches and yet he hath them? Hee doth nought else but speake against the loue of this life, and yet he liueth. Why commendeth hee sicknesse, and yet so diligently maintaineth and longeth for health? Banishment with him is but a word of no vse, and he saith that the change of a mans Countrey is no euill thing: Notwithstanding, if hee may make choice, hee endeth his dayes in the place where he was borne. He iudgeth that there is little difference betwixt a short and long life, yet if nothing let him he extendeth his age, and flourisheth in quietnesse for many yeares. He saith that these things should be condemned, not in regard of the proprietie and possession, but in respect we should not haue them with labour, hee will not driue them from him, but will follow them securely when they flit away. In what store-house may Fortune better locke her riches then there, from whence she may fetch them, without complaint of him that keepeth them? *Marcus Cato* when hee praised *Curius* and *Corneilius* and that Age, wherein it was an offence worthy of censure, to haue some few plates of Silver, was himselfe master of a million of Gold, farre lesse in respect of the treasure which *Craffus* had, yet farre more then *Cato* the Censor was Lord of. By farre more had he surpassed his great Grand-father, had they bene compared together, then he was surpassed by *Craffus*; And if greater fortunes had befallen him, he had not refused them. For a wiseman thinketh himselfe worthy of all those presents of fortune. Hee looueth not riches, and yet he preferreth them before pouertie; hee receiue them into his house but not in his minde, neither treadeth them vnder foote in possessing them; but containeth them, and will haue an excellent subject to exercise his vertue vpon.

That good
thoughts are the
beginnings, and
the high waies to
good works.

CHAP. XXII.

*Why a vertuous
and good man
disparis not ri-
cher, and to what
use they serue
him.*

*In this place
there is a noble
discourse of the
use of riches.*

BUt who doubteth, but that a wife man hath a greater meanes to expresse the worthinesse of his minde, when he hath riches, then when he hath pouertie, who as in pouertie there is but one vertue not to be dejected, not to be depressed. In riches a man may say that temperance, libertie, diligence, disposition, and magnificence, haue a spacious field to shew themselves in. A wife man will not contemne himself, although he be of a low stature, yet could hee with that he were higher. Though he be slender in body, and haue lost an eye, yet will he be content, yet had he rather that his body were strong enough. Hee will loue it so, when he shall know that there is some thing in him more strong and more vigorous, hee shall endure sicknesse and with for health. For some things although they be small in appearance, and such as may be taken from vs, without the ruine of the principall good, yet adde they something to perpetuall ioy which springeth from vertue. So doe riches affect and comfort him, as a faire and merrie wind doth a Sailer, as a faire day, or as a conert in cold weather and raine. But who is he say I, amongst our wife men, who account vertue for the only good, that denieth likewise that these which we call indifferent, haue some worth in them, and that some are to be preferred before others. To some of these some honour is giuen, to some great. Doe not therefore deceiue thy selfe, riches are amongst those things that are to be desired. Why then saiest thou, dost thou mocke me, when as they are as highly esteemed by thee as they are by me? Wilt thou know how differently they are affected? If riches slip out of my hands, they shall carrie nothing away with them but themselves; I thou wilt be astonished, and seeme vnto thy selfe to be left without thy selfe, if they depart from thee. Riches with me are in some request, with thee in high esteeme. In briefe, my riches serue me, I thou art a slaue to thine.

CHAP. XXIII.

*That riches are
honest, both in
regard of the
getting of them,
as in respect of
the possession and
use of them.*

Come ouer therefore to forbid Philosophers to haue money. No man hath condemned Wisedome to perpetuall pouertie. A wife man may haue great wealth, but taken from no man, nor bought with the effusion of other mens blood, gotten without any mans preiudice, without vnlawfull gaine, whose departure shall be as honest as their entrie, whereat no man shall grieue except he be enuious. Verge against them as much as thou pleasest, they are honest, in which, where as there are many things which euery man would haue called his; yet is their nothing that any man may say it is his. But the wife man will not estrange the bountie of Fortune from him selfe, neither will he glorie or be ashamed of that patri-
monie that he hath gotten with honestie; yet shall hee haue wherein to glorie, if his doores being open, and the Citie admitted to enter to examine his substance, he might say; Let euery man take that hence which he knoweth to be his! O great man, happily rich, if his actions be answerable to these speeches of his, if after this speech he haue so much, this I say, if safe and secure he hath submitted himselfe to the Citie search; if no man hath found ought in his house, that an other man may challenge; boldly and openly, hee shall be rich.

rich. Euen as a wife man admitteth no money into his house that is badly got, so will he not refuse nor exclude great riches, which are the gifts of fortune and the fruites of vertue. For what cause is there, why hee should eniue them a good place? Let them come and dwell with him; he will neither boast of them, nor hide them, the one is the signe of an insolent minde, the other of a fearefull and weake minde; as if containing a great good within his bosome. Neither as I said, will he cast them out of his house. For what will he say? Whether this, you are vnprofitable, or this, I know not how to vser riches? Euen as although he can walke his journey on foote, yet he had rather get vp into his Coach, so if he may be rich he will, and he will entertaine riches yet as slight and transitorie things, neither will he suffer them to bee burthen some to any other, nor to himselfe. He will giue then, what hearken you now? Why open you your bosomes? he will giue, but either to good men, or to those whom hee may make good. He will giue, but with great deliberation, making choice of the worthiest as remembering himselfe, that hee is to giue an account both of his expences and receipts. He will giue vpon a iust and reasonable cause, for to giue euilly, is a shamefull losse. Hee will haue his bosome open, but not rent, out of which much money shall passe, but nothing shall be lost.


CHAP. XXIII.

HE deceiue himselfe, who soeuer thinketh that it is an easie matter to giue; This thing hath great difficultie in it, if so bee it be giuen with iudgement, not scattered by aduerture or rashly. I gaine the heart of such a man, I restore vnto an other, I succour this man, I take pittie on that man; I furnish such a one, because hee deserueth to be warranted from pouertie, and to bee no more buied in seeking his fortune. To some I will not giue although hee want; because, although I should giue yet will he still be needie. To some will I offer, and other some will I presse to take, I cannot be negligent in this thing, I neuer oblige so many vnto my profit as when I giue. What saiest thou, dost thou giue to receiue againe? Yea, to the end I may not loose; yet must the gift that is giuen be in such hands whence it may not be redemanded, it may be restored. Let a benefit bee bestowed like a treasure that is deeply hidden, which thou wilt not digge vp, except thou hast neede of it. What? hath not a rich mans house abundant matter to doe good? For who would tie liberality only to Citizens and men of accompt? Nature commandeth vs to doe good vnto men, whether they be slaues or free-men, whether they be naturally bred, or by manumission freed of in iust libertie or giuen amongst friends. What is that to the matter? Where soeuer a man is, there is a place of benefit. The wife man likewise may spend his money in his owne house, and exercise liberality, which is not so called, because it is giuen to free-men, but because it proceedeth from a free minde. This liberality of a wife man, is neuer employed vpon filthy and vnworthy persons, neither is it euer so wearied, but that as often as he findeth out a worthy receiuer, it floweth abundantly, you are not therefore to giue a sinister interpretation, to those things that are spoken honestly, manfully, and stoutly, by those that are louers of Wisedome. But consider this first of all, that there is a difference betwixt him that is studious of wisdom, and him that is wise & hath gotten wisdom. He that hath

*Of the use of
Goods in regard
of the diuers v-
ses of our neigh-
bours, and how
we ought to giue.*

wisdom will say vnto thee, I speake iustly, yet am I entangled with many vices. You are not to require of mee a life that is euery way correspondent to my words, whereas I endeavour as much as I may to make and forme my selfe, and address my selfe according to an excellent patterne. If I proceede as well as I haue intended, require this of me, that my deedes may bee answerable to my wordes. But he that hath attained the fullnesse of wisdom, will deale otherwise with thee, and will say. First of all thou art not to permit thy selfe to giue sentence of thy betters; for now already (which is the argument that I am in the right way) I haue gotten thus farre as to displease euill men. But to let thee know, that I enuy no mortall man, heare what I promise thee, and how much I estimate euery thing. I deny that riches are good, for if they were, they should make good men: but now since that which is found amongst euill men, cannot bee called good, I deny them this name, yet confesse I that they are to be had, that they are profitable, and bring great commodities.


CHAP. XXV.

 Eare therefore what the cause is, why I number them not amongst goods, and what thing I consider in them, more then you, since it is agreed betwene vs both that they are to be had. Put mee into a rich house; put mee there where I shall be ordinarily ferued in siluer and golde; I will not bee proud for all this, which, although I haue by me, yet are they without me. Transferr me to a wooden bridge, and driue mee amongst the beggers, I will not therefore despise my selfe, because I sit amongst them, who thrust out their hand to haue an almes giuen them; for what is this to the matter, whether a crust of bread be wanting to him, who wants not the power to die? what then is it? I had rather haue that faire house then a bridge. Lodge me in a rich bed with delicate hangings, and goodly furniture, I will not suppose my selfe more happy, because I haue soft and silken couering vpon me, and because purple carpets are spread for my guests to sit vpon. I shall bee no whit more miserable, if my wariie head rest it selfe vpon a Locke of haye, or if I lie vpon a Circenian and broken pad, whence the straw breaketh forth, through the rotten and ragged linnen. What therefore is it? I had rather show what my manner were in cleanly and decent appaerell, then with halfe covered or naked shoulders. Though all the dayes of my life should be pleasant, and that one honour should draw on others that are new, I would not be a whit prouder for all this. Change to the contrary this indulgence of time; let my mind bee wounded euery wayes with losses, sorrowes, and diuers incurfions: Let not an hower slip without some complaint, yet will I not say, that I am wretched amongst the wretchedest; I will not therefore curse my day, for I haue already resolved with my selfe, that no day should seeme fatal vnto me. What therefore is it? I had rather temperate my ioyes, then fill my sorrowes. This will *Socrates* say vnto thee: Make mee the conquerour of all nations; let that delicate and triumphant Chariot of *Bacchus* carry me as farre as *Thebes* from the sunne-rise; Let the *Persian* Kings require lawes at my hands, then will I thinke my selfe most of all to bee a man when all the world shall salute me for a God. Ioyne to this sodaine greatnesse, a contrary change; Let them call mee vpon a hurdle, to be led in show in the triumph of some proud and insolent enemy by reason of his victory, I will march

Although a wife
man possesse
riches, he accounteth
them not
for true goods,
and why he had
rather haue
them, than haue
them not.

march with such a countenance behind his Chariot, as I did when I was mounted in mine. What therefore is it? I had rather ouercome then be taken. I will despise the whole Kingdome of Fortune, out of that if I may take my choice, I will chuse the best and most pleasing. What so euer befalleth me, I will repute it good, but I desire they should be easie and pleasant, and such as should least trouble me in the handling of them. For, thou must not thinke that there is any vertue without labour, but some vertues neede / spurs, other some raines: Euen as the body that ascendeth a hie place ought to be kept backe, and he that ascendeth vpon should beare forward: so some vertues are as it were descending, some that are troublesome to mount. Is it to be doubted, but that patience, valour, and perseuerance, and other vertues opposed to afflictions, and tread fortune vnder foot, are such vertues as mount and aduance themselves with trauell, and outstrip many difficulties? What therefore? Is it not as apparent, that liberty, temperance and clemency march downward? In these wee containe our minde, lest it slip. In these wee encourage and incite: So then when there shall bee question of pouerty, wee will arme our selues with the strongest, best disposed, and such as know best how to fight in the vse of riches, wee will call the other which will march leasurly, and sustaine the weight.

CHAP. XXVI.

 His being thus distinguished, I had rather haue the vse of those vertues, the exercise whereof is peaceable, then to assay those other that make a man sweat bloud and water. I therefore saith the Wife-man, liue not otherwise then I speake, but you heare otherwise then you should: onely the sound of words is come to your eares, but what they signifie you enquire not, what difference then is there betwixt mee a foole, and thee a wife man, if both of vs will haue wealth? Great: for riches are to the wife man as his slaues, to the foole as his commanders. The wife man giueth not any authority to riches, yet they master you wholly: you, as though some one had promised you an eternall possession of them, accustom your selues to them, and cleaue vnto them. The wife-man doth then most of all meditate vpon pouerty, when as hee is in the midst of his pouerty. Neuer doth an Emperour so trust to peace, that he prepareth not for warre, which hee reputeth to be already proclaimed, although as yet they are not come to handy strokes. A faire house, as though it could neuer burne nor fall downe, maketh you insolent. Riches doe amase you, as if they were out of all danger, and were greater then that fortune had power enough to consume them. Idling you enuy your riches, neither foresee you the danger of them. Wherein you behaue your selues like Barbarians besieged in a place, who set their armes a crosse, beholding those that besiege them traouelling after certaine engines, and know not what they be, neither vnderstand wherto men will make vse of these engines of battery, which are addressed farre off from the Wall. The same befalleth you, you rot in your goods, neither thinke you what casualties hang ouer your heads euery wayes, and that sodainly shall plucke from you the fairest and the richest spoiles. Who sooner shall take away a wife mans riches, shall leaue him that which is his, for he liueth being contented with those things that were present, and secure of the future. I haue neuer so much persuaded my selfe saith *Socrates*, or any other that hath the same right and pow-

What difference
there is betwixt
a foole and a
wife man, when
as both would be
rich.

erouer humane affaires, as to apply my manner of liuing to your opinions. Vile your accustomed habite every way. I will not thinke them to bee the iniuries of men, but the cries of little children. Thus will hee speake that hath gotten and attained wisdom, whose mind beeing freed from all vice, will loath him to reprehend others, not because hee hateth them, but because hee would amend them. To these will hee add: Your reputation murther me, not in mine owne respect, but for your cause: When I see you hate and harrow vertue, it is a forswearing of good hope. You doe me no more iniurie, then they do the Gods, who ouerturn their altars; but your euill intent, and euill counsell appeareth euen there where it could not hurt. Thus beare I with your impertinencies euen as almighty *Iupiter* doth the follies of the *Poets*; Whereof one of them giueth him wings, an other hornes, an other brought him forth as an adulterer; an other, as a night-watcher; an other, as cruell towards the Gods; an other, as vnjust towards men; an other, as a raulther, and corrupter of children of free condition and of good parentage; an other, for a parricide, and such a one as hath inuaded other mens dominions, yea, the kingdome of his owne father: all which was to no other end, but to take from men (who belieued that the Gods were such) all shame of doing euill. But although these things hurt me nothing, yet doe I warne you for your owne sakes, and counsell you to embrace vertue. Belieue those that hauing long time followed her, cry out that they follow some great thing, and that one day or other, will shew it selfe more excellent, and honour her as the Gods, and reuerence those that serue her, as you would doe the professors and priests of the Gods: and as often as there is any mention made of the faced letters, keepe your silence: for this word is not deriued from fauour, as diuers men suppose, but silence is commanded, that the sacrifice might be duely performed without any interruption.

Fauet lingua non a fauore.

CHAP. XXVII.

W Hic so much the rather ought to be enioyned you, that as often as any thing is vitered by that Oracle, with an intent and humble voice, you may heare the same. When some Apostate Priest maketh a man belieue, that the filser of *Apollo* hath sounded, when any one wel lerned to carue the flesh fro his muskles, woundeth himselfe both in armes and shoulers with a sparing hand, when some woman creeping vpon her knees along the wayes howleth, and an old man apperrelled in linnen, carrying in his hands a lanterne and a candle at midday, crieth out that some one of the Gods are displeased; you flocke about him, and listen, and entertaining one anothers mutuall amase, you affirme, that he is some Prophet. Behold *Socrates* crieth out from that prison, into which when he entred it, he clenfed it, and made it more honest then any Court of plea. What madnesse is this? What nature is this fo opposite against Gods and men? to defame vertues, and to violate holy things with malignant speeches? If you can, praise good men, if not passe by them. But if you take pleasure to exercise this vnbridled liberty, assaile one another: for when you are mad against heauen (I say not that you commit sacrilege) but you loose your labours. Sometimes I ministred matter to *Arsiphanes* to breake his icls vpon me, and all that band of comicke Poets powred out their enuonemmed scootes against me: my vertue grew more famous by these very meanes, whereby they assayed her; for it be-
houeth

By reason of silence which of the earnestly, hee sheweth by an expresse comparison, that there are not any spectacles that would more carefully to be observed, than the wayes of wisdom, and they that are virtuous, do theu on bee introduced. Socrates as the most excellent who magis est et fides et happy life consisteth in the same.

houeth her to be produced and attempted; neither doe any men more vnderstand what she is, then they, who by prouoking her, haue rised her forces. The hardnesse of the flint stone is knowne to no men more then to those who strike vpon it: I present my selfe vnto you in such sort, as a rocke in the midst of a tempestuous sea, the which is on euery side, & incessantly beaten with the waues and yet notwithstanding continueth in his place, and neither by length of time, nor by the assaults of the same, is any wayes consumed. Enforce your selues against me, and leaue me at your pleasure, I will overcome you with patience, what soeuer he be that attempteth those things that are firme and impregnable, imployeth his forces to the ruine of himselfe. And therefore seeke out some more soft and yeelding matter, wherein you may fixe your weapons. But haue you so much leasure as to examine other mens faults, and to giue your censures of any man: Why this Philosopher hath so faire a house? why the other suppeth more daintily? you obserue pustules and little spots in other men, being your selues besieged with vicers. It is as much as if you should carpe at some mens freckles and warts which should appeare in their fairest bodies, and you your selues were ouergrown with a loathsome scab. Obiect against *Plato*, that he desired money; against *Aristotle*, that he reuelled the same, against *Democritus*, that he neglected it, against the Epicure, that he spent it, obiect against me *Alibiades* and *Phedrus*. Oh how happy should you be, when you could but counterfeit our vices? but why rather examine you not your owne vices which wound you on euery side, the one assaying you outwardly, the other burning in your bowels. The affaires of the world are not brought to that passe, although you are wholly ignorant of your estates, that you may haue so much leasure as to employ the rest of your time, and your tongues in detraction of good men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

His vnderstand you not, and you carrie an other countenance then becommeth your fortune, euen as many men doe, who sitting in the Circus or Theater, and some one dead in their houses, and are wholly ignorant of that which hath happened. But I beholding from a hic place, see what tempests either hang ouer your heads, that will somewhat later breake from out their cloud, to such as are neere at hand, that shall raulsh both you and yours away, as soone as they shall meete you. And why? see you not already likewise, although you haue little fence thereof, a certaine tempest that transporteth your minds, and hurleth you vp, flying, and pursuing the same things, and raulsheth you now lifted vp on high; now battereth you against the ground.

The end of the Discourse touching a blessed life.

The continuation of a wife's discourse in the person of Socrates.



The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

AND this Booke is to bee numbered amongst those that are profitable and worthe both for their matter and handling. It was written in the beginning of his returne from his banishment when he was admitted to the Court and preferred to be NEROES Schoolemaster. This appeareth by these words, in his first Chapter. This dissolution abused me, and this bundance of delight spreading it self, and a sounding round about mee, ransied me, coming from a place where I had long time felt my self to live in obscuritie. He toucheth and toucheth the dissolution of the Court, which before times was unknowne and hateful unto him. The order in the handling hereof is confused, yet scarcely is there any, and an over fight or defect woulde I be deceived, appeareth in many things. But this is the summe thereof. The occasion of his writing, be draweth from his inconstancie and irresolution, his minde being neither felled or quiet in any sort. This satisfie be their custome who are in the way to wisdom but have not as yet attained the same, we taste the fruit thereof, which is tranquillitie. O great good, and what is it if he describeth the same. How shall I attaine thereto? by flying inconstancie, what then is flown? he he punctually describeth, she is driven away by divers remedies first by occupation and that either publique, if the times or by vnder it anding admit it, or private to the end, then maifest comerce amongst the best studies and meditations. It must not yet suddenly flye from the Common weale, that there are many parts thereof, and that we haue liberty to embrace any one of them. This untill the fourth Chapter. Then added he if we intend businesse, three things are to be considered our finesse, the businesse, or men for whose cause, or with whom we aff. In our selves our forces are to be examined, what and how sure they may neither let vs attempt further. In our affaires? what are we able to overcome them, whether likewise there be a chaine of them and whether they lead vs farther that our returnes ought to be always free. In men: whether they be worthe of our labor or expence of time. But they are not vaine, ambitious, neither occupied in any serious matter. Afterward in the seventh Chapter, he addeth both scarce to the purpose. That

an effectual and perfect friend is an entire privation of tranquillitie, and delight, but such a one is not of an ill disposition, and (such as ourselves) all things in it. *Againe* there is the second text, and in the eighth Chapter of the meane of *Virtuisme*, that he may get great joy in his own Tranquillitie, but measureless and that may be. *And* in the third of *Fortunisme*. But these two to be assigned, yet in the respective inferences of life, *As* in the Libraries or Bookes: after this he our depth in the tenth Chapter, and proceed he in the third of *Fortunisme* after this, but that they are modified by culture, by holding another way *Fortunisme* which of times is the worst. Likewise that desires are to be satisfied farre from vs, but this a young spirit, and a culture of the *Liberal* in it. *And* this in it is the same a proficent and yonger Scholar, for *Againe* in the third he need to get, for his own comfort his Fortune, which he for himselfe he is to find in it, and not for selfe, for the other of himselfe and breaketh in. This with the third of *Fortunisme* Chapter: after that another Travell that he is not in it, and in the seventh Chapter, neither as much in it, which, in it, *Fortunisme*. He yet in the *Fortunisme* Chapter, that in any things are done, either privately or publicly, differently, after the *Liberal* fourth Chapter, be directed, vs from *Leuitanie* and *Particuar*. That is neither busy to change in life, neither if how his chosen evil, but finally to cleave on what, but in the third of all things with an equal an *Admirer* a pleasing contentment. But what is different a self. *And* in the sixth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the seventh Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the eighth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the ninth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the tenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the eleventh Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the twelfth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the thirteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the fourteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the fifteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the sixteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the seventeenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the eighteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the nineteenth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the twentieth Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the twenty-first Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the twenty-second Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in the twenty-third Chapter that simulation is to be fed, *Againe* careful, composition of a man's selfe. *And* in 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to live in security, as I ought to do, in this time of peace: yea, as I should
 this habitude in my selfe: (for whose I would gladly be a sacrifice: since thou
 army Physician) that neither I am truly and intirely delivered from these
 which I feared and hated, neither againe subject unto them: I am in your e-
 state, that is not altogether so fully, yet do I nothing but complaine my selfe,
 neither finde any thing that may content me: I am not tickle, and yet I am
 not well. I thou must not here tell me, that all the beginnings of virtues are we-
 ble, and that in time their continuance and strength is increased: I know well
 that these things which are of consequence, as honour and reputation, to be e-

Seneca introduceth Serenus or some other in his beginning, to whom he discovereth the infirmities of his mind, and demandeth remedy at his banes to settle them.

loquent, and all that whereupon our neighbours ground their judgement, are fortified by time, and those that require some prouision of true force, and they that are fained to please the eyes, respect some yeeres. Vntill such time as by little and little they get some time that may giue them a tincture. But I feare lest custome which bringeth constancy to things, fixe this imperfection more deeply in me. A long conuersation either with good or euill men induceth loue. But I can not shew thee so well as once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which is hower now this way, now that way, without staying it selfe resolutely on that which is good, and without dedining also vnto the euill. I will tell thee what befallerh mee, giue my infirmity a few wordes, what name thou pleasest. Great is my loue to parsimony, I confesse it, I like not a bed ambitiously furnished, I like not a garment newly drawne from the coffers, nor brought from the presse where to make it shine; it hath endured a thousand weights and torments; but a homely, raiment, proper for the time, that hath not bene horded vp, nor is to be worne with too much care; that meane pleaseeth mee that few men may dresse, and lesse pages attend, that is easily prepared, and that passeth through a few mens hands, that is easily gotten, and easily drest, that is neither scanty nor deare; that may bee found in all places; that neither spendeth the patrimony, nor hurteth the body, nor is like to bee returned by the way it entred: I like a homelie and a home-bred seruant, olde and rusticke, plaine, such as my father vsed, without these new fashions, and the workmans make, a table not checkered nor renowned amongst the people; because that diuers men had bene masters of it, who loued to make good cheere, but fitte for my vse, which for the beautie thereof shall not bewitch the eyes of my guests with pleasure, nor inkindle them with enuy. After I had taken pleasure to see these things abovesaid, a great troupe of yong Pages nourished apart, more diligentlie and costlie apparelled then they should be in a priuate house; and vassils and slaues garnished with golde, and a troupe of seruants that shined (so neatelie they were attired) sodainelic dazed mine eyes. Furthermore, a house wherein nothing was trod vpon but that which was precious, where riches were scattered in euerie corner of the house, where the roofes shined with gold, and where the flattering people haunted which follow and attend those patrimonies that fall to ruine. Why should I reckon vpon the waters fo cleare that a man might see the bottome, which incessantlie runne about those places where the feasts are solemnized? What shall I speake of the banquet, an swerable to the rest of the magnificence? the things amazed mee, and this delicious abundance comming to spread it selfe, and to sound about me, who came from a place where I haue liued a long time, settled in a solitarie life, rauished me wholly, my sight is dulled somewhat, I more easilie lift vpon my mind then mine eyes against such pompe, I depart therefore not more then discontent; neither walke I soioyfull and merrie amidst my brittle household stuffe, and a silent disgust and doubt assaileth me, whether that traine were not better then mine, none of these change me, yet euery one of them shake me. Sometimes I am ready to follow that which my Maisters haue commanded mee, to thrust my selfe into the affaires of estate. I am content to accept of honours and maiestray, not perwaded to vnder take the same, either for purple ornaments or golden roddes, but that being thus aduanced I might be more proper and better disposed to do pleasures to my friends, my kinsfolke, my Citizens, yes, and all mortall men. I follow *Zeno*, *Clementes*, *Cryppus*, no one of all which intermeddled with the common weale, though euery one of them counsailed others

others therunto. But when I had indued my mind therevnto, which is not accustomed to such debates. If any vnworthy matter present it selfe (as in all humane life there are too many) or if it go not forward easilie, or that things slight and frivolous require much time to be employed in them; I returne backe againe to my solitude, and doe as beaulls that are tired and wearied, that run more swiftly then they haue done all the day before when they drawe neare vnto their Stable; then is my mind conceited to containe it selfe within mine owne walles. Let no man hence forward take one day from me, which cannot restore me a sufficient recompence for so great a losse, let my mind cleaue vnto himselfe, let him seeme him selfe; let him not intend no forraigne butinesse, nor any thing that is subiect to euery mans censure, let Tranquillitie be loued which is voyde of priuate and publique cares. But when as reading hath roused and lifted vp my mind to more confidence, and noble examples haue pricked me forward: I take a pleasure to haunt the iudgment court, to lend one man my voice, another man my labour, which although it profit him not, yet was it aimed for his profit, to retraine another mans pride in the iudgement court, too badly puffed vp by his too great fortunes. In studies me thinkes vndoubtedly that it is better to contemplate the things themselves and to discourse vpon them, and to fit them with convenient words, so as without search they may bee subiect to the thing that is in question. What neede wee to compole wordes that shall continue for many ages. Wilt thou beat thy braine to the end that men may speake of thee when thou art out of the world? Thou art borne to dye, the secret funerall hath the least troubles. If therefore thou wilt wright any thing to passe the time withall, write it in a simple stile, for thine owne vse, not to affect praise. They that studie for a day need no great labour. Again, when my soule is lifted vp with the greatnesse of thoughts, she is ambitious in coying words, and as her conceptions are great, so endeouoreth she to be eloquent; and according to the dignitie of the subiect is the carriage of the stile. Then forgetting this lawe, and this restrained iudgement, I am carried aloft, and speake now by another mans mouth. And not to prosecute the rest more at large, in all things this infirmity of a good mind altereth me, and I am afraid least it should escape mee by little and little, or (which is yet more tedious) that I am not alwaies in suspence and doubt as he that feareth to fall, and hath as yet no more euill then I could foresee. For we iudge of our priuate affaires and behold them familiarly, and fauour is alwaies a hinderance vnto iudgement. I thinke that many men might haue attained wisdom except they had thought that they had attained the same; except they had dissembled something in themselves, and overpassed some things with open eyes. For thou must not thinke that other mens flattery maketh vs so euill as our owne doth. What man is he that dare speake truth vnto himselfe? Who is hee that being placed amidst the troopes of his commendors and flatterers, that flattererh not himselfe more then all the rest? I pray thee therefore if thou hast any remedy to stay this debate of my soule, that thou wilt honour me with this good, that I may say that thou art hee that halt set me at quiet. I know well that the motions of my soule are not dangerous, provided that they be not ouer violent. To expresse vnto thee in an apt similitude the master, whereof I complaine, I am not tormented with the storme but I haue a prouocation to vomit. Take from me then this paine whatsoeuer it be, and helpe him that is sicke in the sight of the land.

CHAP. II.

These sweetest first
of all the differ-
ence that is be-
tween those that
seek to vnderstand
their minds, and
others that have
no apprehension
thereof, or that
take pleasure to
be in trouble.
Then declareth
how low the first
should be bound-
ed.

Ruely my *Serenus* I have long ago sought for such a one without speaking a word of it, that had such and the like thought in his mind. There is nothing that admonisheth me more necerly then their example, who being deliuered from a long and grievous sicknesse feele as yet by times some shuering and slight motions, and when as they haue beene freed from the reliques of their infirmities, yet are they disquieted by some suspitions of a relaps, and being already whole offer their hand to the Physitian to feele their pulse, and suspect every heat and motion of their bodies. Such mens bodies *Serenus* are healthfull enough, yet are they not as yet well accustomed thereto; but haue a certaine trembling agitation, resembling that of the calme sea, or some lake when a tempest is ceased on it. They haue therefore need not of those harder remedies which we likewise ouer-passe, as in some place to oppose thy selfe against thy passions, in some place to be displeased, in some other place to be more grievously angry: but we haue most need of that which commeth last, that thou trust thy selfe, and be well that thou art in a good way, being no waies distracted by the by-walkes of many men wandring here and there, and of some that erre about the wayes. But that which thou desirest which is not to bee shaken, is a great and perfect thing, and approacheth the felicity of God. This stable state of the mind the Grecians call *hupokrisis* whereof *Democritus* hath written an excellent volume. I call it *Tranquillity*, neither is it necessary to imitate or to mould new words according to their forme. It sufficeth that the thing which is in questiō hath a name which expretheth the force of the Greeke word without representing the letter. So then we demand how the spirit may remaine alwaies like vnto himselfe, march with an equal traine, be fauourable to himselfe, and behold his attempts with a good eye, to be ioyfull and content; neither railing nor depressing himselfe ouer-much. This is called *Tranquillity*, but let vs enquire in generall how wee may attaine hereunto: thou shalt take as much of the publique remedy as thou wilt; meane while I will discouer the whole vice whereby euery man may know his part, and thou likewise mayst vnderstand how lesse trouble thou hast with the loathing of thy selfe, then they who tying themselves to a false trust, and labouring vnder a great title would willingly discouer themselves; but I know not what shame entertaineth them. All are in the same cause, both they which are vexed with leuitie & anckery, and a continuall change of their purpose, who are alwaies better pleased with that which they haue left, and those that watch & gape after vaine hopes. Adde vnto those men likewise who are not supported in their life by the means of inconstancie but throw their loath. They haue not as they would but as they beganne, howeuer there are innumerable other properties, but only one effect of the vice which is to displease themselves. This springeth from the intemperature of the mind & from fearfull and scarce prosperous desires, whereas they dare not as much as they desire, or attaine not the same; and are whole bent vpon hope alwaies instable and mutable, which must needs befall those that live in suspense. Their whole life is in expectation, and they reach and inforce themselves to dishonest and difficult things, and whereas their labour is in vaine they are vexed with their fruitlesse diligence: neither are they sorie because they haue done euill, but that they willed the same in vaine. Then repent they themselves that they had begun and feare

to

to beginne it againe, and afterward they are surprised with a confusion of the mind which cannot find issue, because they neither can commaund nor obey their desires, so that they lead a life which cannot bee exempt from confusion, and haue their minds tyed and languishing amidst fruitlesse vowes and desires: and all these are more grievous vnto them, when as in despite of that misfortune that trauaileth them, they would haue recourse vnto repose, and to secret studies which the mind canot endure, that is fixed on the affaires of the world, desirous to be in action, by nature vnquiet, and having little solace in himselfe. And therefore their delights being draune from them, which their occupations ministred vnto them, being busied in certainty therein, the mind endureth neither house nor solitude, the wallies are displeasing to him, and being thus abandoned by himselfe, he vnwillingly beholdeth himselfe. From thence proceedeth this tediousnesse, this contempt of himselfe, this perpetuall agitation of the mind, this sad and feeble patience in repose, especially when hee is ashamed to confesse the cause, when shame tormenteth him inwardly, when courteous desires close vp his heart, when none of these finding issue strangle one another. Thence commeth that sadnesse and consumption, and a thousand flouds and assaults of the vncertaine mind, held in suspense by the enterprises he hath begunne, abated by the remembrance of the remedlesse estate of his present affaires. Thence groweth that thoughts which maketh them detest the repose they enioy, complaine themselves that they haue nothing to doe, and to beare endlesse hatred and enuie at other mens prosperitie; For vnhappy idlenesse is the nurse of enuie, and all of them desire to be dead because they could not outstrippe others. This enuie conceiued against other mens fortunes, and his own disgraces causeth the mind to fret and murmure against fortune, to accuse the mallice of the time, to retire himselfe into some corner apart, and to sleepe vnder his torment in fretting and consuming himselfe. For mans mind is swift and ready to be moued, and reioyceth very much when any occasion is offered to exercise himselfe. But aboue all others this pleaseth those men that are malignant, whose minds are sharpened and ordinarily whetted in manning affaires. Even as there are certaine vlcers that are glad to be rubbed, and desire to be handled, and the itch is not content except a man scratch it; So these spirits which are seized with desires, as with malignant vlcers, take no pleasure but in trauaile and affliction; For there are certaine infirmities which delight our bodies with a kind of paine, witnesseth those that turne themselves on this side, now on that, and refresh themselves in changing their bed. Such was *Achilles* in *Homer*, sometimes he lay vpon his belly, then vpon his backe, and could neuer remaine in one estate. It is the true act of a sicke man not to be able to suffer any thing long time, but to thinke that his health consisteth in his tossing and turning. Hence are diuers trauels vndertaken, and shoares fought out, and lenitie which is alwaies an enemy to those things which are present, now by sea, and then by land, aduentureth daily. Let vs goe now into *Campania*, now that delicate soyle delighteth vs, let vs visite the wood countries, let vs visite the Forrest of *Calabria*, and let vs seeke some pleasure amidst the desertes, in such sort as these wandering eyes of ours may be relieved in beholding at our pleasure the strange solitude of these sauage places. We must goe see *Tarentum* & that haue so much esteemed, and the ayre so sweet in Winter, & the stately houses of these ancient people. Let vs returne to *Rome* backe againe, our eares haue too long time been estranged from the applause of the Theater & the Circenian sports, now would I take pleasure to see mags blood spilt. Behold here how one voyage begetteth

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another,

another, and how after we haue scene one thing we long for another.

After this manner each man flies himselfe.

But what profiteth him to flie if hee cannot escape, hee runneth after himselfe, and hath a very dangerous company that attendeth him. Let vs therefore know that the euill that presseth vs, cometh not from the place but from our selues. There is no affliction how light soeuer it be that is not ouer-waighy for vs, we are neither patient of labour or pleasure, we cannot beare our owne affaires, nor any thing else. Some by reason herof haue procured their owne deaths, because that oftentimes hauing changed their deliberation, they fell backe againe alwaies into the same, and mette with nothing that is newe, by meanes whereof both their life and this world beganne to displease them, and the words which are the signes of foolish and enraged pleasures come into their heads. *How long shall we alwaies see the same?*

CHAP. III.



Hou askest mee what remedie I thinke necessary against this perplexitie. It shall be good (as *Athenodorus* counsaileth vs) to detaine our selues in affaires of estate, and to serue the common-weale. For as some spend the day in taking the sunne, and in exercises and care of their bodies, and as it is profitable for waiters to employ the most part of their time in exercising their armes and strength whereunto they haue onely dedicated themselves, so is it requisite for vs who prepare our minds to the managing of publike affaires to bee alwaies in action. For hee that hath resolu'd himselfe to become profitable to his Citizens, yea, vnto all men at one time doth two things, handling (according to that endeavour that is giuen him) both the publike and his perticular affaires. But because (saith he) in this so mad ambition of men, where so many detracors wrest all things to the worst; simplicity is scarce secure, and there will be alwaies more lets then succesfull euents, we ought to retire our selues from the managing of publike affaires; considering that a well scolded heart hath the meanes to shew it selfe in his priuate house. It fareth not so with men who for the most part haue their actions secret and hidden, as with Lyons and other brut beasts, who are locked vp in their grates to restrain their furie; yet in such sort ought a man to seek out solitude, that wheresoever hee remaineth in quiet, he may define that the vigor of his mind, his speech and action may serue euery one in perticular and all in generall. For not onely hee alone serueth the Common-weale that produceth the Candidates to sue for offices, that defendeth the accused, who giueth his aduise as touching the affaires of peace and warre, but also that other that instruct youth, that in so great want of good manners informeth mens minds with vertue that layeth hold on, and restraineth those who are addicted to auarice and dissolution, or at least wile that hindereth them from passing further, and who in his priuate house procureth the publike good. Who doth more, either the Iudge in a Citie that with his assistant pronounceth a briefe sentence in a processe that strangers and Citizens haue before him: or he that teacheth what iustice is, that sheweth what piety, wisdom, pureness, contempt of death are, and how excellent a good a good conscience is? If then thou employest thy time in studie, thou hast not lost, these honours that are due to the execution of thy charge concerning the pub-

lique

lique, neither shalt thou be exempted from the same. Neither is he a souldier that standeth in the front of the battell and defendeth both the right and left wings: but he also that guardeth the gates, and standeth sentinel in a place though not so dangerous, yet necessary, and keepeth his watch that hath the government of the Ammunition house; which charges though they bee not bloody, yet haue they (that execute them) their pay as well as the rest. If thou shalt retire thy selfe to thy studies, thou shalt auoyd all care that tortureth mans life, thou shalt not be troublesome to thy selfe nor vnprofitable to others; thou shalt get thee many friends, and the better sort of men will accept thee. For vertue, although shee be poore and abiect, yet is shee neuer obscured, but she sheweth the beames of her brightnes a farre off, and whosoever is capable will acknowledge, and follow her steps. For if we renounce all conuersation and flie from humane societie, and liue onely to our priuate respect, this solitude deprived of all honest occupation will find nothing at last whereto to additt her selfe; we shall beginne to build some houses, and to ouer-turne others; we shall taine the sea out of his place; we shall cause the riuers to alter their courses, and displace the time very euilly, which nature gaue vs to bestow well. Sometimes we are too sparing, sometimes ouer-prodigall, some of vs employ the same in such sort that we can yeeld no account thereof; others haue none left them. And therefore there is nothing more shamefull to see an old man (that to approue that he hath liued long time in this world) can produce no other witness but the number of his yeares. For mine owne part (my dearest *Serenus*) mee thinkes that *Athenodorus* submitted himselfe too much to times, and fled from them ouer-hastilie. I confesse well that we ought sometimes to retire our selues; but leasurably, and with a secure retreat, our ensignes displayed, and without empeachment of our worldly dignitie. They are more valiant and more assured then their Conquerours that make a faire and honest retreat. So in my opinion ought vertue to behaue her selfe, and if the inconstancy of worldly affaires disturbe all, and taketh away from a vertuous man the meanes to doe good; yet for all this ought he not to turne his back, nor to cast away his weapons to saue himselfe by flight, and to thrust himselfe in a secret place, as if there could bee any corner where fortune could not find him out: but he ought to be lesse busie in affaires, and find out some expedient with iudgement to make himselfe profitable to his Countrey. Is it not lawfull for him to beare armes? let him aspire to some publike charge: must he not liue priuately? let him plead. Is he put to silence? let him helpe his Citizens by his priuate counsell. Is it dangerous for him to enter the iudgement place? let him shew himselfe a faithfull friend, a gracious companion, a temperate guest in houses, in Theaters, at feasts. If hee haue lost the office of a Citizen? let him vse that of a man. And therefore with a great mind haue we not shut our selues within the walls of one Citie, but haue thrust our selues into the conuersation of the whole world, and haue professed that the world is our Countrey, that wee might giue vertue a more spacious field to shew herselfe in. Is the *Tribunall* shut against thee, art thou not admitted to plead, or to assitt the common Counsels of the Citie? looke backe and see what great Nations and peoples are behind thee, neuer shall so great a part bee kept from thee, that a greater be not left thee. But beware that all this proceed not from thine owne error: for thou wilt not undertake a publike charge except thou be a *Consull*, a *Prætor*, an *Embassador*, a *supream Dictator*. What if thou wilt not be a Souldier except thou bee a Commander or a *Titane*? although that others haue the vaunt-gard, and fortune hath put thee in the reer-ward,

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profitable to
all.

doe thy deuoir in that place, fight with thy voyce, thy exhortation, and thy courage. He also that hath his hand cut off in fight, findeth some means to animate his companions, who standeth onely and encourageth them with crying. So mult thou doe if fortune hath drawne thee from the first ranke of publique charge, yet stand thou and helpe with thy crying. If thy mouth bee stopp'd, yet stand; and helpe with thy silence. The industry of a good Citizen is neuer vnprofitable, for by his hearing, by his sight, by his countenance, by his becke, by his oblique silence, and by his very gate, he may profite. Euen as certaine holefome drugs by their onely sinell (without either touch or taste) doe comfort greatly; so vertue, whether it be sow'd or lock'd in it selfe, whether it be by authority, or by accident, whether thee bee constrained to scantle her failes, or to be idle or mute, confin'd in a straight; or lodg'd at large, spreadeth a farre and vnperceiued, performeth some great and profitable good. In brieft, the serueth in what soeuer estate and countenance shee bee considered. What? thinkest thou that the example of a man that lieth retired and to purpose, is of little vse? I say, that it is an act of a singular vertue to know how to forsake affaires, and to repose himselfe, when as the active liue being hindered by diuers accidents, or by the condition of estate cannot effect his desires. For neuer see we affaires brought to that extremity but that a vertuous man hath the means to do somewhat that is good. Canst thou find a City more wretched then that of the *Athenians* was, at such time as thirty Tyrants rent it in pieces. They had put to death Thirteen hundred of the most poble and most vertuous in the Cittie, and for all that cruelty ceased not thus but incensed it selfe, and augmented daily. In that Citie which was adorned with the most venerable Counsell of the *Arcontes*, where there was a Senate and an assembly of people worthy of so worthy an assembly of Senators; there were gathered daily a miserable troope of murderers, and a wretched court of tyrants, too small to containe them. Could this Citie be in repose wherein there were so many tyrants as there were Souldiers? There was not any hope for these poore Citizens to recouer their libertie, nor any remedie whatsoeuer against such a multitude of mischiefs. For where is it that this poore Citie might find so many *Harmodius*? Notwithstanding (all these miseries) *Socrates* was in the midst of them, who comforted the mournfull Fathers, and exhorted those that despair'd of the Common-weale, and reproued the rich (who feared their goods) for the ouerlate repentance of their dangerous auarice, and to those that would follow him, beare about a worthy example, whilst amongst the thirtie tyrants hee walked confident and free. Yet this man did the *Athenians* murder in prison, and hee that safely insulted ouer the troopes of tyrants, his libertie could not a free City endure and hearken to, to the end thou mayest know, that a wise man hath an occasion to shew himselfe in an afflicted Common-weale; and how in a flourishing and blessed state may eniue, and a thousand other disarmed Cities doe raigne. Howsoeuer therefore the Common-wealth is disposed, howsoeuer fortune permitte, so either may we enlarge or contract our selues, provided alwaies that we be stirring, and suffer not our selues being chained with feare to be dull'd and altonish'd. Nay he shall be truly a man who (when as daungers are eminent euery waies, and when as swords and chaines thunder in his eares) neither breaketh his fortune, nor hideth it. *Curius Dentatus* was wont to say, *That he had rather be dead then lue*. It is the last of all euills to depart from the number of the liuing before thou diest. But thou art to endeavour, that if thou ligh on such a time wherein thou canst not intermeddle with the Common-

weale

weale without danger, to vsurpe more time for thy repose and studie, and no otherwaies then in a dangerous nauigation make saile towards the haven, neither expect thou, vntill such time as affaires leaue thee, but disioyne thou thy selfe from them.

CHAP. IIII.

Erst, therefore we ought to examine our selues; next, what busines we vndertake; lastly, what they are for whole cause wee vndertake them, or with whome wee deale. About all things a man ought to estimate himselfe, for, for the most part in our owne iudgements, we seeme to be able to do more then we can. There is one that looeth himselfe in ouer-trusting his owne eloquence; another hath spent more then his reuenue mounteth to; another hath oppress'd his weak body with laborious offices. There are some that are to ballast to entermeddle with ciuill affaires, which require a confident countenance and resolution: some mens contumacy is vnfit for Court; some there are who haue no government ouer their wrath, and every slight occasion drieth them to intemperate language; some cannot refrain from ielling, neither can they abstaine from dangerous gybing. To all these, repose is more profitable then businesse; a fierce and impatient man by nature will auoyd the prouocations of harmefull libertie.

CHAP. V.

Ext of all these things which we vndertake are to be estimated, and our forces are to be compared with those things which wee wil attempt. For there must alwaies be a greater force in him that beareth, then in the burthen. These weights must needs beare him down, that are greater then he is that carrieth them. Besides there are some affaires that are not so great as they are fruitfull, and breed many other businesse, and these are to be auoyd, from whence a new and diuers occasion of trouble ariseth: neither mult thou aduenture thither, whence thou canst not freely returne againe. Set thy hand to these things, whose end thou mayest either effect or at least-wile hope. These things are to be left that extend themselves farther then the act, and end not there where thou intendedst they should.

CHAP. VI.

We must likewise make some choyce of men, and to consider whether they are worthie on whome we should employ a part of our life, & whether the losse of our time may be redeemed to our profite. There are some that thinke that we are bound to doe them pleasure before we be desired. *Athenodorus* saith, that he would not goe to supper with him who would not thinke it a curtesie in him to accept the same. I beleeue thou conceivest; that much lesse would hee be inuited by them, who requite their friends curtesies with feasts, and account their

The meanes to estimate thy vertues is to fixe waine eler, iustly businesse, pride, wrath, and folie.

That wee charge not and occupie not our selues with measure.

He aduises vs to shew the feares of ungratefull persons, and such as are proud who thinke that all the world is bound vnto the, and feede on nothing but vaine glorie.

being laide holde on by the Ephone, withdrew himselfe from publike pleas, supposing himselfe to bee more fitte and profitable to write histories; for enforced wits neuer satisfie expectation, and the labour is in vaine where nature repineth against it.

CHAP. VII.

Et nothing will so much delight the mind as a faithful and pleasing friendship: how great a good is it when the hearts are prepared, wherein a man may safely burie all his secrets, whose conscience thou fearest lesse then thine owne, whose words may terrifie thy discontents, whose counsels can resolue thy doubts, whose mirth may dissipate thy sorrow, and whose countenance may comfort thee? Such friendes as these let vs make choice of as farre as is possible for vs: for vices creepe into vs, and inuade euery one that is neere them, and hurt by touching. Therefore as in the plunge wee ought to take heed, lest wee sit by these who are already attainted, and infected with the burning sicknesse, because thereby wee shall incurr danger, and be poisoned with their very breath; so must wee endeaour in the choice of our friends, that wee admit such as are least polluted. It is a beginning of sicknesse to accompany those that are infected: neither will I enioyne thee this to follow and contract friendship with none, except hee bee a wise man; for where wilt thou finde out such a one, whom for so many ages wee haue sought after? but wee are to take him for the best who is the least euill. Scarce couldst thou make a happier choice, hadst thou leaue to seeke for good men amongst *Platoes* and *Zenophons*, or amidst the troupe of *Socrates* Schollers, or if it were granted thee to reuiew the time wherein *Cato* liued, which as well brought forth many that were worthy to be borne in *Catoes* age, as many worse then euer were, who were the plotters of many hainous crimes. For their vices need of both sorts, to the end that *Cato* might be the better knowne. Of good, by whom hee might approue himselfe, of bad, in whom he might make triall of his forces; yet especially let such be auoided, who are melancholy and deplore all things, who, vpon euery occasion are ready to complaine, although his faith and beneuolence be vnfaigned, yet so distempered a companion, that griueth and grudgeth at all things, is an enemy to tranquillity.

CHAP. VIII.

Et vs passe ouer to riches which are the causes of all mens miseries: for, if you compare all things whereat we are aerienced, as deaths,

A remedy against a troubled mind, is to haue a trusty friend.

Marks to show and know what friends wee ought to choose.

Who they are that are not to be entertained into friendship.

The third remedy is now to feare

lesse trouble some for those that are balde, to haue their haire pulled of, then to those that haue but his lockes. Know thou this both in rich and poore, that they haue equall torments; for both of them tolde their money, neither without griefe and sence thereof could they endure to lose it. But as I said, it is more tollerable & easie not to get riches, then to lose them, and therefore shall you see them more merry, whom fortune neuer lookt vpon, then those whom she hath forsaken. *Diogenes* saw this, who was a man of a great mind, and endeauoured himself that nothing might be taken from him. Call thou this pouerty necessity, or want, and impose whatsoeuer ignominious name thou list vpon security, I will not thinke this man happy if thou finde me out an other that can lose nothing. But I am deceiued, if it be not a Kingdome among the couetous; the deceiuers, the thiefe, and lewde persons, that there is one that may not be hurt. If any man doubt of *Diogenes* felicity, hee may likewise doubt of the estate of the immortal gods, whether they liue blessedly enough, because they haue no fieldes, nor gardens, nor lands for a husbandman to plow vp, nor a great banke of money in the market place. Art thou not ashamed whosoever thou art that admirest riches? Behold I pray thee the heauens throne, shall thou see the gods naked, giuing all things, hauing nothing. Thinkest thou him poore, or like vnto the immortal gods, that hath dispoiled himselfe of all transitory things. Callest thou *Demetrius* more happie who was *Pompies* Libertine, because hee was not ashamed to bee more richer then his Master? Euery day was the number of his seruants brought vnto him, as the master of an Army to a Generall, who for all his riches should haue long since contented himselfe with two seruants, and a lesser seller. But *Diogenes* onely seruant ranne away from him, neither thought he him so much worthy as to recall him when hee was shewed vnto him. *It were a shame* (saith he) *that Manes could liue without Diogenes, and Diogenes could not liue without Manes.* Mee thinke hee said, meddle with thine owne businesse Fortune, thou hast no more power *Diogenes*. Is my seruant run away? no, hee is departed free. A family requireth maintenance, men must take charge of the feeding of so many greedy beasts, rayment must be bought, thieues hand-sell preuented, and such as weepe and darest, must be admitted to seruice. Hence, far more, happy is hee that oweth nothing but to himselfe, whom he may easily deny: but because wee haue not so much strength, our patrimonies be to be husbanded: that wee may be lesse exposed to the iniuries of fortune, The bodies of meanest proportion and who may locke themselves in their armes, are more addressed then those great and vnweeldy bodies, which by reason of their length and thickenesse are exposed to strokes. The best measure in riches is that which neither falleth into pouerty, neither is farre estranged from pouerty.

A continens
speech of *Diogenes*.

An excellent
example to show
the advantages
of the poore.

CHAP. IX.



The fourth remedy is to keep a measure in desire, gathering, possessing, using worldly goods.

And this measure will bee well pleasing vnto vs, if first of all parcimony content vs, without which neither any riches will suffice vs, neither any prouide great enough, especially whereas the remedy is at hand, and poverty it selfe by the assistance of frugality may conuert it selfe into riches. Let vs accustom our selues to remoue pompe from vs, and to measure the ornaments of our honour by the necessary vse of things. Let our meat appease famine, or drinke thirst; let our desires be appeased by things that are necessary. Let vs learne to walke vpon our owne secte, not to cloath and feed our selues according to euery new fashion, but as the custome of our Ancestors perswadeth vs vnto. Let vs learne to encrease continency, to decrease lasciuiousnes, to temper our excess, to pacifie our wrath, to behold poverty with equal eyes, to respect frugality, although wee will be ashamed to yeeld such remedies to our natural desires as cost very little, to haue vnbridled hopes, and our mind that dependeth on future things, kept as it were vnder bonds, to behaue our selues so that we require not our riches at fortunes hand, but rather from our selues. So great varietie and iniquitie of casualties cannot (I say) be so repulsed, that many homes prelie not vpon those that rigge forth much Shipping. Our affaires must be drawne into a straight, to the end that aduicities may attempt vs in vaine. And therefore banishments and calamities haue sometimes become remedies, and those incommunities that are most grievous haue bene healed by lighter, where the mind is disobedient to precepts, and will not be cured by gentle means. But why may not this be profitable? If both poverty and ignominy, and the ouerthrow of a mans fortunes accompany these: one euill is opposed against another. Let vs therefore accustom our selues to be able to sup without any guests, to be serued with lesse attendants, to be apparelled according to our necessities, and to dwell more retiredly. It is not only in the course of the Circean sports, but also in the Cariers of this life that we ought to retire and contract our selues. And in studies likewise (wherein the charge is most commended) so long will I haue a reason as I haue a measure. To what end serue so many infinite Bookes and Libraries when as their Maister in all his life time can scarcely ouer-read their Tables? A multitude of bookes burtheneth and instructeth him not that learneth, and it is better for thee to add it selfe to few Authers, then to wander amongst many. Forty thousand bookes were burned at *Alexandria*, a worthy monument of kingly riches. Some men may praise this as *Titus Linius* did, who sayth, *That it was a worke that shewed the magnificence and wondrous care of Kings*. But this was not magnificence or any other laudable act, but a studious excess. Nay more, it was not studious, because they had gathered them, not to profite studies, but to shew their pompe, as it falleth out with diuers ignorants, who scarce knowing the letters wherein their slaues are exercised, heap vp bookes not as instruments of study, but ornaments of their suppers. Let vs therefore gather so many bookes as may suffice, and collect nothing for ostentation sake. It shall be more honest (sayst thou) to employ my money herein, then in vessels of Corinth and painted Tables. That is euery wayes vicious where there is ouermuch. Why wouldest thou lesse pardon him that would get reputation by meanes of his Marble and Iuorie, then another that searcheth thorough all Countreys to buye vnkowne Authers, and happily such as are reprooued and censured, and doth nought else

but

but breath vpon his bookes, and takes no pleasure but in their covers, or in their titles? Thou shalt ordinarily see amongst the most idle, whatsoeuer Orators or Histories there are, and their studies filled vp from the top to the bottom: And at this day amongst the bathes and houses are Libraries builded, as if they were a necessary ornament in the house. But all these works of learned men excellently written, bound vp, and enriched with their pictures, are bought to no other end but for show and beautifying of walls: *Seneca* saith, *But yet it is good to haue such a library, as may be used, and not only for show*.

CHAP. X. Of the tranquillitie of the mind.

It may be thou art false, into some troublesome and difficult course of life, and ere thou knowest it, some fortune, either publique or private hath entangled thee, in such sort, as thou neither canst loose or break the bonds. I think with thy selfe, that such as are fettered at the first can hardly beare their shackles, or the irons on their legs, but afterwards being better reioiced doe suffer the same, and conclude to endure them patiently, necessity teacheth them to sustaine them contently, and custome eassly. Thou shalt find in whatsoeuer kind of misery, delights, remissions, and pleasures, except thou hadst more rather thinke by the euill, then make it hateful. The greatest good that we haue conceived by nature is, that the foreseeing how many troubles we must to endure in this world, hath found out a remedie to lenst the same, which is custome: *Seneca* saith, *It maketh the greatest euils familiar and supportable*. No man can endure it at the continuance and sence of aduersitie were vs better, as it beareth the first stroke, we are all of vs coupled by fortune, some of vs haue a golden chain, and some a more base and fordid inbrutement. But what is it that we haue in all of vs are enuironed with the same guard, and they that knowe it haue exchanged themselves. It may be thou thinkest that the chain which is yoked to the left arme weareth not as much as that on the right. *Seneca* saith, *It is not by their honours, but by their base estate*. These are our conditions, to be either emperors, or vassals to themselves; either to be some that are confined in one place, others that are at liberty, to be some that are contented with them. All our whole life is a seruitude, we ought therefore to be at home our selues to our condition, and no waies to complaine of the same, and to apprehend all those commodities which are adiuants. There is nothing to be desired, but what is equal mind cannot find fault with. *Seneca* saith, *It is not by the things we write in infinite things, in the smallest tables, and in the least howe, how to march readily, maketh the straightest abode, and habitable, that is in our wayes*. Adversitie to thy difficulties, for the hardest things may be most modified with the straightest layd open; and those things that are most grievous preste them least, if discreetly can endure them. Besides, desires are more to be feared than of them, but vs suffer them to beuer neare about vs, be cause they, and they are to be restrained whole. Leaving those things which others haue not beene for, hardly can be achieved; let vs follow those things that are more easie, and desirable to our hopes. Yet let vs knowe, that all that which we waridly desire, its appearance is equally light, and inwardly vaine. Neither let vs think those that are more highly preferred, those things than those that are most light are in most danger. They likewise whom aduersity beareth in suspense, shall be more assured by withdrawing pride from those things which of them selves are proud.

If a great company of bookes be not accompanied with a serious study, and well governed, that is but a stockpile.

The first remedie is to endure gently the difficulties of a mans vocation, and to accustom himselfe to be fether that pleasures are intermingled with troubles. *Seneca* saith, *It is good to haue such a library, as may be used, and not only for show*.

The second remedie is to be content with what we haue, and not to desire more. *Seneca* saith, *It is good to haue such a library, as may be used, and not only for show*.

proud, and reducing their fortune (as much as in them lieth) to an humble place and out of danger. There are many that are enforced to remaine in their high degree, from whence they cannot descend but by falling, but yet it behooveth them to beare witness, that the greatest waight they beare vpon their backs is to know, that they are constrained to bee grievous and troublesome vnto others. That they are not relieved but tyed vnto their charge; and that by iustice, clemency, and humane laws, and by a gracious manner of demeanour they prepare themselves diuers succours and defences against the assaults of fortune that may happen, by the hope whereof they may bee more assured in their feuers. There is nothing that can so much exempt these men from these agitations of the minds, then alwayes to prefixe a certaine limit to their encrease, and not to attend till fortune retire them from the same, but to take counsell of themselves, not to attend the extremities. So some desires, but they finite, shall acuate their minds, and shall not be infinite nor vncertain.

CHAP. XI.

He maintaineth
alwayes the
doctrine of the
Stoicks, and
distinguisheth
the passions
from the wife,
whom he teacheth
about humane
fortunes, and
describeth him
here with his
contentments.

His Discourse of mine appertaineth to ignorant persons, and such as haue little knowledge, and are of depraued iudgement, not vnto a wise man. For hee must not walke fearefully or slowly. For to great confidence hath he in himselfe, that hee doubteth not to encounter Fortune, neither will heeauer giue place vnto her; neither hath he cause at any time to feare her, because not onely he numbeth his possessions, and dignities, but his owne body likewise, his eyes, hands, and whatsoever it be that maketh his life deare vnto him, yea, himselfe, as things that are hired, and liueth as though hee were but lent vnto himselfe, ready to restore the whole willingly to those that redemand the same; neither therefore mispraiseth hee himselfe, because hee knoweth that hee is not his owne, but so diligently and circumspectly shall hee doe all things, as a religious and holy man is wont to doe with those things that are committed to his trust. And whensoever hee shall bee commanded to make restitution, hee will not question with fortune, but will say, I giue thanks for that I haue possessed and had: It hath cost mee much to entertaine those things which thou hast giuen mee, but because thou commandest me, I gratefully and willingly restore them againe; and if thou wilt haue ought continue in my hands, euen now will I keep it, if thou bee otherwayes minded, I restore vnto thee, and redeliuer into thy hands, my money and plate, my house and family, whatsoever, if nature summon vs which first gaue vs credit, to her will we answer: Receive a pledge better then thou gauest me, I neither delay nor hide my selfe, I willingly and readily deliuer thee it which thou gauest me when I knew it not. Take it to thee; what euill is it to returne to that place from whence thou camest? Hee shall liue badly that knoweth not how to die well. Wee must therefore aboue all things set light by this life, and account our losses amongst the number of those things that are not ours: We hate (saith Cicero) those skirmishers, if in any sort they desire to beg their liues; wee haue our them if they pretend to conserue the same: Know that the like befalleth vs; for oftentimes the cause of dying is to die fearefully: that fortune that maketh sport for her selfe, wherto such men shall I referue thee wretched and fearefull Creature as thou art? thou shalt receive more wounds and skarres, because thou knowest not how to yeeld thy throat;

but

but thou shalt both liue longer, and die sooner, than manfully entertainest thy death, not in plucking backe thy necke, or oppoling thy hands. Hee that shall feare death, will neuer doe any thing worthy a liuing man: but he that knoweth that this ordinance of life and death was decreed and presently ordered in him, at such time as hee was conceived, he will liue according to the rule and ordinance was prefixed him, and this likewise with no lesse constancy of mind will hee performe, that none of those things that befall him, may seem fadom to him: for to foresee that which is to come, as though it were already past, is the meane to repulse the assaults of all necessities, which shake not these who attend them constantly, and know that there is nothing new in them: but they oppresse those men that make themselves beleue that no misfortune shall euer surprize them, and who thinke on nothing but pleasure and content; for there is no sodainenesse cyther in sicknesse, or in captiuitie, or in ruine or in fire: For I know well into what tumultuous retreat of dangers nature had locked me: so oftentimes haue men cried fire and water amongst my neighbours, so oftentimes haue the torches and tapers which were carried before the dead bodies of this or that mans children past by my dores: Oft haue I heard the noice of high buildings that sodenly fell downe to the ground. one night hath carried away diuers friends that I had made in the Pallace, in the market place, in company, and hath as it were cut off the hands of those which had promised and sworne fidelity vnto me. Shall I wonder then that those dangers that haue howerd so long about me, are finally faile vpon me? The most part of those that are ready to set sayle, thinke not vpon a storme; for mine owne part in doing well I will neuer bee ashamed of the danger that may befall mee. Publius that had a more vehement spirit then either the Tragicke or Comicke Poets had, as often as he had giuen ouer his Mimicke foperies, and such as ordinarily hee vsed to delight the common people: amongst many other wordes, not onely besceeming the Comicke but the Tragicke Theame, he vsed these:

That which hapned to one man may chance to euery man.

Whosoever beareth these words in his hart, & considereth how many miseries his neighbour suffereth from day to day, and thinketh that they are intended against him, will arme himselfe long time before hee bee assailed. Too late is the minde instructed to endure danger when their assault is giuen: I would not haue thought, that this should haue been I would not haue beleued that this should come to passe. And why not? what riches are there that are not readily attended at their heeles with misery, famine and beggary? what dignity is there, what scarlet robe, what Angures purple garment, what noble mans slipper? that is not accompanied with disgrace, banishment, dishonour, imputation, and extreme contempt? what Kingdomes is there, for which ruine, desolation, tyranny and tormenters are not prepared: neither as these diuided by great spaces of time, but there is but a moment of an howre betwixt royalty and captiuitie. Know thou therefore that euery condition is subiect to alteration, and whatsoever assaulteth one man, may assaile thee in like sort. Art thou rich? what richer than Pompey? who after that Caius his ancient cosen and new guest had opened Cæsars house to locke vp his owne dores, wanted both bread and water, in such sort, that hee who possessed so many riuers, that had their courses and filds within the precinct of his lands, begde for drops of water, and died for hunger and thirst in his kinsmans Pallace, whilst his heire prepared a publike

Heeighthere-
medy to re-
member that all
soules that befall
vs, and all other
men cannot hap-
pen, and conse-
quently to de-
taine our selues
in good time.

The fourth
remedy is not to
prize this life,
nor that which
we possess more
then we neede,
but to dispose
our felicity con-
sistently vnto
death, and to
whatsoever ca-
suallty.

publicke funerall for the staruelling. Hast thou had great honours? what so great or so vnexpected, or so generall as *Scianus*? that very day wherein the Senate conducted him with honour, the people tare him in peeces with fury, and he whom Gods and men had loaden with so many honors as could be heaped vpon him, had not a man nor ke left of him for the hangman to fasten his hooke in. Art thou a King? I will not send thee to *Cresus*, who was commanded to mount the pile where hee should bee burned, and whence hee descended, hauing recovered both his life and kingdom; neither will I send thee to *Iugurth*, whom the Romane people saw led in triumph that very yeere wherein he was so much feared. We haue scene *Ptolemy* King of *Africa*, and *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, amongst the number of those Souldiers that were of the Emperor *Caligulaes* guard; the one of these was sent into banishment, the other wilhed for it but vnder more faithfull conditions. In so great incertaintie and mutability of affaires, thou reputest not that already done which may bee done; thou giuest aduersity power ouer thy selfe which hee hath broken whosoever aspieth them first. The next after these is, that wee labour not in superfluous and vnecessary things, that is, that wee neither desire those things which we cannot attaine, or that hauing attained the same, wee feele not ouerlate, and to our great shame the vanity of our couetousnesse, in fine that our trauell bee not vnprofitable & of no effect, or the effect vnworthy our trauell: for for the most part sorrow and sadness succeedeth by these, if eyther that we expected faile, or wee be alhamed of the successe.

For hee was slain
by the way.

The mind remedy
is to be vn-
necessary occu-
pations.

CHAP. XII.

WE must cut off these encounters practised by the most part of men, who doe nought else but runne from house to house for the market place to the Theatre. They entangle themselves with other mens affaires, resembling those who seeme to bee alwayes busie about somwhat. If thou aske any of these that goeth out of his dores: *Whether goest thou? what thinkest thou?* Hee will answer, verily I know not, but I will visite some friend, I will doe somwhat. They loyter about to no purpose, seeking out businesse, neyther finish they those that they intended, but those they meet by chance. Inconsiderate and vaine is their course, resembling that of the Antes, which creepe along the shrubbes, & now get vp to the toppe, and straight runne downe to the bottome, without ought else doing but running. Such a life doe many men lead, and a man may well say that they are idle without repose. Thou wilt haue compassion of some of those who runne as it were to a fire, and who ouerturne all those that they meet with, and fall vpon them, for they runne to salute some man that will scarce looke vpon them, or goe to attend some stranger to his funerall, or to accompany some Lawyer: or to honour a Bridall, or to follow some Litter, or sometimes to beare it themselves: then returning home very weary and toiled into their houses, thou shalt heare them sweare, that they knew not why they went out, neither why they left the house, and notwithstanding the next day they will idle it after the same manner. Let therefore all our labour tend to some end, and haue some scope. It is not industry but the false apparance of things that tormenteth, and disquiet madde men: for they busie themselves not without some hope, the exterior beauty of this, or that inth

The tenth, to flee
vaine curiosity.

meth them in steade of taxing their vanity, by reason that the sence is occupied. In like case are all they, who goe already to the entent to multiply the number of the people that walke about the streetes, are carried away by vaine and light occasions; and he that hath nothing to employ himselfe in, gets him out of dores vpon the day-spring, & after he hath knockt at diuers mens dores, whence he hath bene honestly dismissed by the Porter, and by others, who haue hindered him from entrance; there is no man with whom hee acquainteth himselfe more vnwillingly then with himselfe. On this euill there dependeth a most pernicious vice, which is curiosity; search into affaires and secrete knowledge of many things that are dangerous, both to bee spoken and heard. *Democritus* hauing had prooffe hercof, said; *That he that will liue peaceably, ought not to intermeddle with many affaires, either priuate or publike.* Hauing a reference to those things that are vnecessary: for if they are necessary, there are not many but innumerable things to bee done, both priuate and publike: but whereas no solemne office inuitheth vs, our actions are to be restrained.

CHAP. XIII.

HE or he that doth many things yeeldeth himselfe subiect to fortunes power, but the surest way is to make triall of her very little, but to thinke alwayes of her, and neuer to put confidence in her. I will sayle except somewhat hinder me; I will be Pretor except some one let me, and my businesse shall come well to passe except some accident crosse it. This is the cause why wee say, that nothing befalleth a wise man contrary to his opinion; wee say not that hee is exempt from the chances of this life, but from the errors; neyther doe all things fall out vnto him as hee wilheth, but as he thought: and first of all he thought that somewhat might resist his purposes. The sorrow a man conceiueh, for that hee could not attaine to that which hee pretended, is light, and scarcely toucheth the heart when hee promisseth himselfe not that things shall succeed as hee desired.

To what danger
they that are
curious expose
themselves, and
why the wise-
man is exempt
from these dan-
gers.

CHAP. XIII.

WE ought likewise to accomodate our selues to affaires, without pre-suming ouer much of our conceptions. Let vs dispose our selues thether whether Fortune leadeth vs, neither let vs feare the charges of our counsels or condition, provided that leuitie transporteth vs not, which is a mortall enemy to tranquillity: for it must needs bee, that obstinacy is both doubtfull and miserable from which fortune alwayes extorteth somewhat, and leuitie much more grievous, that no waies containeth it selfe: both of these are enemies to tranquillity, both too vnable to change any thing, and vnapt to suffer any thing. In all casualties a man ought to retaine his mind farre from all externall things, and to reflect vpon himselfe, to proure that hee trust in himselfe, to reioyce in himselfe, to content himselfe with his thoughts, to estrange himselfe, as much as he may, from other mens affaires, to apply himselfe to himselfe, not to haue any sence of his losses, and take in good part his aduersities. When *Zeno* the Stoicke vnderstood that

his ship was cast away, and all his goods drowned, *Fortune* (saith he) willett me to follow the studie of wisdom more freely. A tyrant threatned the Philosopher *Theodorus* with death, and that his bodie should not be buried. *Thou hast* (saith he) an occasion wherein to delight thy selfe; thou hast a pinte of bloud in thy power: For as touching my buriall thou shouldest be a great foole, if thou thinkest that I care whether I rotte above or vnder ground. *Cannius* Iulius an excellent man, whose glorie is no waies diminished, although he was borne in our age, contested long time with the Emperour *Caius*; who as *Caius* was departing from him said vnto him, *Least happily thou flatter thy selfe with foolish hope, I have commanded thee to be put to death, I thinke thee* (said he) *worthy Prince*. I know not well what he meant or thought by these words, for diuers considerations present themselves vnto me. I thought he best to vpbraid him, and to shew how great his cruelty was, wherein death was a benefite? Or did he reproach him for his ordinary fury? for they gaue him thanks likewise whose children were slaine, and whose goods were taken from them. Or did he willingly entertaine his death as a libertie? whatsoever he thought he answered worthily. But some man may say that *Caius* after this might haue granted him life. *Cannius* was not afraid of this: *Caius* faith was too well knowne in such like commands. I thinkest thou that hee passed those ten dayes without feare, betwixt the day of his sentence and that of his execution? It is vncredible to be spoken what words he spake, what he did, and how peaceably he liued during this delay. Hee was playing at Chess at such time as the Centurion who ledde a troope of condemned men to death commanded him likewise to be cited. Having scarce finished his game he counted his men, and said to him with-whom he played, *Beware* (saith he) *when I am dead that thou believest me not, and sayest thou hast wonne the game*. Then nodding his head to the Centurion he added, *Beware me likewise* (saith hee) *that I haue the vantage of one*. I thinkest thou that *Cannius* cared for the man? no he mocked. His friends were dismayd because they were to loose such a man. *Why* (saith he) *are you sad? enquire you whether soules be immortal?* *I shall know it presently*. Neither ceased he to search out the truth euen vntill his latter breath, and according to his custome to propose alwaies some question. There followed him a Philosopher of his own traine, and when he approached nere the place where the tooombe stood wherpo daily sacrifice was made to *Diuus Caesar*, *Cannius* (quoth he) what thinkest thou now, and whercon fixest thou thy mind? *I am resolu'd* (said *Cannius*) *to marke in this most swift moment of time, if the soule shall feele that she is passing forth*. And he promised that if he found out any thing, he would returne to euerie one of his friends, and tell them what the estate of soules were. Behold Tranquility in the midst of a tempest; behold a mind worthy of eternitie, which summoneth his destinie for an argument of the truth, who seeing himselfe readie to deliuer his last breath, questioned with his departing soule, and that will not onely learne vntill death, but learneth something likewise out of death it selfe. No man philosophied longer: But this so great a man shall not bee obscured so slightly, his praise shall bee carefully eternized, we will commend thee to euermlasting memorie. O worthy *Cannius*, the greater part of *Caius* cruell murders.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

BVt it profiteth nothing to haue cast away the cause of priuate sadnesse. For sometimes the hatred of mankind possesseth thee, and a troope of so many fearfull sinnes present themselves, when thou bethinkest thy selfe how rare simplicity is, how vnkowne innocency, how fieldome faith, except when it ministreth profite, how the disadvantages of dissolution are as hateful as the advantages, and ambition is so exorbitant and proud, that she cannot containe her selfe within her limits, and boasteeth not but in her villanies. The mind is blinded and obscured, and as if all vertues were ouer-turned, which neither we may hope for, neither is it profitable for vs to haue, darknesse ouer-cloudeth all things; we must therefore dispose our selues, that the vices of the common sort be not displeasing vnto vs, but rather may come ridiculous, and rather let vs imitate *Democritus* then *Heraclitus*. For this man as often as he went abroad wept, and the other laughd. To this man, all those things which we doe seemed miseries; to that man, follies: All things therefore are to be set light by, and to be endured with a patient mind; for it is more fitting to laugh at life, then to bewaile it. Adde hereto also, that he deserueth better of mankind who laugheth thereat, then he that bewaileth it: for he leaueth some good hope, the other so foolishly bewaileth it, that he dispaireth of the recovery thereof, and he that cannot abtaine from laughter, in beholding all that which the world doth, is of a greater mind then the other that spendeth himselfe in teares, when as he meaneth the lightest passion of the mind, & thinketh that there is nothing great, nothing seuerer, nor any thing serious in this so great preparation and shew of men. Let euerie one present vnto himselfe the occasions which may either dismay or reioyce vs, and he shall know that that which *Bion* said is true, *That all the affaires of men are answerable to their beginnings, & that their life is neither more holie nor more seuerer then their desires, conceiued onely in their soules*: But is better peaceably to behold mens publique manners and imperfection, then torment himselfe thus for other mens afflictions, and inhumane is that pleasure that delighteth in other mens euills; euen as it is an vnprofitable humanity to weepe and counterfeit sadnesse, because some man carrieth forth his child to be buried. In thine own misfortunes likewise it behooueth thee to carry thy selfe so that thou yeeld so much vnto thy sorrow as it requireth, not as custome demandeth. For many men powre forth teares for a shew, and so often haue they their eyes dry as they want witnesses of their sorrow, iudging it an absurd thing not to weepe when all men are discomfited. So deepe an impression hath this euil fixed in our minds, to depend on other mens opinions, that sorrow (which of it selfe is the simplest thing) is conuerted into dissimulation. There followeth another point which is accustomed to dismay and make men pensive, and not without cause, that is, because good men die miserably. As *Socrates* is compelled to dye in prison, *Rutilius* to liue in exile, *Pompey* and *Cicero* to yeeld their necks to be stricken off by those whome formerly they had defended, and that *Cato* (the liuing image of vertues) leaning on his sword should at once loose his life and his Countries libertie. It must needs torment vs to see fortune recompence good deserts so vnjustly, and what now may any man hope for himselfe, when as he seeth the best men suffer the worst afflictions? What shall be done hereupon? Consider how euery one of them behaued himselfe constantly, and if they were valiant desire

The twelfth remedy is that we ought to despise all humane things, because the contentment that are imposed on vs & laugh with Democritus.

A comparison betwixt Democritus & Heraclitus.

The thirteenth remedy is to thinke that good men are neither miserable in their life nor in their death, and that for the same cause we ought to resemble them.

their minds, if they perished effeminately and basely, there is nothing lost. Either they are worthy that their virtue should please thee, or vnworthy that a man should bewaile their cowardise. For what is more hatefull then to see great men dying valiantly, to cause other men to be catifes and cowards? Let vs praise him that was so often worthy to be praised, and say; *The more constant, the more happy art thou*: thou hast fled humane casualties, hatred & sickness, thou hast left thy prison, thou wert not worthy in thy Gods opinion of an euil fortune, but vnworthy against whom fortune might now do any thing: but those that would retire themselves, and in the instant of death looke backe vnto life, must haue hands laid on them. I will neither weepe for any one that laugheth, or any one that weepeth. The one hath himselfe wiped away my teares; the other hath by his teares effected this, that hee is vnworthy of any teares. Shall I weepe for *Hercules* because hee was burned aliue, or *Regulus*, because his flesh was pierced with so many nailes, or *Cato*, because he courageously endured the woundes he gaue himselfe. All these men by a light expence of time found out the means to make themselves eterned, and by dying attained to immortality. There is yet another great subiect of carefull thoughts that thou disguise and counterfeit cunningly, neither euer shew thy selfe to bee such outwardly, as thou art inwardly, resembling the liues of many, which are fained and fashioned onely for ostentation: for it is a death to stand thus alwaies on our guard, and to feare to be surprisid in an other estate then wee are accustomed. Wee are neuer voide of care, as long as this opinion gouerneth vs, & that men estimate our persons as oftentimes as they see vs: for many things fall out which discover vs in spite of our hearts, and although so retired an obseruation of a mans selfe succeedeth well, yet so it is, that to liue alwaies, thus disguised, dorth but afflict and affright the life which would enioy a thousand pleasures if these were beautified with an open and simple manner of action, and set not a vaile before her manners. True it is that this life is an hazard of contempt, if all things were discovered vnto all men; for some there are that disdaime all that which they approach somewhat neare vnto, and obserue, and better were it to bee condemned by reason of simplicity, then to bee tormented with a perpetuall dissimulation. Yet oughtest thou to keepe a measure, and it importeth thee as very much to be aduised, whether thou liuest simply or negligently; wee ought to retire our selues very inwardly within our selues, for the conseruation of those men that are of different humor from vs, disturbeth those things that are well composed, and renueth affections, and exulcerateth what soeuer is either weak or vncured in the mind, yet notwithstanding it is needfull to intermixe solitude and freedome together, in such sort as the one may bee practised neere vnto the other. Conseruation will make vs lose our selues, solitude inciteth vs to goe and find out others, the one will comfort the other, solitude will heale the discontent we haue conceiued against the press of so many people that we haue met withall, & to frequent with diuers men remedeth that discontent which solitude breedeth. Neither is the mind to be entertained equally in the same intention, but to be reuoked vnto some pastimes. *Socrates* was not ashamed to play with children, and *Cato* made him merry with wine when publique affaires had tyred him, and *Scipio* exercised his warlike and triumphant body in dauncing (not foolishly as men are wont to do at this day with refluences and trickes that are more then effeminate) but as the ancients were wont to dance in their sports and festiual dayes, with a decent and comely behaviour, whilst no dishonour or reproch might ensue, though he had been

The fourteenth remedy is to live by our selfe.

The fifteenth, to keepe a measure to solitude and conseruation.

The sixteenth to give some repose to the mind, according to Seneca, Cato, & Scipio's examples.

beene obscured by his verie enemies. There must some remission bee giuen to our minds; for after a little repose they will become more better and actiue in all things. Euen as wee ought not to ouerlay our fruitfull lands, lest by continuall secunity their heat and forces be spent and consumed; so continuall labour ruinate mens minds, if you suffer them to expatiate and delight themselves awhile, they will recouer new forces. Continuall trauell dulseth and bluntneth the edge of vnderstanding; neither to this vicissitude would the desire of man bend so much, except that sport and pastime had some pleasure and naturall content, the frequent vse whereof taketh away all that which presseth and afflicteth our spirits. For sleepe is necessary for digestion, and if a man continue the same both day and night, it will be death. There is a great difference betwixt giuing some liberty to a thing, and leauing it wholly at random. The Law-makers haue ordained festiual dayes, to the end that men should assemble together to entertaine publike sport, enterposing the same as a necessary temperament and refreshing of traueles. And as I haue saide, great personages allowed themselves certaine play-dayes in euery moneth, and some other neuer passed day which was not as it were diuided betwixt trauell and repose, such (except I forget my selfe) was that great Orator *Asinius Pollio*, who gaue ouer all occupations after ten of the clocke; nay more, he would not read ordinarie letters, for feare lest some new affaire might fall out, but hee inclosed all the trauel of the day time, from the morning vntil that howre. Some tooke their pleasure about twelue of the clocke, and referred ouer those affaires that were of smallest importance till after dinner time. Our Ancestors haue forbidden to make any new report vnto the Senate after ten of the clocke. The Souldier disposeth his Sentinels by howres, and they that returne from some voyage of warre, are exempted from night watch. It is a necessary thing to giue liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermission, which may serue to nourish, and reinforce the same; Furthermore, to walke here and there amidst the fields, to the end that hauing free and open aire, hee may bee the more comforted and lightned. Sometimes to goe in Coach, to trauell and change Countries, augmenteth the forces, likewise to make good chaire, and to drinke somewhat freely more then custome, and so farre as wee drowne not our selues in wine, but to drowne our cares in it: for wine driueth away cares, searcheth the secrets of the mind, driueth away all sickness, and is the remedy of sadness; and therefore *Bacchus* the inventor of wine was not therefore called *Liber*, because of the liberty of his tongue, but because he deliuereth mens minds from the seruitude of cares, and maketh them more disposed and forward to attempt any thing. But as a moderation in vsing liberty, so a temperance in wine is commendable and wholesome. It is supposed that *Solan* and *Arcellus* were good drinkers: and *Cato* was taxed for drunkenness: but who soeuer reprocheth him in this sort, shall rather proue that this crime of drunkenness is an honest thing, then that *Cato* behaved himselfe dishonestly. But neither is it to bee done often, lest the mind should contract some euell custome, although at sometimes a man ought to giue him liberty, and present some meanes of delight, and lay aside for a while the ouer seuer and sober manner of life. For if we giue credite to the Greeke Poet.

It is sometimes pleasure to be mad and foolish.

Or *Plato*, He that is in his right wits, loseth his labour to goe and knocke at the

The order of the ancient Romans in the manner of their liues.

Of the liberty which is sometimes allowed good minds.

The means
how to make all
these remedies
effectual.

the gate of the Muses, or *Aristotle*. There was neuer any great wit that had not some spice of folly, if the minde bee not stirred, and as it were mounted aboue it selfe, hee can speake nothing highly, nor aboue others. After hee hath contemned vulgar and ordinary things, and that a holy heate hath raised him aboue ordinary, then beginneth he to sing with a mortall mouth, I know not what that is more then humane. As long as hee is in himselfe, hee can attaine to nothing that is hie and difficult. Hee must desist from his visuall custome, and rowle himselfe, and bite the bridle betwixt his teeth, and beare away him that governeth him, and carrie him thither whether of himselfe hee was affraide to ascend. Thou hast my *Serenus* these instructions that may conferre and restore the tranquility of the mind, and make head against those vices that dayly steale vpon vs, yet know thou that none of these are forcible enough for those that slight them ouer, but it behoueth the mind which is inclined to fall and erre, to be retained by an intentiue and continuall care.

The End of the Booke of Tranquility and repose of the Mind.

THE



OF THE CONSTANCY OF A WISE MAN:

OR,

THAT A WISE MAN CAN NOT
FEELE ANY INIURIE.

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke betokeneth a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence: in one word it is one of his best. It was published (as I suppose) about the time of the former Booke which he wrote of Tranquillitie, whereunto they annex this, but improperly. The Argument is different, and thus handled. He beginneth with the praise of the Stoicks, whose Paradox he debateth vpon, That a wise man is not affected with iniurie. What then? (saie *Serenus*) Was not *Cato* touched with contumelious strokes and sittings vpon him? From this obiection he entrencheth into the matter, and yet (saith he) he was not affected with iniuries. For he was a wise man, and iniurie hath no power ouer a wise man: which notwithstanding (saith he) is spoken in that sence, not that iniuries are not offered him, but that he admitteth them not. This worthily handleth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then divideth he that wherupon he is to debate into two parts, by setting downe the difference betwixt Iniurie and Contumelie. Touching the former, he denieth that it is incident to a wise man; and as for the last he admitteth it not. Of Iniurie these are his arguments. A wise man suffereth no euill, but iniurie is an euill thing: Secondly, Iniurie detracteth and diminisheth: but nothing is taken from a wise man, for he hath all things reposed in himselfe and that strongly, as *Stilpo*. The third. The stronger is not harmed by the weaker: and therefore not vertue by malice. Heare it is obiected. But was not *Socrates* vniustly condemned? He was so, but without his iniuries. They preferred it him, hee rejected them by wisdom. As for example, thou giuest me venome, and I repress the force thereof by an *Antidote*: Thou committest the crime, and I suffer. The fourth argument. Iniurie is mixed with iniustice, but this befalleth not a wise man; Ergo, not the other. The first argument. No man profiteth a wise man; Ergo, no man hurteth him. The sixth. Iniurie is either through hope or feare: but a wise man is touched with neither of them. The seventh and last. No man receaueth iniurie that is not moued: A wise man is not moued. And in this place is the conclusion of the first part, and an exhortation to imprint this lesson in our minds. The other was of Contumelie, which he explicteth in the tenth Chapter what properly it is, and then driueth he it from a wise man.

First,

First, because a wise man knoweth his owne greatnes, and therefore Contumely appertaineth not vnto him, which hath both her name and being from Contempt. Secondly, Proud and insolent men inforce Contumely; The wise man contemneth such men, and therefore this vice is condemned by them. Thirdly, No man contemneth his superiour or his better: but such is the wise man. Therefore smileth he at those things that are spoken against him as in banquets at childrens teyes. But what? doth a wise man endure all these things? doth he not correct & moderate them? yes he doth it sometimes, as men are wont to checke their children, not because he hath receaued any iniury, but because they haue done it. And hitherto untill the 14. Chapter he argueth against Contumely or iniury only, now refuteth he them both together. By this argument Security is proper to a wise man. It is not if either he entertaine or can admit any of them. The like the Epicures maintain, though not so confidently. In conclusion, he aduiseith vs to reiect diuers flight and frivolous things, whereat the common sort are offended, and to laugh at them lest we be derided. His conclusion is how iniuries are to be borne either by him that seeketh after wisdom, or him that hath attained the same. The one suffereth it with some touch of mind, and with some resist also. The other with both, and like a conquerour chasteth them before him, and triumpheth over them. I reape it againe; This Booke was written by a man of great mind, let vs confirme our selues thereby in this so great malice both of times and men.

CHAP. I.



May well say (my *Serenus*) there is as much difference between the *Stoicks* and other Philosophers, as between Females and Males, whereas both the one and the other are equally assitant to the good of humane society; but the sects of the *Stoicks* is borne to command, and the other are made to obey. For other Philosophers handle mens infirmities tenderly and flatteringly, as for the most part domesticall and familiar Phisitions are wont to doe their sicke patients, not healing them by the best and speediest means,

but by feeding their humors. The *Stoicks* entertaining a more constant course, they care not whether their followers find the way pleasant or no, but labour to pull vs presently out of danger, and to conduct vs to so high a place, which is so farre raised above any humane miserie, that it ouer-looketh fortune. But the waies whereunto we are called are high and rugged, for who ascendeth to an high place that keepeth the plaine? yet is not the way so difficult as some men suppose. True it is, the first entry ouer is stony, steepy, and seemeth vn-accessible, as they that behold from a farre suppose, that the Country through which they trauell, is wholly of one leuell, and hath neither path nor way, which proceedeth from the great distance that deceaueth their sight, but in drawing neerer and neerer, these diuers waies which the error of our eye had confounded, seeme by little and little to be distinct, and that which happened a farre off to be a stepe, proued afterwards an ordinary path easie end to be mounted. When as of late we happened to discourse of *Cato* thou wast mightily displeased (as thou art alwaies impatient of iniquitie) because so great a person as hee was was not so well known in his time, because (although he were farre more wor-

thy

He infliseth the doctrine of the Stoicks, and discouereth their vngiftedness in an amazing manner.

The occasion of the question.

thy then either *Pompeys* or *Cesars*) they ranked him lower then the *Vatians*, and it seemed an vnworthy matter in thy iudgement, because that disuading the law they tooke from him his gowne in the Market place, and drew him from the place where the lawes were published, as farre as the *Arke of Fabius*, by the hands of the feditious faction, and for that he endured the cruell reproaches, shamefull spittings, and other contumelies of the vnbridled multitude. To this I answer thee at that time, that thou haddest more occasion to be moued in the behalfe of the Common-weale, which *Clodius* on one side, and *Vatinius*, and other wicked men on the other side set to sale, and being blinded with couetousnesse sawe not, that in selling their Countrey they likewise sold them selues.

CHAP. II.



Touching *Cato* I besought thee not to trouble thy selfe about him, for I told thee that a wise man could neither bee injured by words or deeds: but that the immortal Gods had giuen vs in *Cato* a more liuing example of a wise man, then either *Vulstes* or *Hercules* in former ages. For these haue our *Stoicks* pronounced to be wise men inuincible in labours, contemners of pleasure, and conquerours in all Countries. *Cato* contended not with savage beasts, which *Huntmen* and *Pelants* are to profecute and hunt; neither by fire and sword subdued hee monsters; neither liued hee in those times wherein it was thought that one man could carry the whole heauen on his shoulders, for these old fables are out of credite, and men in these daies are better aduised. But he waging warre against ambition, a monster of diuers formes, and with the immeasurable desire of rule (which the whole world being diuided into three parts could not satisfie) against the vices of a degenerate City, that suncke vnder the weight of her owne burthen, stood alone and vpheld the decaying Common-weale, as much as one hand could then sustaine, vntill such time as being either rauished or torne from his Country, he accompanied long time the ruine that he had sustained, vntill such time that such things (which without hainous crimes could not be separated) were extinguished together. For neither did *Cato* liue after liberty was lost, neither liberty after *Catoes* death. Thinkest thou the people could in any sort injury this man, because they either tooke from him the *Prætorshippe* or his Gowne, or soyled his most sacred head with the excrements of their mouths. A wise man is secure, neither can hee bee touched with any iniurie or contumelie.

CHAP. III.



I thinke I see thy mind incensed, and boiling with anger, and thou art addressed to crie out; These are they that lessen the authority of your precepts: you promise greatthings, and such as neither may be wished, nor can bee beleueed. Afterwards, after so many great words, and when you haue denied that a Wife-man is poore, you confesse that oftentimes he hath want of a seruant, of cloathing, of a house, and of meat. Hauing denied that a Wife-man is a foole, you aow that hee

The resolution of the same in a word, the subiect whereof which is *Cato* is compared with *Vulstes*, and *Hercules*, whereas we are not to maruell, because the *Stoicks* haue taken *Cato* as the exemplary image of a wise man.

As reply to this resolution, grounded on the Paradox of the *Stoicks*.

hee is sometimes transported, and that hee speaketh some things vnproperly; in briefe, that hee suffereth himselfe to bee distracted thether, whether the violence of his passion carrieth him. You deny that a Wiseman is a slaue, and yet confesse that hee may be fould, that hee will doe that which is commanded him, and will subiect himselfe as a slaue to all that seruice which his Master shall require at his hands. Thus after you haue braued a long time, you fall into the condition of other men; and there is no difference betwene you but in change of names. I suspect that there is I know not what like in that which you propose, that a wife-man cannot bee outraged eyther in deed or word. But if these be different things, that is, if you say, that a Wiseman cannot be angrie, or cannot be iniured. For if you say that hee endureth the iniurie patiently, hee hath no priuledge. He pertaketh onely a common good, that is to say, patience, which is learned by a custome of hearing, and bearing iniuries. If thou saiest that hee cannot bee outraged, that is to say, that no man will attempt to doe him iniurie: I will giue ouer all other affaires, and become a Stoicke. But my intent is not to dignifie a Wife man with an imaginary honour of wordes, but to lodge him in such a place where no iniury may attaine vnto him. What then? shall there bee no man that will attempt or prouoke him? There is nothing so sacred in this world, that meeteth not with some sacriledge. But the gods cease not to be raised aloft, although there bee some so wicked men that will assaile a greatnesse and maiesty, so high placed that they cannot hurt or attaine vnto. That thing is exempt from harme, not because it is not stroken, but because it is not interested. By this marke I will make thee know a Wife man. Doubtest thou that an inuincible force, although it be assailed, is no more assured, then that force which is not prouoked, considering that there is no more assured force in those forces that are vnapproued, and that contrariwise the constancy which despiseth all assaults, is iustly helde for the most certaine! So know thou that a Wiseman is more to bee esteemed, because no iniurie can doe him harme, then if no man prouoked him any wayes. I will call him a valiant man that is inuincible in warre, that is not astonished vpon the enemies charge, who taketh no pleasure in fasting idlenesse, nor in the conuersation of such as doe nothing. I say then that a Wiseman is not subiect or exposed to any iniury whatsoever, neither careth he how many darts are shot against him, since hee knoweth that hee cannot be pierced. Euen as there are certain hard stones which Iron cannot enter, and the Adamant will neither be cut, filed or bet to powder, but abateth the edge of these tooles that are applied vnto it: as there are certain things which cannot be consumed by fire, but continue their hardnesse and habitude amidst the flames; and euen as the rocks that are fixed in the heart of the sea breake the waues, and although they haue bene assaulted, and bet vpon many infinite times, retain no impression of the stormes that haue assailed them. euen so the heart of a Wiseman is solid, and hath gathered such force that hee is as secure from iniury, as those I made mention of.

An answer to
this reply.

Diuers compar-
isons to fortifie
his answer.

CHAP.

CHAP. III



What then is there no man that will attempt to doe iniury to a Wife man? yes; hee will attempt, but he shall not attaine vnto him; for hee is so highly raised aboue all the attaints of worldly things, that there is no violence whatsoever, that can ayme his attempts so high, be it your Princes and Monarkes, who haue so many engines and seruants at their command, should enforce themselves to hurt him. All their endeauours shall bee frustrate before a Wife man be offended, euen as Arrows and Bullets that are shot into the ayres, mount more he then our sight, but they fall backe againe without touching heauen: what doest thou thinke that that foolish King when hee had darkened the day with the multitude of his arrowes, could hit the sunne with any one of them: that casting his chaines into the bottome of the sea, hee could haue touched or enthralld Neptune. Euen as celestiall things are not subiect to humane hands, & they that ouerturne temples, and melt downe Images, doe no wayes hurt the Deitie: so whatsoever is attempted eyther crabbedly, immodestly, or proudly against a Wiseman, is done in vaine. But it were the better if there were no man that would attempt the same. Thou wilt say the world a thing hard to come by, that is to say, innocencie. As touching those that doe the euill, it were better for them that they did it not, but in regarde of him that endureth the same, it is no euill for him. I will say further, that I thinke that wisdome discovereth the forces of his content, more where hee is barked at and assailed, as security is in an enemies Country, a great argument, of a worthy Generall, and exercised Captaine. But if thou pleasest my *Symon*, let vs diuide iniurie from contumelie. The former of these by nature is more tedious, the other more light and distastfull, onely to those that are delicate, whereby they are not hurt but offended. Yet so great is the dissolution and vanity of mens minds, that some men thinke there is nothing more displeasing and tart. So shall you finde a seruant that had rather bee scourged with whippes, then buffeted with strokes, and that supposeth that death and stripes are more tollerable then contumelious words. The world is grown to that folly, that we are not onely vexed with sorrow, but with the opinion of sorrow also, as children are wont to doe who are affrighted with their shadowes, with deformities of men, counterfeited faces, and are prouoked to teares, when they heare some name that they like not, & start at the motion of our fingers and other things, which the weakness of their iudgement makes them redily condemne.

CHAP. V.



Iniurie hath this intent to harme some man. But wisdome leaueth no place for euill: for there is no euill for her but vice which cannot enter, there where vertue and honesty dwell; and therefore iniurie doth not affect a Wiseman: for if iniurie be the sufferance of some euill; and a Wiseman cannot suffer euill, there is no euill that appertaineth to a Wiseman. Euery iniurie is a diminution of him to whom it is offered, & no man may receiue any iniury without some detriment eyther in honour, body or in goods, but a wife man can loose nothing: hee

K k k

See particularly
describeth the
priuileges of a
Wiseman, &
saith that the
outrages that
are done vnto
him touch him
not.

The second, that
although he is
touched yet
endureth he the
euill.

'Hee thinke he
can neither suf-
fer detriment
in body or mind,
or goods, and
therefore that he
can lose nothing
inured.'

hath

hath all his good inclosed in himselfe; hee no wayes putteth confidence in fortune; hee entirely possesseth his riches, contenting himselfe with vertue, which hath no neede of accidental things, and therefore may neither increase nor decrease: for hauing attained to the height, there is no place for increase. Fortune taketh away nothing but that which shee hath giuen; shee giueth not vertue, and therefore cannot take it away; vertue is free inuolable, immutable, assured, and so hardened against casualties; that shee neyther may bee shaken or overcome. Shee holdeth her eyes fixed against the most dreadfull objects in this world, shee neuer changeth her countenance, whether they present her with prosperities, or tempt her with aduersities. So then a Wiseman looeth nothing of that which hee perceiueth is subiect to losse, for hee is in possession of vertue onely, from whence hee may neuer bee driuen, and vseth other goods as things that are borrowed. But what man is hee that is moued at the losse of that which is not his? but if iniurie can attempt nothing which is proper to a Wise man, because they are conferred by his vertue, therefore iniurie cannot bee done vnto a Wiseman. *Demetrius* named *Polemon*, that is a taker of Cities, hauing brought in subiection the City of *Magara*, asked *Silpon* the Philosopher if hee had lost any thing? No (saith he) for I carry all my goods with me, and yet his house had beene ransackt, his daughters rauished, and his Country ruined: But *Silpon* got the victory ouer *Demetrius*, and although his City were taken, hee shewed himselfe inuincible, yea exempt from all damage, for hee kept with him the true goods which may well bee laid holde on. But as touching those goods that were pillage and taken from him, hee iudged them not his, but reputed them to be casual, and such as followed the becke of fortune; and therefore setled hee not his heart vpon them, as if they had been his owne. For the possession of all those things that abound externally, is slippery and vnassured. Bethinke thy selfe now, whether either a thiefe, a backbiter, a dangerous neighbour, and enuious rich man, or some King broken with olde age could doe him iniurie; from whom warre, and that enemy, who professed a goodly Art, to subuert and shake Cities, could take away nothing. Amidst so many naked weapons, amidst the tumult of so many outraging soldiers; betwixt fire & bloud, and the sacke of a City, surpris'd by assault, amidst the ruine of Temples falling vpon the Gods; onely one man remained quiet and constant. Thou art not therefore to thinke that I promised thee more then I can performe, for if thou wilt not credite me, I will giue thee surties, for thou scarcely beleuest that there is so much constancy in a man, or that his minde may be so great, except hee presse forth and tell thee,

CHAP. VI.

TO the end thou mayest know (saith hee) that a mortall man may rayse himselfe aboue all the accidents of this life, may regard with an assured eye the paines, losses, wounds and strokes, and the hurlyburly of infinite calamities that enuiron him; that hee may endure aduersity, content himselfe moderately in prosperity, without relying on this, or grudging himselfe on that, but remayning alwayes like himselfe in good and euill fortune, not to esteeme any thing his except it bee himselfe, or in regard of that part of himselfe which maketh him vertuous: I am ready to proue this vnto thee, and to show thee that vnder this ouerturner of

so

The image of
vertue confir-
med by a succe-
ding and durable
examples.

What profit wee
maye see by
Silpon's con-
stancy & exam-
ple.
The description
of a vertuous
man.

so many Cities, the walles are beaten downe by the violence of his Rammes, the high Towers fall to the ground by the meanes of his Mines, and if hee rayseth his platformes as high as the tallest towers, yet notwithstanding he cannot finde out any engines that may shake a heart that is well assured: I haue crept out from vnder the ruines of mine owne house, I haue past thorow fire, flame and sword, wherewith I was enuironed on euery side, I know not whether my daughters are more courteously vsed then the rest of the City, I am old, and alone, seeing nothing but acts of hostility, on what side so euer I turne my selfe, yet I maintaine that all my goods remaine in security, I asseure, that I haue all that whatsoeuer was mine before. Thou must not thinke *Demetrius*, that I am overcome, or thou art victorious. Thy fortune hath overcome mine: I know not what is become of these my goods which are subiect to losse, and change their master: As touching my true goods, they are and shall be mine, and with me. The rich haue lost their riches, the voluptuous their liues and minions which they had entertained with the hazard of their houour, the ambitious neither haunt the pallace nor the market-place as before, nor those retreats wherein they made shew of their vanities, the vsurers haue lost their bonds and bookes of account, wherein avarice made drunke with the loue of her selfe, imagineth commodities of all sorts. For mine own part I haue all my goods in such sort, as no man hath either touched or spoyled them in any fort: Speak vnto those that weepe, that lament, who to saue their money, present their disarmed bosomes to naked weapons, that flie with a heauy burthen vpon their backs before the enemy. Resolue thy selfe therefore *Serenus*, that this perfect man, full of vertues both diuine and humane, looeth nothing: his goods are enuironed with solide and impregnable ramparts, wherunto thou wouldst in some sort compare the walles of *Babylon*, vpon which *Alexander* mounted, nor the fortresses of *Carthage* or *Numantium*, enforced by one onely hand, nor the Capitoll or any place whatsoeuer, how strong and defended so euer it may be. The enemies either haue or might set foot therein: but the fortresses that defence the Wise man, cannot be surpris'd, neither feare they fire, they cannot be entered or scaled, or vndermined, they are impregnable like the nature of the gods.

CHAP. VII.

SAy not therefore as thou art accustomed to doe, that this our Wiseman is found in no place, we paint not vaine glory in a mans vnderstanding, neither conceiue wee a Colossus of counterfeited vertue, but such as wee haue confirmed and approued: wee both haue and will present thee: happily such a one is rarely found, nor not in many ages, for these things that are great and exceede custome and vulgar measure, are seldome engendred and brought to effect: but I beleeue that *Cato*, for whose cause wee entred into this dispute, exceedeth by farre the Wiseman which is now in question: To returne to my purpose, that which offendeth ought to haue more force then that which is offended: But wickednesse hath not more force then vertue, wherupon it followeth that a Wiseman cannot be offended, good men cannot be injured but by euill men, peace and friendship is entertained by good men: Wicked men hurt vertuous men as much as they doe one another, if no man can bee harmed, except hee bee more weak then

The misery of
those that seeke
content in cor-
ruptible things.

An example of
that which hee
hath proposed of
a wise mans ver-
tue.

The fourth pri-
uiledge, the ver-
tuous cannot be
injured by the
vicious, but ver-
tue is more pow-
erfull then vice,
and euill sub-
dueth the same.

K k k

then hee that harmeth him, and the euill men bee more weake then the good, and the good cannot bee offended, but by those that resemble them not, the wife man cannot be offended. For I am not now to remember these, that no man is good but a wiseman. But (saist thou) *Socrates* was condemned vniustly, & receiued iniurie. In this place wee ought to obserue, that it may so fall out, that some man may outrage mee, and yet I shall not be injured: as if a thiefe had holne something out of my grange in the Country, and locked it vp in my house: he hath robbed mee, but I haue lost nothing. A man may bee guilty although he hath committed no offence; if he liue with his owne wife, imagining that hee lay with an other mans, hee shall be an adulterer, although his wife shall not bee an aduiteresse. Some one hath giuen me poyson, but hauing intermixed it with my meate, it lost his force; in giuing me this hee is guilty, although no euill ensue thereupon. He ceaseth not to bee a murderer, who hath thrust his sword at me, although I haue put by the blow by the benefite of my cloake. All wickednesses are accomplished in regard of the offence before the mischief be acted. There are certaine things of that condition, and so vnitied, that the one cannot be without the other: that which I say, I will endeavour to lay open; I can moue my feet, and yet runne not, I cannot runne except I moue my feet: although I am in the water, I can chuse whether I will swimme, and if I swim I cannot chuse but bee in the water: so is it in this case that I am in question, if I haue been injured, it must needs bee that the injury hath bene done: but although the injury hath bene done, it followeth not consequently that I haue receiued it: for many things may fall out that may preuent the injury, even as the hand that is lifted vp to strike, may bee preuented by some accidents: and arrows that are shot, may bee auoided in some sort, so may some things repulse and stay all iniuries whatsoever: in such sort as they shall neither be done nor receiued.

C H A P. VIII.

Furthermore, Iustice cannot endure any iniustice, for contrary things cannot bee vnitied together: but an injury cannot be done but vniustly. It followeth therefore, that a man cannot doe injury to a wife man; neither oughtest thou to wonder that no man can doe him injury; since there is not any man that can bring him any profite: for a wife man wanteth nothing which he can receiue in way of gift, and an euill man can bestow nothing on a wife man: for hee must haue it before hee giue it, but hee hath nothing which a wiseman would be glad hee should bestow vpon him. Therefore no man can cyther hurt or profite a wife man. As the immortal gods neither desire to be aided, neither can be hurt; no more also can a wife man, who is neighbor to the Gods, and like vnto God; except in this that hee is subiect to death. Tending and walking towards those things that are high, gouerned, assured, permanent, peaceable, impregnable, gracious, and created for the good of all men, assisting himselfe and others, hee will couet no base thing, hee bewaileth nothing because that in all accidents hee dependeth on reason, and marcheth with a diuine thought. Hee cannot receiue injury by any means I say, not onely in that respect, that hee is a man no not from fortune her selfe, which as often as hee encountereth with vertue, neuer retirith but to her disaduantage; if wee entertaine that great euill with a willing

The fifth, since a wife man wanteth nothing, hee can receiue no injury, for his felicity is complete, a more Stoicall Paradox: the Christian expelled a greater complement.

ling and constant heart, in respect whereof the most rigorous laws of the world can doe nothing, and the most cruell tyrants can doe nothing, wherein fortune seeth all her Empyre consumed. In briefe, if wee know that death is not an euill thing, lesse cruell shall wee deeme an iniurie to bee, more courageously shall we endure all other euils, such as are lesse displeasures, ignominies, banishments, the death of our parents and quarrells; for although all these incommodities inuiron a wife man, yer stille they him not, nay more, hee grieueth not at any of their assaults. And if hee patiently endure the iniuries of Fortune, how farre more easily suffereth hee these of the rich and mighty fort, who are but the instruments of fortune.

C H A P. IX.



Therefore endureth all these misfortunes as hee would abide the rigor of the winter, rains, heats, and other accidents, neither iudgeth hee of any man so well, that hee imagineeth that he did any thing by counsell which is only incident to a wife man. The rest doe nothing with prudence. All their actions consist in fraudes, ambulcher, and disordered motions, which the Wiseman ranketh amongst casuall things. But all that which is casuall assaileth and enuironeth vs externally. Remember thy selfe likewise, that these things, by means whereof men endeavour to hurt vs, produce many occasions of offences. As if a man should wrongfully accuse vs, or suborne some witness against vs, or if they should disgrace vs in the presence of great men, or attempt such other accustomed practises amongst men that haue either leasure or credite. It is likewise an other ordinary injury, if a man take that profit which an other man thought to make, out of his hands, or a reward long deserved, or an inheritance recolected with much trauell, or the credite of a house wherein hee had done faithfull offices. The wiseman neither liueth in hope nor in feare, but disburtheneth himselfe of these difficulties. Furthermore, no man is injured except he be moued, and hee is moued and troubled, as soone as he is touched: but an vpright man is neuer vexed, hee brideleth in his extrauagant discourses, he enioyeth a deepe and peaceable repose, and although an injury touch him, and moue, and hinder him, yet is hee not attainted with choller, which groweth from a pretended injury, and the reason why hee is not displeased, is, because hee knoweth that a man cannot wrong him. Thence proceedeth it, that hee walketh alwayes with an vpright countenance, a merry cheare, possessed with a continuall ioy, which in such sort strengthneth it selfe, that in stead of being abashed at those iniuries which men may offer him, and for those disasters that may happen in life, hee maketh vse of these difficulties, as meanes to know & make proof of his vertue. Let vs make profite I beseech you of this discourse, and let vs listen attentively both with heart and eare, how a Wife man behaueth himselfe when he is outraged, although that for all this wee are not so well aduised, as to cut off any thing of our wantonnesse, of our violent couetousnesse, nor of our pride and arrogancy. The Wiseman seeketh this liberty without meddling with your vices, neither is it a question here, whether it bee lawful for you or no to doe injury; but how a Wiseman beareth all injury, and continueth firme, patient, and confident in courage. In this sort haue diuers borne away the palme in combates and exercises, when by their inuincible patience

All iniuries to a wife man are but as colde and heats, raines and sicknesse.

The seventh, hee brideleth in his passions, iudgeth of euill otherwaies then pag: format men doe, and conuerseeth all to good.

they had wearied the hands of those that stroake at them. Suppose our Wife-man to be one of those men, who by long and constant exercise haue receured the force to endure and weary the force and assaults of their enemies.

CHAP. X.

The right, that all complaints of those that suppose themselves injured, are soild and unworthy, that it were a disgrace for a wise man to think that he should be moved at such things.

SINCE we haue discoursed vpon the first part, now let vs descend vnto the second, in which, by some pericular reasons, and by diuers common, wee will confute that opinion men haue of contempt and contumely. Contumelie is an iniury so small, as no man either complaineth or reuengeth himselfe, therefore neither do the lawes themselves prefixe any penalty thereunto. This passion is moued by a certaine basenes of the hart that is displeased, for some either dishonorable deed or word. As for example, This Lord hath not giue me audience to day, yet hath admitted an other. He hath carelessly turned his head aside when I spake vnto him, or hath mocked me before all men: In stead of placing me at the vpper end of the table, he hath set me below. What shall I call these complaints (or such like) but vomitings of a sicke soule whereunto they are subiect, who are ouer delicate, and such as liue too much at their ease; for I haue no leisure to note these in particulars, when as worse doe follow. Our minds weakened and made effeminate by too much repose, and become insolent for want of knowing what true iniurie is, are moued at such things which (for the most part) proceede from this, because hee that either sayth or doth them vnderstandeth not himselfe. By meanes whereof, the other that is moued and passionate, pretending to bee iniured, sheweth himselfe to be a man both heartlesse and witlesse. For vndoubtedly hee supposeth himselfe to bee contemned, and this misprision of his proceedeth from nought else but his base, vilde, and abiekt courage. But a wife man is contemned by no man, he knoweth his owne greatnesse, hee is resolved that no man (except himselfe) can attempt any thing to his aduantage or disadvantage. And as touching all these miseries (or rather distractions of the mind) so farre is hee from not ouercomming them, that hee feeleth them not. There are other croffes likewise, although they ouerthrow him not, as paines and weaknesse of body, losse of friends, and children, ruine of Countries afflicted by warre. I deny not but a wife man hath some sence of these euils, for wee say not that he is hard and stупide, like a flint or as a barre of Iron. There is no vertue that hath not a sence of that which he suffereth.

CHAP. XI.

WHAT is it then? I confesse that a wife man receiue some stroks, but he rebateth them, he healeth them, and maketh them without effect: as for these that are lesse hee feeleth them not, neither vseth he his accustomed vertue, constancy & patience, in respect of these, but either he marketh them not, or thinketh them worthy of derision. Besides, whereas the greater part of contumelies are offered by proud and insolent men, and such as know not how to carry their good fortune: the wife man hath a meanes to despise that swolne affection, which is the constancy and greatnes of his mind, which is the greatest of all vertues, the which passeth

swiftly

The ninth. Although he feele the strokes he hath a remedy at hand, whence followeth his cure which differeth not from this name; considering that the hurt is rather an imagination than any other thing, if we consider those who pretend to doe thee wrong.

swiftly aboute all these vanities, as vaine appearances of dreames and nightly visions, which haue nothing solide or true in them. He thinketh likewise that all other men are so base, that they haue not sufficient courage to contemne that which is so highly raised about them. Contumely is so called of contempt, because he that outrageth another doth it but in contempt. But no man contemne his better or him that is more excellent then himselfe, although hee say, or doe some thing which contemners are accustomed to do. For young children, strike their parents on the face, and an infant hath towled and torne his mothers lockes, and spit vpon her, and discovered. Such things in the sight of the seruants which should haue been hidden, and hath not abashed from dishonest and disorderly speeches, and yet none of these doe wee call contumelies. And why? because they doe it not in contempt. The same is the cause why wee beare with the vrbanity of our slaves, and take delight to heare them iest at their masters, and after they haue gibed at them first, they haue liberty to taunt others that are at the table, the more contemptible and ridiculous a man is, the more liberty hath hee of his tongue. There are some men that buy wanton children, and animate them in impudency, and giue them masters to teach them to scoffe and bite at every man, as if they had but recorded their lesson, neither call wee these contumelies but merry iests.

CHAP. XII.

BUT what folly is it now to bee delighted, and straight again offended with the same things; and to call that a reproch which is spoken by a friend; and a better iest that is vttered by a seruant? The same mind that wee haue towards children, the same hath a wife man towards all men, who after their youth are become childishly old. Can a man terme those old men otherwayes then infants, whose minds are depraued, and errors encreased, and who differ in nothing from children, but in the bulke of their bodies, and outward formes, but are no lesse inconsistent and vncertaine, and desirous of pleasure, without choice, fearful and quiet, not in mind, but for feare? neither therefore will any man say, that there is a difference betwixt them and children, because the one is couetous of checkes, nuts and small money, the other, of gold, silver and Cities. Children make Princes and Iudges, amongst themselves, counterfeit Senators, and with stauces and peeces of wood represent ridiculously the engines and markes of iustice. These play the like sports in good earnest in the field of Mars in the Market place, and in the Senate. Children sitting by the riuers side, make them houses of sand. These as if busied about som great matter, are occupied in stones, in walles, and building houses, and haue made those things dangerous which were inuented for the conseruation of our bodies. So then both the young and old are infants, but the one are more aduanced in beastlinesse, and more fooles then the other. And therefore vpon good ground the wife man taketh pleasure and pastime in the outrages of these great Infants, and sometimes he chastiseth them as children, not because he hath received iniury, but because they haue done it, and to the end they should doe it no more, for so are wild bestes tamed by strokes, neither are we angry with them, because they cast this rider, but we stroke them and checke them with the bit, to the end that by managing them wee may make them tame. Know therefore that this is an sweetest

The tenth, the oftentimes the injuries that are offered to him by the vicious as lightly as he would the words of children, which know not what they say. A comparison betwixt young & old folke of the world.

Why a wife man sometimes chastiseth those that offend in deeds or words.

which

which was opposed against vs, why a Wife man if hee hath neither receiued iniury or contumelie punisheth those that did the same: for he reuengeth not himselfe, but punisheth them.

CHAP. XIII.



But why is it that thou thinkest not that the same infirmity of mind attendeth a Wiseman, when thou mayest obserue the same in others, though not vpon the same cause: for what physician is angry with a lunatique person, who will interpret a sick mans reproches to the worst, that is vexed with a fever, and is forbidden to drinke colde water? The same affection hath a Wiseman towards all men, as the Physician hath towards his sick Patients, who disdaineth not to handle their priuities, if they haue neede of remedy, nor to see their vrinnes and excrements, nor to heare the outrages which feare maketh them to vtter. The wife man knoweth that all these which let in their gownes, or are apparelled in purple, who, although they are well coloured and faire, are sicke and diseased: whom in no other fort hee looketh vpon but as intemperate sicke men. Therefore is hee not angry with them, if during their sickness they haue beene so bold as to speake iniuriously against him who would heale them; and as hee setteth light by all their honours, so tormenteth he himselfe as little with their despight and insolencies. Euen as he taketh little pleasure, if a begger do him honour, no more will hee iudge it a contumelie, if the basest companion returne him not the like when hee hath saluted him; so will hee neither waxe prouder, if many rich men doe him honour; for hee knoweth that they differ nothing from beggers, nay that they are more wretched then the other, for the one neede little, the other much. And againe, the wiseman will not be moued, if saluting the King of *Medes*, or *Attalus* of *Asia*, hee passe by him without speaking, and with a disdainfull countenance, for hee knoweth well that hee hath as little cause to enuy such a Princes stato; as the condition of him that in a great famine, hath the charge to keepe and oversee the sicke and mad men. Shall I bee angry if one of those who negotiate in the market place nere to the Temple of *Castor*, or that make it their traffique to buy slaues, and who haue their shoppes filled with a troupe of base slaues, saluteth mee not by my name, not as I thinke, for what goodnesse is there in him, vnder whom there are none but euill men. Therefore as he will neglect this mans humanity, or inhumanity; so will hee doe a Kings. Thou hast vnder thy gouernements, both *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Bactrians*, but such as thou containest by feare; neither darest thou lay by thy bowe, by reason of them who do nothing in regarde of thee, whom thou must handle as slaues; but such as desire likewise to bee rid of thee, and seeke for a new Lord. So then a wife man is not offended at any mans iniurie, and although that one is not of the same reckoning as others, yet hee esteemeth them alike, because they are no lesse fooles the one as the other: now if but once hee embase himselfe, so farre as either hee bee moued with iniury or contumely, hee can neuer be secure, but security is the proper good of a wife man; neither will hee endure that by reuenging the contumelie that is offered him, he honour him that did the same: for it must needs be, that hee who fouer is displeased for an iniurie that is done him, will likewise be glad to be honoured at his hands.

CHAP.

In this place hee answereth some questions, and the first is why the wiseman suffereth the insolency both of young and old.



There are some men that are possessed with so great madness, that they thinke that a woman can offer them outrage, what matters it how rich shee be, how many vassals shee haue to carry her letters; what though her eares are laden with pendants, and her chaines be large and spacious; yet all of them alike are impudent creatures, and except shee bee endowed with much science and learning, shee will bee cruell and incontinent in her desires. There are some are much vexed, because they haue beene repressed by some Ladies Groomes, that helpe to make her ready, and call it contumely, if a Porter be open curth, at the pride of the Clerke of Checke, and the loftinesse of a groomer of the Chamber. Oh how much are wee to laugh at these toys? with how great pleasure is the mind to bee filled; when a man beholdeth his owne quiet amidst the tumult of other mens errors? what therefore? shall not a wife man be bold to appoach the gate where there is a crabbed & froward Porter? if any affaires of importance shall command him, he shall attempt and appeale the Porter whatsoeuer hee bee, in giuing him som present, as we are wont to giue bread or meat to a dog that barketh; in briebe, hee will not disdain to disburse some thing to enter, remembring himselfe that there are certaine bridges which a man cannot passe ouer without paying towle; and therefore hee giueth some money to this Towle-man or that Porter, for hee knoweth how to buy that which is to sell, contrariwise that man hath a base mind that boasteth that hee hath spoken freely to a Groomer of the Chamber, that hee hath broken his staffe, that hee hath gotten access to his Master, and caused the Varlet to bee beaten. He that contendeth maketh himselfe an aduerser party, and vaunting that hee hath overcome, maketh himselfe equall: but what shall a wife man do if hee bee buffeted? that which *Cato* did at such time as an enemy of his gaue him a boxe on the eare, he entred not into choller, neyther reuenged hee that insolencie. True it is that hee pardoned not the iniury, but hee denied that hee had receiued it: hee shewed himselfe more couragious in protesting that hee was not moued, then if he had pardoned him that strucke him. Wee will stay no longer on this point: for who knoweth not that in matter of these things which a man supposeth either good or euill, a Wife mans opinion is different from all other men, hee respecteth not what they repute cyther villanous or miserable; he followeth not the common tract, but as the starres are retrograde in their courses, so carries hee himselfe in a fashon which is contrary to all others.

CHAP. XV.



Ease therefore to demand whether a wife man shall bee outraged, if hee be stricken, if his eye be pulled out, if base fellows exclaime against him in the open street; if at a Princes banquet he be placed at the lower end, and set to eate amongst the groomes, if hee be constrained to endure all the indignities and despights that may be done to a man of honour. These insolencies cyther great or little, shall appeare vnto him of one nature: if the smaller touch him not, no more shall

The second, whence it cometh that hee confesseth readily the faults both of the one and the other.

The fourth, what is the reason why a wife man is so patient.

shall the greater, if a little moue him not, a great deale shall not stirre him. But you measure a great mind according to the extent of your owne weakenesse, and considering only how farre your patience doth extend; you thinke you doe very much, if you allow a wiseman some further terme and limit of patience then you allow your owne. But his wisdom hath placed him in other confines of the world, that haue nothing common with you. Therefore if crosses, incommodities, and aduersities, which both the eye and eare abhorre, present themselves on euery side, and in great number: he shall not be dismayed therat, and as he crosseth euery one of them, so shall he make head against all together: hee deceiueh himselfe, that a Wife man may support one thing and not another, & who will close his magnanimity in certaine bounds, except we manacle and tie fortunes feet and hands, shee will treade vs vnder foote; neyther thinke thou that this is only a Stoicall austeritie; for the Epicure whom you haue made choise of for a patterne of your idlenesse, and whom you suppose to be the Master of delights, idlenesse, and mere pastime, saith that fortune seldom times visiteth a Wife man. How neerly vttered he a manly speech, Wilt thou speake more brauely, and wholly driue away fortune? Consider that a Wisemans house is narrow, without pompe, without noice, without decking without Porters who giue or refuse entry to goers out or in; but although the gate bee not kept by any man, yet fortune setteth no foot therein; knowing well that shee shall not be entertained there where shee hath no credite at all, but if the Epicure himselfe who hath giuen his body all the pleasures that he can imagine, digesteth iniuries: is there any occasion to thinke it incredible, extraordinary, and above nature, which the Stoickes pretend. The Epicure saith, that a Wife man ought to endure iniuries, but we say that a Wife man cannot be iniured.

CHAP. XVI.

Neither hast thou cause to conclude that this repugneth against Nature. We doe not deny but that it is an incommodious thing to be beaten, to be enforced and to be maimed in some member; but we deny that these are iniuries. We take not from them the sense of paine, but the name of injury which cannot be admitted without impeachment of vertues reputation. Let vs consider which of these two opinions are to be admitted. Both of them concent in the contempt of iniurie. Askest thou me wherein they differ? Such there is as between two stout sword players whereof the one dissembleth his wound and standeth on his guard; the other, looking backe at the people that cry out maketh shewe that it is nothing, and will not endure to haue them parted. You must not therefore thinke that the difference is ouer great. But there is an other point that properly concerneth vs. These two examples teach vs to contemne iniuries & outrages, the which I cal shadowes & suspitions of iniurie to contemne which we ought not, to seeke out a wife man, we need but a weladvised man that may speake thus vnto himselfe, whether doe these things befall mee deservedly or vnderferuedly; if deservedly, it is no contumely, it is but a correction; if vnderferuedly, let him bee alhamed, that deales vnjustly; and what is that which is called contumely? Hee iudgeth at me, because I shake my head, because I haue weake eyes, because I haue little legges, and am of a low stature.

To manifest that which is said, doe I earnestly what hee meaneth by the word iniury.

How a man ought to interpret those things that are spoken by an other.

ture. Is this an outrage, if a man tell me that which euery man seeth? wee laugh at any thing that is spoken in the presence of one; wee are angry, if it bee before many; and wee leaue not then men liberty to speake that which we our selues will say our selues: wee are delighted with temperate iests, and are displeased at those that are immoderate.

CHAP. XVII.



Chrisippus saith, that a certaine man was much displeased because an other man called him sheepes-head. Wee saw *Fidus Cornelius* *Neaestes* sonne in law stand weeping in the Senate house, because *Corbula* had called him pilde Austrich. Against other reproches wounding both his manners and life, hee carried alwayes a settled countenance; but vpon this so impertinent a iest, hee could not abstain from teares; so great is the infirmity of our minds when reason is absent: for example, we are offended, if any man counterfeit our speech, our gait, or any imperfection either in our body, or in our tongue: as if they should waxe more notorious by an other mans imitation, then our owne action. There are some that cannot endure to bee called olde, gray head, or other such names, whereunto many are desirous to attaine. Other some haue bene displeased, if they haue bene called poore; but hee truly calleth himselfe poore that concealth his poeury. The true meane to cut off all those scoffers and iesters is, if thou thy selfe prevent them, and obiect against thy selfe, all that which they coulde speake against thee. Whosoever laugheth at himselfe, first cutteth off other mens occasions to laugh at him. It is said that *Vatinus* who was a man borne to be laughed at, and hated was of himselfe a pleasant and talkatiue Companion. This man iested much at his owne gouty feet, and his swollen chaps; so escaped he the derision of his enemies, and especially the bitter iests of *Cicero*, who were in number farre more then the sicknesse that had seized him: if *Vatinus* a shamelesse fellow coulde doe this, by meanes of his bitter speeches, who had learned impudence by his continuall iesting, why cannot hee doe it, who by honest occupations of the mind, and exercises of wisdom, hath attained to vertue? Adde hereunto, that it is a kinde of pleasure to pull from an outrageous man the pleasures which hee taketh in speaking or doing teiull. These men are accustomed to say; *Wretch that I am, I thinke hee vnderstand not?* so is the fruite of contumelie in the fence and indignation of him that suffereth. Moreover, he will one day bee met withall, and some one will light vpon him that shall reuenge thine injury.

How vainely we flee from the precincts of the wise, and are vexed with trifles, and faint iniuries in our owne imaginations.

CHAP. XVIII.



Amongst all other vices, wherewith *Caius Caligula* was replenished, it is reported of him that he was a great mocker, who dayly had a sting at other mens faults, where himselfe was a bountifull subject of laughter: For his countenance was pale and deformed, betokening his melancholy fury, his eyes sunke and buried vnder his old and beetle browes; his head bare in diuers places, a tuft of curle and thicke haire about his necke, his legges small, his feet plat and vnmaefably

The end of inconsiderate mockers, they rise a mole in their neighbours eye, but will not give a beam in their owne.

See Suetonius
and Livius in
the life of Cali-
gula.

Imply that the
true reuenge
belongeth to
God, and pati-
ence by his ex-
ample to a wife
man.

To auoid strife,
is a remedy a-
gainst trouble,
and there is no
better wisdom
then to bee pre-
pared and con-
stant against all
incumbrances.

rably broad: but I should neuer make an end, if I should specifie every particular, wherein he reproached his fathers and grandfathers, and in generall all sorts of men. I will only relate those which were the cause of his destruction. Amongst his especial friends, was *Valerius Afaticus*, a man of a fierce mind, who could scarcely digest those contumelies that were offered to a stranger. To this man did hee object at a banquet, and afterwards with a loude voyce in an open assembly, the morions and falshions of his wife, at such time as he accompanied and lay with her. Good gods that the husband should heare this, and the Prince should know it, and that liberty of speech was so vnbridled, that he should discouer, (I say not to one that had been Consul, I say not to his friend, but) to her own husband the adulteries of his wife, and how his lusts were satisfied. *Chereas* the Tribune of his Souldiers had no ready speech, and hadst thou not knowne him by his deedes, thou wouldst haue suspected him to bee an effeminate fellow. To this man when he came to fetch the watch word at *Caius* hands, he sometimes gaue him the name of *Venus*, sometimes of *Priapus*, reproaching in one or other sort this warlike man, who made profession of armes, that hee was effeminate, and that it was he to whom the name appertained to be painted, socked and decked with bracelets: he therefore enforced him to vse his weapon, lest he should bee often enforced to fetch his Watch-word from him: hee was the first amongst the conspirators that lifted vp his hand, hee it was that cut his necke halfe off at one stroke; and afterwards hee receiued diuers other stabs and strokes at their hands, who reuenged their publike or priuate iniuries: but he whom *Caligula* least suspected, was the first that shewed himselfe a man, and yet the same *Caius* who took all things for iniuries and outrages, could himselfe endure nothing, though here most desirous to offer all: he was angry with *Herenius Macro*, because hee had saluted him by the name of *Caius*; and hee caused a Centurion of the first Legion to be seuerely punished, because hee named him *Caligula*; yet was hee vsually so called, because hee was borne in the Campe, and was wont to bee called the infant of the Legions: in brieft, the Souldiers knew him not by any name so well, as by that: notwithstanding in the end hee took this word for a reproch and outrage: let this therefore be for our comfort, that although our frailty omitteth reuenge, yet will there bee some one who will reuenge vs on an audacious, proud and iniurious enemy; which vices are neuer consummated in one man, or in one contumelie: Let vs consider their examples, whose patience we praye, as that of *Socrates*, who tooke in good part the taunts and reproches which the Poets and Players published against him, and laught no lesse then when his wife *Zantippe* powred foule water on his head: but *Iphicrates* being reproued because his mother was a Barbarian, and a Thracian, answered, that the mother of the gods was borne on the mount of *Ida*.

CHAP. XIX.



EE are not to fall to brawles or debates hereupon, let vs returne our selues farre from these, and neglect those errors which the imprudent sort commit: for none but imprudent men will commit the same: both honours and publike iniuries are to be esteemed alike, neither let vs grieve at the one, or reioyce at the other: otherwise we shall omit many necessary things through the apprehension

sion or distast of contumelies; neither shall wee execute eyther publike or priuate offices, no not these that are most necessary, whilst effeminate care troubleth vs, for feare: wee should heare something against our minds, and sometimes being displeased with mighty men by our intemperate liberty, we should discouer this affection: but it is no liberty to suffer nothing; wee are deceived: this is liberty, when we oppose a resolute mind against iniuries; when a man getteth a habitude that breadeth all pleasure, estranging from himselfe those things which are without vs, for feare, lest being afraid of the laughers and disgraces of the world, we drowne not our life in a continual disquiet: for what man is he that cannot iniurie another, if every man may: but a Wiseman & he that is a follower of wisdom will vse another remedy: for to those that are imperfect, and who as yet conform themselves to the iudgement of the people, we ought to propose that they are to liue amongst iniuries and outrages: All things are light vnto those that expect them: the more greater a man is, the more generous, renowned and rich, the more ought he to shew himselfe confident and couragious, not forgetting this, that the brauest Souldiers are set in the foremost ranks; let him endure opprobrious words, ignominies and other disgraces as the cries of his enemies, as arrows shot from a farre, and stones that rattle about the Helmet, without wounding; and let him sustaine iniuries, neither dejected nor moued from this place, as strokes inflicted on his armor, or infixed in his breast: although thou be oppressed, and the enemy presse thee neerely. It is a base thing to giue place, maintaine that place which nature hath assigned thee: Askest thou me what this place is? that of a mans. The Wiseman hath an expedient contrary therunto: for you are in the conflict, he hath gotten the victory: resist not your owne good, and till such time as you haue attained the truth, nourish this hope in your hearts; assure your selues boldly of some better thing, presse forward to attaine it with hope and honest desire; it is for the profite and aduantage of the whole world, that there is some one invincible, that there is some one, ouer whom fortune hath no power.

The End of the Booke of the Constancy of a wise man.

LII

OF



OF THE SHORT-
NES OF LIFE,
WRITTEN
By
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO
PAVLINVS.

The Argument of LVCIVS LIPSIUS.

THe time wherein this Booke was written is uncertaine except it were after CAIUS government; but for the goodnesse thereof it is not to be doubted. O subject of an excellent and profitable Argument. The Argument is, that our Life is not short, but that wee make it short, either by not vsing it, or by abusing it, or vainely vsing it: this deduceth hee thus: First, wee are bondslaves to vices, wherein wee consume and lose our yeares: Secondly, wee are unprofitably busied in triuiall matters, and such as wee call offices: Thirdly, wee sinne either in opinion or presumption, and this maketh that life short which wee thinke to be long; we despise things present, we dispose the future, as though wee had them in great and assured abundance: and for the most part wee are intangled with vaine or forraine pleasures, and lose our liues as it were in sport: such as this untill the tenth Chapter; thence diuideth he time into three parts, into that which is past, into the present, and into the future, and teacheth vs how euilly and foolishly wee behaue our selues in euery one of them: hee inuigbeth againe fruitlesse occupations, against delights, against excesses, against idle retirements, and superfluous study of knowledge. Hence he discourseth pertinently; and would to God hee might either allure or change the learning louers of this time. That onely that time is well spent, which is employed in the study of wisdom, whereby our life is truly lengthened: the common sort thinke otherwayes; for they estimate the same by fortune, and according to her smiles, so thinke they that our life is shortened or lengthened: In prosperity they wish for death, in aduersity they feare it. In the end he exhorteth PAVLINVS, and what he saith to him,

let euery man apply to himselfe, and grow maturely wise, and retire himselfe into the haue of life, which is an honest repose. This vow is, thus will I endeavour.

CHAP. I.



He greater part of men (good friend Paulinus) complaineth of the hard dealing of nature with vs, who hath brought vs forth to liue so short a while, and yet of the time allotted vs, that the moments should so sodainly and swiftly runne away, as wee see they doe: inasmuch as besides some few amongst vs, the rest are then most commonly bereft of life, when indged they beginne but newly euen then to liue, nor doth the populous or foolish people onely lament this euill (so generall as it is counted): but euen many famous men haue likewise thought and lamented in like manner this our misfortune; whence springeth that especial complaint of the greatest amongst Physitians, that our life is short, and therein very long: where hence also Aristotle takes occasion to quarrell; (although it scarce be seeme, so wise a man as hee, so to doe) with dame Nature, who (saith he) hath allotted some beasts, some fowles, some ten hundred yeeres, and man who is created to so many weighty purposes, hath a terme of life prefixed him so much shorter as wee see: whereas indeed we haue no scantnesse or scarcity of life, but wee rather looke much of our life; for long enough and large enough is life allowed vs, were it spent in greatest matters, or were it all spent in good matters; but when wee haue by riot and negligence once lost it, when it is once spent and gones, and we cannot haue any good wee spent in; at length need driuing vs to make an end thereof; wee see that now it is spent, which wee did not feele to spend, before indeed it was very well nigh wholly spent: so that wee had not giuen vs so short a life, as wee will make it, but such we made it as it is; nor had we giuen vs so little life, but so prodigall and lustily wee are. Euen as a Princes ample Patrimony, if it come in Huchters hands, goeth away in a moment, which if it were the hundredth parte thereof, and were well husbanded, would yet by good usage, encrease rather then proue but scarce, euen so our age if it be well employed, will proue very faire and long enough.

CHAP. II.

Nay then to complaine wee of nature, shee hath dealt well with vs, and thy life, if thou know how ingood things well to spend, as shall appeare long enough. One is wholly possessed with insatiable avarice, another is as busied as Beelzebub himselfe, and yet both are most idle and superfluous: a third drinks out his liues, a fourth is idle, a fifth liues gaping at new preferments, which yet are in the will of another to bestow, a sixth, is led round about the world, by a desire to buy and sell, with hope to gaine, and some perpetuate that continually, howe their minds on warrefare, neuer minding either the perils of their men, or regarding

ding their owne, as some there are also that wilfully enthrall themselves to such Potentates, as scarcely euer giue them any thanks for so doing, but delight yet in their folly, many likewise spend their dayes in affecting others fortune, & detesting of their owne; and diuers men doe nothing but delight themselves with changeable, vnconstant, neuer pleasing fantasies, still attempting new deuices, as also some like nothing, wherein to spend their time, but consuming in their idleness, doe nothing but still accule their fate and fortune: so that true I find the best saying which the Poet euer writ by him as an Oracle: *A little part of our life is wealue*; for indeed the whole course of mans age, is not life but time rather, in which almost howlerly new vices so assaile vs, as wee neither can recouer our selues, nor so much as lift our eyes to see what is decent and truth in things wee thinke of, but if once wee beginne to take footing, new desires anew affaile vs, and keepe vs downe: no, they cannot so much as recall themselves to mind, but it happily they bee quiet, yet as in the sea after a storm is fully passed, yet remaineth there a wallowing, and continuall rowling, so beate they still vp and downe, nor haue they perfect rest from their desires. And here perhaps yee thinke I speake of such men onely, whose fancies all men gaze at, and talke of too, but looke on them, whose felicity all men most maruell at, and you shall see, that euen these men are cloyed with their good fortune: of which sort many account wealth a burthen, many hauing also a goodly gift of eloquence and viterance, spend themselves in delight to heare themselves speake: and many weare away, euen surfeiting with selfe pleasing delights and pleasures: and how many I pray you know you that haue scarce any time almost to breath for continuall suitors to them? goe but ouer them all from the lowest to the highest, hee sues, hee helps, hee is in danger, he defendeth him, and another iudgeth him; euerie one, to bee short, spends himselfe vpon others: and enquire of these mens liuing, whose names and persons all the world talke of and knowes, and you shall see them distinguished by these particulars: hee is wholly at the deuotion of such a one, another altogether depends of him: and none of them all is his owne man, or intends his owne business. And here I finde a fond complaint made by some men, they mislike forsooth the coines of their superiours, who are not oft at leysure, when they would sue or doe their duties to them; and dareth any man complaine of the pride of another, who himselfe is neuer at leasure to bee sued of himselfe? The great man be he neuer so proud, yet sometimes at the length he giues the access; hee giues the audience at some time, he calls thee at last, and thou canst vouchsafe to looke into, nor giue hearing to thy selfe.

CHAP. III.

NOr thinke thou any man any whilst beholding to thee for these thy curtesies, for in doing them thou didst not meane so much to saue another, as thou wast not willing, or at leasure rather to saue thy selfe: and if all the wits that euer were renowned for any thing, would intend this one point; yet can they not all of them sufficiently wonder at the blindness of mans mind in this one false ioy folly: Wee suffer not our lands to be vsurped of another, and bee the controuersie about neuer so little a quantity, or circumstance of our possessions, we take vp stones, and betake vs straightwayes to armour, and yet wee suffer o-

ther

ther to vsurpe of our life, yea wee put such in possession, as are like to be Lords and Rulers of it: ye see no man willing to part with his money, but with good conditions to another; and yet with how many I pray you doe wee all parte flakes, and make diuidents of our life, euen many times for nothing? euerie one is a niggard to part with his Patrimony, and yet most launli bee wee when we come to losse of time, wherein onely a may honestly shew himselfe a nippist: And therefore let vs here a while talke with any one of all these Elders: wee see you are as olde, as a man almost may bee, you are onwards on a hundred yeers, or rather more then so, doe but call your yeeres to a reckoning, and say in sadness, how much time your creditors, your shee friends, the City matters and other suitors to you haue spent thereof? your suites about wiuing, breaking your head to frame your seruant; your desire to pleasure friends in euery corner of the towne: how much paine haue these things put you to? then adde what sicknesse your selfe haue beene procurer of, as also what time hasty and vnadvised anger hath posselt you, euen in things friuolous; yea what time hath past you to no fruit nor purpose, and you shall see you haue not liued lo many yeeres as you make reckoning of: call to mind when you were resolute what to doe in any thing, and how many dayes you euer passed as you determined, then what fruit you reaped of dayes so spent? what haue you now to shew as the fruit thereof? nay, how many haue holne peeces of your life, whilst your selfe did not consider or perceiue the want thereof, how much of it haue false ioyes, needlesse griefes, greedy, couetous, pleasant company mispent I pray you? and then count how little of your owne life is left to your selfe, and you shall finde you die before you are ready to depart the world.

CHAP. IIII.



VHat is then the reason forsooth you liue, as if you had a warrant to liue for euer? you recke not how little time you liue to your selfe? you count not how much time you spend, while you spend as it were of a full and ouer running reckoning, when as happily that same day spent in another mans pleasure, or to his vse, may chance be to your last; you feare all things as men mortall, yet you long for all things as immortall. You shall heare some men say, were I fifty, I would betake mee to my beades, were I threefcore, I would meddle no more with worldly matters? yet they haue at all no warrant of longer life then the present moment: for who can giue the assurance that thou shalt doe, eue ift as thou determinest? shamest thou not to make reckoning how to lead thy life to come, & to point such time for amendment, which almost can serue for nothing? how late is it to beginne to liue then when thou must leaue to liue! or how fond forgetfulness of mortality is it to delay amendment to thy fiftieth yeere of age, & to make account that then thou wilt beginne to liue, when few men vse to aspire to such an age. Yee shall often heare great mighty men giue out speeches in praise of rest, of leasure, and quietnesse they wishe it, they preferre it before all their wealth; yea they with they might with safety come downe from that high tpe of their authority, and intend the same; for bee all things neuer in such quiet from abroad, yet fortune falleth euen in it selfe, and decayeth as all other things in this mortality.

CHAP. V.

Great Augustus whom the Gods did more for then euer else for any man, ceased not to pray for rest and exemption out of common causes; all his speech still came to this end, if he once might come to quietnesse, yea all his labours hee did fawce with this false but pleasant comfort, hee would one day surely liue to himselfe, and in one Epistle which hee wrote vnto the Senate, (wherein hee protested that his rest and quiet priuate life should doe him more good and credite also, then his life already led in renowne and glory) I finde these words inserted. But I know it were more credit for mee so to do, then to say so; howbeit such desire I haue thereto, as because I cannot in deede performe it, some pleasure yet I thought to reape, by talking onely of so pleasant a matter. So great a thing was rest in his conceit, as the same because hee could not indeed attaine vnto; yet in worde hee thought to ioy in it, and he that saw euen all things depend of him, being able indeed to make happy or infortunate whom soeuer, or when soeuer he pleased, tooke great pleasure to remember the day and time, when hee should doe of his owne greatnesse, and become his owne man: hee had tried what swete and swincke his estate (which all men deemed to be so good and glittering, did cost him to maintaine it: and how much priuy hartburning, and heart aking toir, daily harboured, being forced to make warre first with the Citizens of Rome, then with his fellow officers, lastly with his kindred, shedding bloud by sea and land in Macedonia, Sicilia, Egypt, Siria and Asia, coursed almost throughout all Countries, yea and when hee had thus glutted himselfe in a manner with Romane slaughter, hee was forced to turne himselfe against forraigne nations: And being likely to quiet some troubles in the Alpes, hauing vanquished other enemies that disturbed this his peaceable and settled Empire, while hee set forward to enlarge the same beyond Rhenus, Euphrates and Danubius, at home euen in the City, Murena, Cepio, Lepidus, and the Egnatij prepared armes against him: yea, and hauing scarcely fully escaped these their attempts, his daughter Iulia, and many noble young gentlemen (knit in league by reason of their too much familiarity with that loose lewd Lady) beganne to bee terrible vnto the Father, who in their opinion liued somewhat too long: after whom also Fulvia caused her husband Antonie to take weapon against him, no history sheweth why. All which frowes when hee had cut away, with the parties also in which they were, yet still there rose new, not vnlike a body too full of humours, whereof alwayes some one part or other breaketh out continually into a sickness: wherefore hee wished to liue in rest, the onely hope and thought whereof, was the onely ease of all his labours, and this one thing was the dayly prayer and desire of him, who was able otherwise to make euerie man master of his desires beside himselfe. Marcus Cicero long time tolde vpe and downe betwene Catiline and Clodius, betwixt Pompey and Crassus, who were his open enemies, the rest his doubtfull and vncertaine friends, whilest hee wrestled with the common wealth, and laboured to hold it vp, that now was running more and more to ruine, was at length ouerborne and forced to yeeld to the burthen of it, being neither quiet in prosperity, nor patient in the contrary: this M. Cicero, how often not without cause also doth hee detect that his office borne as Consul, which till then at first, hee neuer ceased to commend without end, which in truth hee did not without cause extoll

CHAP. VI.

Lucius Drusus, one of the ancestors of Livia, Augustus his Emperesse, a hote spirited, and a very vehement fiery humored man, hauing put new common wealthes in the peoples head, and stirde a new the old tumults of the two brethren, the Gracchi being manned almost with all the power that Italie could make, hauing not yet well weighed the end of things, which now hee could not accomplish to his desire; nor had he yet the liberty to leaue in the midst, hee fell in detestation of his owne vnquiet state from the day of his birth till then, and is saide to haue vttered these very words: I am only he I think that neuer yet had leaue to play, no not when I was a boy: for indeed being vnder age, and comming but as children did into the Senate with his father, he presumed to speake to iudge in the behalfe of diuers men, and laide his credite on the matter in so vehement a sort, that it was saide, many iudgements were giuen wholly as it pleased him. Whether would not so young an aspiring humor, if it had continued, for well a man may coniecture, so soone ripe a stirring head mult needes grow in time to the great hurt, publicke or priuate, some where or other, and therefore too too late hee made complaint, he had neuer yet leaue to play, who was of a child so troublous, and importunate to the State where hee liued, as hee was. Some make question if he did not kill himselfe or no: for a wound hee had in his groin, which was his death: what time though some men doubted: whether hee had slaine himselfe or no, yet all men thought it high time for him so to bee dispatched. It were needlesse here to reckon more of this same humor, who being in the eye of other men most fortunate and happy, notwithstanding gaue true testimony against themselves, in great hatred and dislike of all that euer they had done; but with these complaints of theirs, they did neyther alter others, nor amend themselves: for the words sometime brake from them, to the sense I haue said: yet their desires kept on the old vnconstant course, and were no changelings, which sort of life assuredly might possibly continue a thousand yeere or more, yet will it seeme in the end to haue bene but very small, and of no continuance, and all these seuerall conceits, what age or great account of time will they not confume? Surely these few yeeres allotted vs, albeit nature thinke them long, & reason amplifie the course of them, yet mult it needs seeme quickly gone, for wee take no holde of them, wee say them not, nor lay

we hands on them, being things more quicke in riddance then any thing else in all the world: yea, we suffer them to passe, as if they were scarce worth the looking after, or else were easie to be recovered; so that in conclusion, all men doe confesse, the busied man can neuer doe any thing well: he cannot learne to liue to himselfe, nor to be freed from the vnprofitable cares of this world; for his minde being in a manner, as we see it is, posselt with such vnprofitable labours, it is not apt for any good thing, but despiseth it, as the stomacke doth milke with meate that is already ouerladen. And yet better can he learne any other thing almost in all the world, then intend to learne to liue; which is almost the hardest knowledge that you can deuise.

CHAP. VII.

Ther Artes haue their professors enough in euery corner; which arts some boyes haue learned so perfectly and well, as they could teach them for a need. To liue a man must learne euen all his life long: & that which happily you wil rather wonder at, all our life we may learn in the end how to die. And of so many great men as despised all lets & stops, despising riches, Offices and all voluptuoulines, doing nothing all their life long, but learning til to liue, yet diuers were there amongst them, that departed this mortalitie, confessing they had not then as yet come to the knowledge: so farre off are these our busie brains from attayning therunto. So that trust me, very wise is he, and a man aboue the common cafe and capacitee of men he must needs be assuredly, that spends amisse no ior of all his daies, and therefore longest is his life, who spends all his life, be it much or be it litle, in his owne affaires, and hath neyther mis-spent with folly, nor lost by idlenesse any houre thereof, and much lesse hath intended any other men or matters, then himselfe and his, deeming nothing in this world worth exchanging of his leisure for it; which his leisure he did spare as a thing most precious. And to this man I say his life was long enough, whereas on the contrary part, those men may well complaine of scarcitie, who spend much time in matters popular, to their fruit none at all, or very little, and yet they vnderstand not their own losse. Oftentimes you shall heare great men (whom good fortune is a burden to) misfert their route of suiters, causes, actions and other miseries (which great port makes notwithstanding seeme felicities) cry out, *I cannot be suffered to liue to my selfe?* All these men that seeke thy helpe to doe them pleasure, draw thee from thy selfe. That defendant, how many daies did he beare thee off? and how many daies that other standing to be Consul; as also that olde Gentlewoman, who hath troubled thee with the prouoing so many of her husbands Wills? As also that olde Gentleman, whom thou visited in his sicknesse, which he doth yet but counterfeite, to set greedy mindes on edge, to long for that hee leaue: and that great friends of thine, who yet reckes not otherwise of such friends as thou art, then only to be credited by thy courting and attending him. And hauing cast thy daies in this manner of account, see how few daies and how foolish a remainder of them comes to thy share. He that now hath got the Office he was long a suiter for, is by and by contented to be rid of it, and saith, *Oh when will this geere come to an end?* Another fues to the Senate, that hee may be at cost to prouide Playes for the people, and was wondrous ioyfull when hee was giuen him, then so to spend his money; and yet shortly after hee cryeth

cryeth, *Oh when shall I be rid of them?* A third, whom euery Clyent seekes to retaine in counsell, who fills the barre when he commeth, and leaues euery Court empty at his returne, saith, *Oh when will this tearme be at an end?* Thus euery man sets life at naught, whiles he desireth things future, and is glutt with the present of euery day, as he would of all his life, this man doth neyther feare nor wish for to morrow: for what is there wherein any honre can breed him new delight? He knowes that all is vanitie: he hath had his wilhes his bellie full; for the rest let fortune doe as her selfe shall please; his rest, his stocke is safe. This man may haue his daies enlarged I confesse, but lesse they shall not be, nor indeed enlarged otherwise, then more meat may be set before him who is now already filled and can eate no more.

CHAP. VIII.

And therefore neuer say, This man hath liued long: his white head, his wrinkled face imports the same; for whether he liued long or no, thou knowest not: but long indeed I confesse, thou seest that he hath bene. For how canst thou say that he hath failed much, whom a cruell tempest takes immediately, as soone as he is out of the hauens mouth, & after much hurly-burly, much traucrslng his way, and beating vp and downe, it brings him euen the selfe-same way backe to the haven that euen now he went out of? This man hath not much failed, but much hath he bene beaten. And here I often maruell much, when I see some men so earnestly desire rest and respite, the men that they desire it of being both so easie to be intreated, and so vnable to hinder it or keepe them from it: the thing in whole respect they wish for rest and leisure so greatly as they doe, doth much concerne them, I meane both the requester and the granter: the thing it selfe is Time, and yet they wish for it so coldly, or rather so indifferently, as if it were a thing of no value at all; so little doe they weigh the thing which yet indeede is most precious. And indeede this one thing greatly deceiue them, because time is not subiect to their senses, nor is it easie by eye to iudge thereof; and therefore no man accounts more of it then of a very base matter, or rather a thing worthy no mans money. Euery new yeares tide our Romanes vse to receive gifts and presents of mightie men, in respect whereof they binde themselves to dance attendance on the giuers, to bestow their labour, their paine and diligence at anothers deuotion all the yeare after; no man valuing the time hee must bestow: for the same they vse and abuse many times so lawfully, as if indeede it cost them nothing. But if the meanest man amongst them should chance to be sicke, if death come neerer then they were aware of, see what suit straight they make to the Physitian: or if they feare the punishment of death by law, see if they doe not offer gladly all the wealth they are worth; to redeeme their life, so diuers and so different be their desires! And if it were as easie to say what yeares each man hath in future time to liue, as it is easie to tell you how many he hath liued already: how would some men tremble that should see so few yeares remaining; and how chary would they be in bestowing them? And yet notwithstanding contrariwise, it is an easie matter to order that we see is certaine: and more easie haue we to be charitable of that, which we know not how soon it will be plenty. Nor are wee yet to thinke they know not what a Jewell this

this time is which we speake of: for their common words of courtlesie to their best friends, are these; I would goe, I would ride, I would spend a month to pleasure thee; & indeed so they do for other men, though they perceiue it not, or rather they loofe so much of their owne, without cyther turning it to their friends behoofe, or perceiuing the losse thereof in themselves; which makes them take the losse in better part, because they do not feele it. Howbeit no man will restore thee thy time againe. Thy dayes shall still go on as they haue done hitherto, nor canst thou euer either recall time spent, or cause it for time present to cease to spend; no, thy dayes shall make no more noyse then yet they haue done; nor shall they giue more warning of their swiftnesse now then euer. Time shall slide and still lye nothing as it hath done alwayes. It is not like the prorogation of our dayes, and of an Office, neyther Prince nor people can giue it thee the second time, but euen as it begun from the first moment, so shall it still continue. Ye shall take vp linc at no place, how then? forsooth thou art occupied and thy life halts away, and death shall come euen then when thou least dreamst of it; and wilt thou, or haue thou no will to it, thou must yet needes intend it.

CHAP. IX.



An any mortall man, be he neuer so wife and politicke, tell vs how we may more thoroughly intend our selues then yet we doe? or prescribe vs how to liue hereafter more our owne then yet we are? Nay, them selues with losse of life are long occupied in telling how them selues will liue, and (God woe) long they beabour their owne conceits; and indeede the greatest losse of our life is delay, which weares away the first day, bereauing vs of present time whilst it promisseth vs things future. Nor is there any greater impediment why wee liue not out of hand then expectation, which hangeth alwayes on to morrow: so thou loofest this day and determinest what shall become of that, which fortune is wholly Ladie of, while it passeth and slippeth from thee that thou art Lord of. What hopest thou, what gapest thou for? All that is to come is vncertaine, and therefore liue out of hand: for the greatest Poet that euer was, as it were by inspiration, giues thee wholsome counsell,

*Our happiest dayes doe passe from vs poore mortall men
First, and before the rest.*

And therefore why delayest thou? Why stayest thou? Life flieth if thou lay not handes vpon it; and if thou doe lay handes vpon it, yet neuertheless it flyeth; and therefore strue thou alwayes with the swiftnesse of time, and be as swift in vntage and turning it to profite, as thou wouldest be quick to draw water out of a Riuer that thou knewest would not continue in his running. And in this, well faith the Poet, he calleth them nothappy yeares; but happy dayes, thereby hitting vs in the teeth with our infinite conceit of time to come. Why doest thou in security and in such dispatch of time, so leifurely dreame of months and yeares, yea, and draw thy yeares also (to please thy fancie withall) so long in such a number? He talketh with thee of dayes, and of dayes also now fleeting. Nor is it doubt, but as he saith, each most happy day leaues vs such mortall

mortall men, who are dayly more and more busied each day then other, whom age breakes in vpon, not hauing yet put off our childish affections, to the which we come vnready and vnarmed for it, for we haue neuer ready for it, but it lightes vpon vs vnawares, before we dreamt of it, nor did we feele it comming day by day as wee should, but it fares with vs like those men whome a tale, or some pleasant matter read, or other meditation decieuet in their iourney, so that they know & see they are come to their iornies end, before they thought that halfe their way was spent thitherward, euen so this daily quick race of our life, which as well wee passe on sleepe, as we doe awake, it shewes not it selfe so vs, whiles wee bee occupied, but in the end when it is gone.

CHAP. X.



And that I saide, if I would follow by peccemeale as I might, I could finde great reason why to proue the busied mans life thortest as I saie. *Fabianus* was wont to say (who was none of these great formall talkatiue Philosophers, but one of those formed for mer aged, true and plaine Philosophers) *We should fight against affections, not by fight but by might, not by ease & gentle venues, but with all the force we can make. We should strue to beat downe their senseles Army, for touching would not helpe the matter, they must bee strongly set on:* yet to these men their error, I will not onely inueigh at them in bitter manner, but I will strue plainly and sensible to teach them this their folly. All our life is diuided into three parts, that is, that was, and that is to come, that wee doe God knowes is thort, that we shall doe is doubtfull, that wee haue done is out of doubt: for in this last indeed, dame fortune hath lost her force, nor can it now be put in the power of any thing to make vndone; & yet this time the busied man hath wholly lost, for he hath no leaue to look back, or if once he haue leaure, yet small pleasure takes he to record a thing past, which he hath such reason to repent him of: for little lust he needs must haue to cal to mind time mispent, which he dares not now vnfold again, for feare the faults, which at the time vnder colour of delight hee was content to commit, by new handling become more manifest, & shew themselves in their kind; and indeed no man doth willingly straine himselfe to looke backward but such an one as doth all things vnder guard, and in awe of his owne conscience, which is neuer deceiued. Hee that hath in many things desired with ambition, despised with disdain, conquered with insolency, confined with subtlety, scraped to him with couetousnesse, mispent by prodigality, this man must needs bee much afraid to recall himselfe to memory. And yet this recapitulation of time past and spent, is the time already shruied, already past all chance, and feare of change, free from fortunes counterbuffes, out of danger cyther of penury, or feare or sicknesse; this cannot bee distempered, nor taken from vs, but remaineth our perpetuall and inepugnable possession: dayes are present neuer more then one and one, and they by moments also: but of time past many moneths, many yeeres at your commandement, are ready prest at a becke; they are content you looke on them, you handle them, and hold them, which the busied man is neuer well at leaure to performe: none but the quiet carelesse man can fetch a vagary leaurely thoroughall parts of his life, the busied mind is (in a manner) ringed and yoket for rowting; he cannot bow nor bend, nor intend to looke backe, and such mens liues sinke into a bottomlesse pit

pit or gulfe: but euen as it doth not profite thee to haue powred to thy be-
hoofe neuer so much in quantity of any thing whatsoeuer, neuer so good in
quality, if thou haue not wherein to holde it and preferue it: so little booteth
it thee, how long time thou hast to liue, if thou hast not wherein to holde it, or
bestow it; but lettest time flit away through thy fancy shaken, chinked and rot-
tered desires. Now the present time is short, and so short, that some men thinke
it in a manner nothing, for it is euer sitting: it runneth, it huddles forward, and
it ceaseth (in a manner) before it come, nor doth it otherwise make stay, then
the world or the starres, whose neuer resting rowling, neuer stands in one place
long: and yet this onely present time belongs to the busied man, which it selfe
is yet so short as it cannot haue hands laid on it, & yet it amongst so many mat-
ters slips away ere we are aware of it.

CHAP. XI.

AT a word, wilt thou see how little while they liue: no more but
see how desirous they bee still to liue yet longer? oldelayed vp,
aged Syers, yet cease not still to begge one yeere, yet more and
more: yea their conceit still runneth, they are yonger then they
seeme for; they feed themselves with leasing, and such a pleasure
they take to belie their age, as if their destiny and death would come so much
the later for their false belying it; and let any weakenesse giue them but neuer
so little a warning of their mortalities, how fearefully they die, not as if they did
depart, but as if will they, nill they, they were pulled out by the eares, then they
crie, what fooles were wee that tooke no pleasure in life, then they vow, they
will liue at hearts ease, then they see how in vaine they fought for that they
could not enioy: then they acknowledge all their labour was to small effect:
but they that liue to themselves in seuerall, tending to no mans businesse be-
sides, what lets vs to account their liues large enough? none of it is lost or mis-
spent, here and there in other matters: none of it is hazarded at fortunes com-
mand: nought is lost by negligence, nought is giuen away by largesse to other
mens vses, nought is lost as superfluous, but every iot or moment of it is count-
ed good reuenue: and therefore life thus spent, bee it neuer so little, is enough,
nor will a wise man feare at any time without feare to die. But here you aske
mee whom I call the busied man? thinke not I meane onely such as cyther are
attended on by great troupes of suitors, with great pompe and countenance, or
with some shew of bafe and seruile nature, waite all day vpon others, who for
duties sake are called abroad to attend at others dores, or such as doe waite all
the weeke long vpon the owtred, to gaine a penny at that vnseemly sale. No,
some mens best leasure euen at home in their gardens of sport and pleasure, e-
uen a bed, or where else a man may be laid to bee at rest and leasure; yet is it
all consumed (as I said) with businesse, yea themselves are a trouble vnto
themselves, whose life I call not leasureable, or full of leasure, but an idle kinde
of busines rather.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.



Allest thou him at quiet, who with great care seekes in all corners for
the mettall that was made at the burning of *Crimbit* and spends the
more part of his time in searching out amongst rustie copper, to see if
he can light on any of it; or annoits his seruants whom hee keeps to
get prizes at wralling; or is suruaying cyther his sheepe or his land, or
other reuenues; or sayest thou, he is at leasure; that euery day spends an howre
or two in the Barbers shop, cutting euery day down again that grew the night before?
deuiling vpon euery haire he hath, whether it be better to cut it, or let it grow? cha-
sing like a yong Emperour, if the Barber were but neuer so little negligent, or lesse
curious, because he thought he had a man of discretiō in hand to cut, who are straight
wayes in great rage, if neuer so little of their loue-locks be nipped away? or if euery
knot therof fall not round in a ring? of which sort of curious fooles, some had rather
seed disorder in the common wealch they liue in, then in their haire: & had rather see
their locks kept faire, then regard their own health; and care more to be accounted a
neat nice fellow, then to haue the voyce for honesty? doest thou say that this man is
at rest and leasure? so wholly busied and occupied betwene thecombe & the glasse?
or that he is so, that spends his time in making, hearing, & learning songs, forcing his
voyce, (which of nature is best and easiest so to be kept when it is full and plaine) into
a kinde of warbling or relishing against nature? whose fingers are euer going, as if
they stil were tinning, or striking time in a song: who bee they vfed in a matter of ne-
uer so great importance, yea, sometimes sad and sorrowfull, yet are euer and anon
resounding some peece of a song or other? these men (say I) haue not leasure, but are
busied with a needles & thrifles labour, whose time of feasting, I count not time of
pleasure or vacation; I see them still so carefull how their Plate and their seruices, and
their seruants may in decent manner become the feast, where hence they seeke the
name of fine neat fellows, & so curiously they regard this fond humor of their own,
as they neyther eate nor drinke in quiet for it. Nor account I them their owne men,
who all day long iog vp and down from this friend to that in their coaches and wa-
gons, and will not misse an howre of their dayly gaddings in them, but haue their ser-
uants to aduertise them, it is now time to bath, to swim, to sup; yea so much they
giue themselves ouer vnto this idle vaine, that of themselves they know not, or will
seeme to be ignorant when themselves are an hungred?

CHAP. XIII.



I were long to run ouer these fellows: one by one, whose liues haue bin
spent either at T ables, or at Ball, or in basting themselves against the
sunne, I cannot call them leasureable, whose pleasures put them to
such pain and businesse. As for them that spend their dayes in vnpro-
fitable studies, no man doubts, but that with much a doe, they doe
nothing, of which sort there are many now amongst vs Romanes. It was the Gre-
cians old discase to beat their brains in finding out how many Rowers *Plysser* ship
had? whether *Ilias* or *Odysses* were formost written? or whether one man writ them
both; and many such like questions, which whether you keepe the knowledge of the
to your selfe or no, they neither greatly benefit your conscience to keepe them, nor
seem you better scholler to know them, but rather somewhat busier or more cur-
rious then others. And euen this vain desire to learne things, needles possesseth now
the Romanes also. When I was last in *Rome*, I heard a learned man reckon vp, what
things each Roman Captain had first been author of; *Dulius* first did winne in fight
by sea: *Curius Dentatus* first did lead Elephants in triumph and these things though
they tend not to true glory in deed, yet they belong in some sort to matters politike.
Such knowledge will not profit much; yet doth it leade vs forward in a sort with a

petty pleasant discourfing vanity. Grant we alfo them leaue to fearch what man firft perfwaded the Romans to go to fea. One *Claudius* forfooth it was, whom they therefore called *Caudex*, becaufe any building much of boards, was then called in Latine *Caudex*, and bookes of Record, are alfo at this day called *Codices*, and boates or crayers that carry any thing vp and down the *Tiber*, are and haue been euer fince named *Caudicariae*. Be it alfo not amiffe to know, that *Valerius Corvinus* was the firft that was *Mefſana*, and therupon had the name of *Mefſana*, added in reward of his prowefle, which by little alteration of a letter or two is now called *Mefſala* the originall whereof euery man is not acquainted with. Bearer we alfo with him, that ſearcheth how *L. Sulla* firft let Lions loofe to fight in our Romane *Circus* or Parriſh Garden, what time *K. Coccus* ſent him dart-flingers to kill them loofe, or as our Forrellers now ſpeake to hunt them of force, where before time they were alwayes preſented tyed. Let vs not likewiſe enquire, if it were to the purpoſe, that *Pompey* cauſed thoſe (who were condemned) to fight in the ſame Parke with eighteen Elephants. This principall perſon in *Rome* (who amongſt the ancient Chieftaines of warre is renowned by reaſon of his bounty, and ſingular mildneſſe in manners) hath ſuppoſed it would be a memorable ſpectacle to cauſe mee to die after ſome new faſhion. It is a little matter to make them fight, and to be wounded in diuers places, he muſt haue them cruſhed vnder the inſupportable weight of theſe great and huge creatures: it had beene better to haue buried ſuch a hiſtory, for feare left afterward ſome other great Lord hearing the recital thereof, ſhould conceiue a liking to praſtiſe the like inhumane and barbarous action. O how much doth great proſperity ouerſpread our vnderſtanding with darkneſſe! *Pompey* reputed himſelfe equall with the gods, at ſuch time as he expoſed ſo many troupes of poor men to ſauage beaſts, that were brought from forraign countries; & when he cauſed a mortall fight to be performed between creatures ſo different, ſhedding much bloud in the preſence of the Roman people, where as he himſelfe anon after was to be reduced to that neceſſity to ſhed others: but hee himſelfe alſo (deceiued by the diſſoluity of the council of *Aegypt*) was ſtabbed by one that had ſerued vnder him & then vnderſtood that at laſt how vaine that ſurname of Great was, which was attributed vnto him by others.

C H A P. XIII.

BVt to return vnto my purpoſe, & to ſhew in other recitals the ſuperfluous diligence of others, the ſame diſcourſe aboue mentioned, reporteth that *Metellus* hauing conquered the Carthaginians in their quarrels for *Sicilia*, was the only man that euer led 120. Elephants captiues before his chariot: he tolde alſo, how *Sylla* was the laſt Romane that enlarged the common or void ground without the wals of *Rome* (which was not ſuffered to be done amongſt our anceſtors for any conqueſt or land gotten in any Country, but only in *Italy*, though *Sylla* conqueſts, were all of them out of *Italy* we know, which point was yet more worth the knowledge, then how the hill *Auentinus* was without the compaſſe of this ground. I ſpeake of without the wals, for one of theſe two reaſons, cyther for that the people ſeuered themſelves from the Senate into this hill, when the Senators would haue made a law, that no Patritius or Senators child ſhould marry with him or her that was not ſo, or for that the vultures, (whoſe ſight *Romulus* obſerued, when he built this City) did not compaſſe in this hill with the other ſix. Many more curious points did this man declare, which if hee did not inuent, yet did he little better; for grant all theſe nice points to be written in good ſooth, yet I pray you what amiſſes doe any of them mend? whoſe deſires doe they miniſh for who by this is made cyther more couragious, or juſter, or more liberal? mine old friend *Fabianus* was wont to doubt, whether it were better bee ignorant, or to know ſuch vanities. But I take them, to bee leaſurable, that ſtudy diuine wiſedome

dome, which no time preſent can conſume, nor no time to come diminiſh, and wholly exerciſe themſelves in celeſtiall contemplation; for ſuch men do not only vſe their owne time well, but they alſo adde thereto the ages ſpent before they were borne, and enioy them alſo as their owne, yea all the famous Recordors of moſt ſacred opinions, were after a ſort, as it ſeemeth euen borne for them, and in a manner prepared the way for them how to liue the better. Which worthy writers bring vs with much eaſe and little labour to moſt worthy matters brought by them out of darkneſſe into light, yea they keepe vs not from things done or ſaid in any age ere wee were borne, they admit vs vnto all things, yea if wee luſt by the greatneſſe of an heroicall minde to paſſe the narrow bounds of mans weake reach, wee haue time inough to doe ſo if wee liſt our ſelues. Why then leaue we not this brittle tranſitory time of life, and why betake wee vs not wholly (at leaſt in minde and cogitation to theſe infinite and eueraſting matters, which we haue in common with better natures. Theſe men that run continually courting and waiting alwayes vpon great men, troubling others & themſelves in their ſo doing, when they haue gone a madding, and danced attendance at al mens dores, not leauing any great man vnwaited on, when they haue done their dayes labour in ſaluting them, how many I pray you can they haue viſited of ſo infinit & buſie a number of great men in *Rome*? Among which great mighty ones, how many are there, whom for becauſe, that either they were a ſleepe, or otherwiſe occupied, or not at leaſure to intend them, they could not therefore be admitted to ſpeake with all? how many are there, who after that they haue long been waited for, come out, and ſodainly looke vpon them, and are gone againe? nay, how many are there that ſhunne to take their way through ſuch troupes, as come to waite vpon them to the hall or Senate? and rather take ſome backe-wayes through ſome ſecret by-corner, and leaue them all, as if it were not much more vnſcemely, and worſe manners of the twaine in this ſort, rather to coſen them by auoiding them when they were once admitted; then abſolutely to keepe them out before they came, and yet how many are there that hauing ſcarſly ſlept out their yesterdaies ſurſet; yet breake their ſleepe poore ſoules themſelves to waite till it pleaſe another to riſe, like for ſooth for their paines to bee ſaluted in ſome recheſſe or proud ſort, by their names of the great men, after hee hath had the ſame a thouſand times put into his head by ſome prompter or other: but indeede if wee will needes dance attendance with fruit, I tell you they waite wiſely that dayly court *Zeno*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and theſe the pillars of good learning; that endeavour to make *Ariſtotele*, and *Theophrastus* well known vnto them. None of theſe but will be alwayes at leaſure to intend thee: none but will diſmiſſe thee a man happier for thy ſelfe, and more in loue with him for his company, then thou waſt at thy firſt comming. I hey will not let thee goe empty, whenſoeuer thou wilt goe, come at midnight or at midday, any man may ſpeake with them. None of theſe will force thee to die before thy time, as great Princes doe of their moſt faithfull ſeruants, but euery one will inſtruct thee how to die; none of theſe will ſpend or take away any jot of thy dayes, but are all rather ready to beſtow their time on thee; thou needeſt not feare what thou ſaiſt in their company; yea no enemy of thine can ſuſpect thee for being often with them.

CHAP. XV.

IF these thou mayest obtaine whatsoever thou wilt; nor will they be in the fault if thou take not of them as much as thou art able: Oh how happy is that olde man that hath spent all his dayes in the seruice of them! hee is sure of secret friends with whom he may consult in great things or small, whose counsaile he may aske euery houre at his pleasure, from whom truth he shall heare without vpbaying, praise without flatterie, and whom well he may imitate without note of apishnesse. We say commonly we could not chuse of whom wee would be borne; but of such we came as our fortune was we should come: but in this case yet we may chuse of whom we will be borne. These worthy wits and writers haue their stocke and families; chuse of which thou wilt be, and thou shalt be not onely of his name, but his succesor also for his wealth and liuelyhood, which is also commonly the more ample, among the more it is diuided: these will leade thee to eternitie, and will lift thee vp so high, as whence no man liuing shall bee able to remoue thee. And this is onely the way to stretch out thy mortalitie, yea, to change it into immortalitie if any there be. Honours and other monuments, what euer either ambition hath by Law established, or cost hath built, do quickly perishe. Time weares out all things, yea, and soonest weareth those things which it hath made hallowed; only wisdom cannot be hurt nor impaired any way. No time present can consume it, nor time to come diminish it, the longer it lasteth the more it is still regarded; for enuy toucheth onely things neere in memory, and more absolutely do we reuerence things farther off. And so we see the wise-mans life is large enough, he is not inclosed as others are, but is onely freed from the lawes, that otherwise mankind is freightned withal: yea, all time doth yeeld vnto him, as it yeeldeth we confesse to the gods themselves. Time is past: this consideration doth him good. Time is come: this he vseth. Time will come: he preuenteth it; and thus comparing time with time, makes his life very long, whereas their life is very short, who forget the time past, neglect that is present, and feare the time to come: which when it once is come, too late poore then they finde, they were all very bullein doing nothing.

CHAP. XVI.

NEyther art thou to thinke that by this argument it is approved that they leade a long life, because sometimes they call vpon death. Imprudencie vexeth them with vncertain affections, and such as assault and encounter those which they feare: they therefore oftentimes wish for death, because they feare it; neither is that an argument likewise whereby thou shouldest be perswaded that they should liue long, because the day seemeth oftentimes long vnto them, because whilst the appointed houre of supper time cometh they complaine that the houres steale on slowly. For if at any time occupations faile them, they storne because they are left without businesse and idle: neither know they how they may dispose or enlarge the same. They therefore intend some occupation, and all the time that is betwene, is grievous vnto them, in such sort vndoubtedly

as when a day is proclaimed wherein the sword-players are to skirmish, or when as any appointed time of any other, eyther spectacle or pleasure is expected, they long and labour to outstrip the houres. The delay of all that which they hope for is long vnto them. But that time which they loue is short and headlong, and becommeth likewise more short by their fault, for they flie from one delight to another, and cannot settle themselves vpon one sort of pleasure. The dayes are not long vnto them, but displeasent and tedious. Contrariwise, how short thinke they the nights to be, which they lose in embracing their harlots and drunkennesse? From thence grew the furie of those Poets, who fed and flattered mens errors with fables, who fained that *Iupiter* being bewitched with the pleasure of his adulterous embraces, redoubled the night: What other thing is it then to animate wickednesse to make the gods the authors of them, and to giue an excusable license to an infirmite, by the example of diuinitie? But can these men finde the nights other then very short, that they buy at so high a price? They lose the day in expectation of the night, and the night through the feare of the day. Their pleasures are accompanied with feares, burried with diuers disquiet perturbations; their greatest ioy is drowned in carefull thought. How long shall this continue? Because of this passion Kings haue bewailed their power; neither did the greatnesse of their fortune delight them, but the end that was to ensue terrified them. When that most insolent Persian King spread his army along the fields, whose number he could not tell, and scarcely could he tell what quantitie of ground would well containe it; it is said he wept, considering that within one hundred yeares there should not one of all that number be left aliue: but he himselfe that wept was euen the man that hastened all their deaths, as indeed afterwards proued, when as what by Land, what by Sea, what in fight, and what in flight, euery mothers sonne almost, very shortly after miscarried, whom hee feared should not liue an hundred yeares.

CHAP. XVII.

Oreouer, their ioyes are full of feares, they build them not on sure ground, but by the same vanitie they rise, by the same they fall. And what will you thinke of those their times, which in their own confession are vnhappy, if these whereof they vaunt themselves, and in which they take themselves to be more then men, be scarcely perfect? Euery highest tipe of happinesse is full of feare; nor may we well in truth lesse build on any fortune then that which is happiest. One free Citie needeth another to maintaine it, and hauing once that we desired, we are forced straightwayes to desire anew, to haue wherewith to maintaine the former state: for euery thing that fortune giueth is vncertaine; and the higher alwaies that felicitie is, the neerer euer is it to a downfall and ruine. And no man can take pleasure in the state he knoweth assuredly shall shortly fall; and therefore most vnhappy, not onely short is their life who with much adoe procure that which with much more labour they must possesse, with much trouble compassing the thing they desire, but with much more care continuing the thing once gotten; all which while no care is had of time, of precious time, that neyther shall nor can be recovered againe. Olde businesse breeds new busines, one hope bringeth forth another, this high desire makes way for an higher then

it to follow it, and so no end is sought of the miseries we are in, though euery day we change the matter which procureth miseries. Our owne preferments proue euen burdens to vs; others honours haue cost vs time to procure them for them: nor haue we so soone left to sue for our selues, but immediately we are suters in the same case for others. We will pleade no more as Counsellors as it were to day; to morrow we are admitted to the Bench as Iudges; the third day happily called to the Council-table. *Marius* is no sooner dismissed out of warre, but at home he is in suite for the Consulship. *Quintius* is dismissed of his Dictatorship to day, not long after he is called from the Ploughes thereto againe. Yong *Scipio* scarce hit for such a charge, is sent against the Carthaginians as it were to day; he conquereth *Hanniball* and *Antiochus*, is made Confull and getteth his brother to be made next after him, and so from dignitie to dignitie: and if him selfe be not the hinderance, in time he shall be dignified no lesse then *Iupiter*, yea, and after that by his industry Rome was deliuered from the feare of *Hanniball*, and he returned home to his wife and children, he was straightwayes occupied in ciuill factions and suits for offices: and rather then he would satisfie himselfe with ordinary preferments, he chose wilfully to goe into exile and was proude thereof; as if forsooth when happy and fortunate businesse began to faile him, he would rather busie himselfe in vnfortunate proceedings then it should be said he wanted busines; so farre we are from enioying the leisure and pleasure which yet we euery day desire and wish for.

CHAP. XVIII.



Hy then, good friend *Paulinus*, exempt thy selfe from this common error that possesseth the world; and now thou hast bene busied more then any of thine equals in age or honour, betake thy selfe at length into a haue of quiet, call to mind what storms thou hast endured, what tempests, partly for priuate matters, and oftentimes for publique affaires thou hast entangled thy selfe withall: thy vertue hath bene tried sufficiently in troublesome vnquiet matters: trie what it can doe in peace, at home in quiet. Thou hast spent the greater, or at least the better of thine age in publique businesse, in causes common to thy wife and children, turne some part thereof to thine owne vse, to thine owne behoofe. I wish thee not to betake thee to an idle, or vnlearned, or vnprofitable vacation, nor would I haue thee to spend the residue of thy worthy nature, in sleepe or other vnseemely common peoples pastime, this I count not rest or quietnesse. Thou shalt finde many greater matters then those that yet thou hast bene conuerfant in, to bestow thy repose and leisure in. Thou hast kept the accounts of the Roman Store-houses, which is as much almost as the accounts in a manner of all the world; the same I say thou hast kept with such abstinence as if they had not belonged to thee, with such diligence as if they had bene thine owne reuenues, and yet with such integritie as if thou knewest well it were the wealth of the Citie and State of Rome, and thou to answer for euerie halfe peny: and in this thine office thou hast won the loue of all men, wherein other men could hardly auoide much hatred; and yet trust me, it is a wiser part to be able to giue a good account of thine owne life and liuing, then of all the come in the country. Recall therefore this worthy minde of thine, fit I know for greatest matters; recall it yet from this honourable, yet scarce a happy service

service to shew thy selfe at home a while, & remember this was the finall and most principall end of thy creation and first being, that in the end thou shouldest be Surueyor of the Cities come, thou must propose a more priuate, but yet a higher and better calling: nor will there want any frugall and painefull men to supply thine office; so farre fitter are slow and vnwildie jades, or young and vntamed Colts to beare great burdens, then the trampling and stirring Steede, whose life and actiuitie no man durst euer charge with a lumpish burden. Besides this, bethink thy selfe how much care attendeth thee whilst thou vndergoest so great a charge. Thou hast to deale with the bellies of men. A people that endureth hunger is not subiect vnto reason, neither is mitigated by equity, nor pacified by any priuers. It is not long time since that vnder the Emperor *Caligula*, although now displeased (if dead men haue any sense) to be dead in a few dayes, and to haue left the Roman people aliue; that there was not found sufficient virtuales in the Citie for seuen or eight dayes: and whilst this Prince made bridges of boats, and sported himselfe with the meanes and forces of the Empire, the most dreadfull of all other euils, that is to say, famine besieged Rome. His imitation of a furious and forraign King, and vnhappy puffed vp with pride well may cost the ouerthrow and famine of his country, and that which followeth famine the ruine of all things. What raide then had they and care, who had the charge to provide come for the common store. They prepared themselves to receive the stroakes of swords, to be stoned, burned, and to meete with *Caligula*; yet dissembled they very carefully the cure of this euill, that was hidden in the intrailles of the Citie; for there are some infirmities wherunto we ought to applie remedies, without discouerie of the sicknesse, as contrariwise diuers men are dead, because they knew they were sicke.

CHAP. XIX.



Retire thy selfe into these hauens more calme, more assured, and more great: thinkest thou that to giue order, that the come bee more closed vp in the storehouses good and cleane without being spoyled by the malice and negligence of the Porters, in such sort that wet neither seaze or ouerheat it, and consequently, that it returne to his measure and weight, is a thing of as great importance; as when thou approachest the celestiall miseries, and when thou comest to enquire what the nature of the Gods is, there will their condition, their forme, the estate of thy soule, and the places where nature shall lodge vs after our decafe, what it is that sustaineth the most weightiest of all the workes of nature in the centre of the world, and suspendeth the lighter things aboue, and carrieth fire vp on high, and exciteth the starres in their courses? In briefe, all the rest full of great miracles: will thou forsaking the earth, rowse thy mind and consideration to these things, now, and so long as thy blood is warme, and vigor strong? thou must aspire to that which is the best. An ardent loue of prayse-worthy sciences, the practise of vertue, the forgetfulness of passions, the science to liue and die well, a deepe repast discharged from all worldly affaires, attend thee in such a manner of life. True it is, that the condition of all those that are entangled with worldly affaires is miserable: but yet more miserable is the estate of those men who are not busied in their affaires, but sleepe, walke and eate according to other mens appetites, and are constrained to loue and hate those things

things that are most free of all others: if such men would know how short these mens liues are, let them consider how much they rebate of their owne: you enuy not those whom you see attaine vnto charges, and grow in reputation amongst the people. Such advancements are got with the expence of life, and to obtaine the credite that a man may count the yeare of his name, they vse all the yeares of their life. Some other there are that being desirous to attaine the highest degree of honour, after they haue trauelled long therein, are dead in the middelt of their way: and others, which hauing attained the fame by infinite and euill practises, haue bene seased with this distastfull apprehension, that they haue trauelled much to build them a tombe, and make themselves spoken of after their death: some also conceiuing new hopes in their old yeers, as if they had bene in their prime, haue lost their hearts, and perished in the midlt of their vnquiet and vniust attempes and endeaours.

CHAP. XX.

BAlc is the man, who being already olde, hath sought to grow in credite amongst the foolish common people, & is dead in spending himselfe to please for meere strangers that would let him on worke: as abict is he, that being rather weary of life, then of trauell, is false amidst the affaires which he hath embraced, and because hee that hauing death at his dore, toseth his papers and affaires to the great contentment of his heire, who long time expected for such a prey, I cannot bury in silence one example that commeth to my memory: *Turanus* was an olde man of exact diligence, who after the ninetieth yeere of his age, being discharged of his office of commissary of victuals by the Emperour *Claudianus*, got him into his bed, commanded all his seruants to muster about him, and to bewaile him as if hee were dead: the familie lamented the repose of their old master, and continued this sorrow vntill such time as he was restored to his office. Is there for great pleasure then to die buried? there are many that resemble this *Turanus*, they desire to trauell euen at that time when they can no more, they combat against the feebleness of their bodies, and thinke not their age troublefome, except it be because it commandeth them to liue in repose. When a Souldier is fifty yeeres old, the law constraineth him not any more to beare Armes: a Senator hauing attained to threescore yeeres, is no more bound to attend the Senate, nor more hardly obtaine leave to repose themselves at their owne hands than from the Law. In the meane while whilst they assaile others, and are assailed themselves, whilst one breaketh an others rest, whilst euery one tormenteth himselfe, life slippeth away without profit, without pleasure, or any content of the mind, there is no man that representh death vnto himselfe, there is no man that extendeth not his hopes farre off. Some likewise there are that dispose of these things which are after life, as of their proud Sepulchres, of inscriptions, and dedicacy of their buildings, of sports, combates, and other solemnities of their ambitious funerals: but vndoubtedly these mens obsequies should be solemnized with torches and Tapers, as if they had liued very little.

The End of the Booke of the shortnes of Life.

THE

OF COMFORT.

ADDRESSED
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO POLYBIVS.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIUS.

This booke was written during the time of his exile at such time as hee was dejected both in mind and body (wee must confesse it, and the writing testifieth it) about the third yeare of his banishment: for he openly maketh mention of the first entrance into Britany, which was about that time: As touching *POLYBIVS* hee was one of the most powerful free men that belonged to *CLAVDIVS*, and receined that title by reason of his studies, for he was learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and may wee gather honestly apparently by the prayes which *SENECA* leadeh him with; hee comforteth him in the death of his brother, and the whole disposition of the Booke is hidden, because both the beginning and diuers things else are missing: In that which is extant, this is his order: he denieth that wee should griene at the death of one man, because the worlde is selfe and whatsoeuer is in it is condemned by that law: likewise because the griefe is vaine, and without fruit. Thirdly, that wee are borne to afflictions, and that we ought to fashion our selues thereunto. Fourthly, hee calleth to witness, the will of the dead, and sheweth his desire not to liue. Fifthly, that in constancy and example hee ought to exceed his other brothers, because hee was a worthy person, and all mens eyes were fixed on him. Sixthly, he wisheth him to take comfort from his studies which hee alwayes loved. This and such like vntill the 31. Chapter. From thence forward hee intermixeth the example of those who haue endured the like courageously, amongst these (not without wilde flattery) he produceth *CAESARS* example, whom hee wonderfully praiseth, and in conclusion once againe sendeth *POLYBIVS* to his booke and studies, as a remedy of his griefe: wee cannot deny but this was *SENECAES* writing: I thinke not to the intent hee meant it should be published, but according to his present fortune abiectly, and too humbly written to a slave (alasse) adorned with how many praises? I am ashamed, I am ashamed, whoe other published this, was an enemy to *SENECA*, and his glory.

OVT OF THE CHAP.



P If thou compare our bodies with them, they are strong, if thou reduce them to the condition of nature that destroyeth all things, and recalleth them thither from whence shee made them, they are fraile; for what can mortall hands make immortal? Those seuen miracles, and whatsoeuer else more wonderfull then these, the ambition of succeeding yeeres haue builded, shall bee scene leueled with the ground; the end of things are varied, and whatsoeuer hath had a beginning shall haue an end: Some maintaine that the wicked shall

shall perill, and if thou thinke it lawfull to belieue, so much then shall a day come that shall dissipate the same, and drowne the whole vniuerse (which containeth all whatsoeuer is diuine and humane) into their former confusion and darkenesse: now then let him lament that list, by reason of the death of so many perious that haue been, let him deplore the destruction of *Carthage*, *Romanum* and *Corinth*, or whatsoeuer places were notorious, cyther in their flourishing or fall, when as this likewise as evidently appeareth vnto him, that euen that which hath nothing whereupon to fall, must perill; let him goe and complaine himselfe, that the Destinies (which must one day attempt and execute so great a mischiefe) haue not spared him likewise.

CHAP. XXI.



What man is hee of so proud and insolent arrogance, that in this necessity of nature that reuoketh all things to the same end, will haue himselfe and his exempted out of the ranke of all others, and discharge some house from that ruine which shall deuoure the whole world. It is therefore a great comfort for a man to bethinke himselfe that the same hath hapned vnto him, which all others haue suffered before him, and all that follow him must endure, and therefore in my iudgement nature hath made that most common which is most grieuous, to the end that the equality thereof might in some sort lenise the cruelty of the fate. This likewise will yeeld thee no little comfort, if thou thinke that thy sorrow will neither profit him whom thou bewailest, nor thy selfe; for thou wouldest not haue that long that is vnprofitable: For if sorrow would profit vs any thing; I refuse not to intermixe the remainder of those teares that my aduerser fortune hath left me with thine; yea more likewise will I finde out some remnant of remorse, that may flow from mine eyes that are dried vp by so many teares which I haue spent by reason of the misfortunes of my house: if that may returne thee any profite, why ceasest thou? let vs complaine: I will take the cause in hand, and make it mine owne. O fortune that in all mens iudgement art most vniust, vntill this present it was supposed that thou sparedst this worthy man, who by thy fauour had attained such credite, that his felicity (which is a thing both rare and lesse heard of) was not enuyed by any man; behold thou hast impressed a sorrow in him more greater then he could receiue, but in the losse of the Emperour, & when thou haddest attempted and fought into him euery wayes, thou couldst not finde any fit means to assaile him but this: for what other injury couldst thou haue done him? what, take away his money? neuer was he a slave vnto it, and now also as farre as in him lieth, hee casteth it from him; and in this his so great felicity and means of enriching himselfe, hee seeketh no greater fruit therby then the contempt thereof. What take away his friends? Thou knewest he was so well beloved, that he might easily substitute others in their places that were lost; for of all those great Lordes whom I haue knowne in the Emperours house, this man alone in my iudgement was such a one that although it were expedient for all men to entertaine his friendship, yet their affection and desire to bee in his fauour, was farre more great then the assistance they pretended to reape by his countenance. What deprive him of his honour? but that is so seetled in him, that thou hast no power to shake it. What, rob him of his health? thou knowest that his mind was so well

Seneca's here
is warning that
besides that, that
hath not beset
others.

Neither do our
sorrows profite
those whom wee
bewaile nor our
felices.

A probable story
Seneca's words
let us see
first how
they are
brought in
the highest minds.

well grounded in liberall sciences (wherein hee is not onely bred vp but borne) that all infirmities of the body whatsoeuer cannot abash him. What, take away his life? how little haddest thou hurt him? the excellency of his mind had promised him a life of longer continuance, hee hath carefully endeauoured himselfe to eternize the better part of him, and to warrantize himselfe from death, by the excellent and learned works that hee hath composed. As long as learning shall be any wayes honoured, as long as the vigor of the latine tongue, and the grace of the Greeke shall haue credite amongst great men: so long shall this man liue amongst the men of most reputation, whole sufficiency and worth hee hath cyther equalled, or (if his modesty refuse this testimony) hath very neerely imitated.

CHAP. XXII.



Hou hast therefore bethought thee of this one meanes, whereby thou mightest harm him most; for the better a man is, the more oftner is he accustomed to thy assaults, who art displeased without election, and drownd full amidst thy greatest benefices. Was it so great a matter for thee to warrantize this man from affliction, whom thy fauour in some sort seemed to haue sufficiently defended, and not according to thy vsuall custome to haue light vpon him rashly? but if thou wilt let vs adde to these complaints the gentle nature of thy brother, rauished out of this world in the prime of his youth; hee desired to haue thee to his brother, and thou vndoubtedly art most worthy to lament such a brother as hee was: all men giue an equall testimony of him, he is bewailed to thy honour, and prayed for his own desert, there was nothing in him which thou wouldest not willingly acknowledge. For thine owne part thou wouldest haue shewed thy selfe good to an other brother, who might haue beene lesse good, but thy piety hauing found an answerable subiect in this man, hath expressed it selfe more freely. Although his meanes were great, yet neuer offended he any man, neither threatened he any man with thee who wert his brother: hee was formed according to the example of thy modesty, considering what honour it was vnto him to bee so neerely allied vnto thee, and of what importance that was, so likewise knew hee how to manage such a charge. O cruell destinies, enemies to all vertue; thy brother was taken out of this world before hee knew his owne felicity; I am not displeased or angry more then I should be, for there is nothing so difficult when a man is extremely vexed, as to finde out wordes that are answerable to his sorrow: yet againe, if this will yeelde vs any remedy wee will lament? Where one thoughts thou vniust and iniurious fortune! why hast thou so suddenly repented thy selfe of thy fauourable dealing? what cruelty was this to breake in amidst brothers, and by so bloody a rapine to lesse such a company as liued in the greatest peace of the world? why wouldest thou trouble and diminish without cause a house so well furnished with vertuous young men? amongst whom, there was no one that degenerated. By this reckoning perfect innocency preuaileth nothing, ancient temperance is vnprofitable, a loue aigne honour (accompanied with vnspokeable modesty, and intire, and pure loue towards good letters, and an vpright conscience) shall be vnfruitfull. *Polybius* mourneth, and being admonished in one brother, what hee is to feare of the rest, is euen afraid of those very comforts which should lenise his sorrow.

A Some complaints
against
our estate, seeme
to be able to lessen
our griefe.

sorrow. *Polybus* mourneth and is sorrowfull, although he bee in great fauour with the Emperour: vndoubtedly therefore, O malignant fortune, thou hast made choice of this meenes, to shew that no man, no not *Cæsar* himselfe can warrantize a man from thy fury.

CHAP. XXIII.



5. Wee ought not to grieve and to ment our felues for that which is firme & inuavoidable, & inmuttable.

EE may accuse the Destinies longer, but we cannot change them, they continue obdinate and inexorable; no man can moue them cyther with vpbraides, or teares, or perswasions: they acquit no man of any thing, they pardon nothing: let vs therefore spare our teares, because they are vnprofitable: for sooner will sorrow lodge vs with him then returne him vnto vs; since hee tormenteth vs, & comforteth vs not, let vs shake her off in good time, and let vs retire our minds from vaine solaces, and from a bitter desire of sorrow: for except reason restrain our teares, fortune will not. Goeto, turne thy selfe on euery side, and consider all men in this world: there is in euery place an ample and continuall cause of teares; one man is called to his dayly labour, by a laborious povertry, an other tormented with insatiable ambition, an other feareth those riches he hath wished for, and is sick of his owne desires, this man is afflicted with care, that man with labour, this man is tyred with a troupe of sutors that besiege his dores, this man is sorry that hee hath children, that man because he hath lost them: we shall sooner want teares then cause of sorrow. Considerest thou not what life it is that nature hath presented vs with, since hee would that teares should be the first prefaces of our condition in this world? This is our beginning, whereunto all the course of our yeares haue relation: thus liue wee, and therefore wee ought to keepe a measure in this thing, which wee ought to doe so often: and then considering how many fatal accidents attend vs, if wholly wee cannot giue ouer our teares, at leastwise we ought to reserve some part of them for time to come. There is nothing wherein wee ought to bee more sparing then this wherof wee haue so frequent vse. Moreouer thou shalt bee very much comforted, if thou thinkest that thy brother, for whom thou afflictest thy selfe in this sort, taketh lesse pleasure in that thou doest then any man thou canst name: hee will not, or hee knoweth not that thou art thus tormented: It is therefore an vnprofitable labour to grieve for him, for if hee feeleth nothing, it is superfluous, and if hee feeleth, hee taketh no pleasure therein.

CHAP. XXIII.



7. They can doo not our affliction, but they wold not haue vs torment our selues.

OLDI dare I say, that there is no man in the whole world that is delighted in thy teares. What then? thinkest thou that thy brother is worse affectioned towards thee then any other man: that he should desire thy affliction, that hee should withdraw thee from thy businesse, that is, from thy studies, and from *Cæsar*? this is farre vnlikely; for he hath loued thee as his brother, honoured thee as his parent, and respected thee as his superiour; hee would thou shouldst remember him, but not torment thy selfe for him; what auaieth it thee therefore to con-

consume thy selfe with sorrow, which if the dead haue any sensē, thy brother desireth it should be finished: for an other brother whose inclination might seeme vncertaine, I should put all these things in doubt, and I should say, thy brother desireth that thou shouldst be tortured with incessant teares; he is vnworthy of this affection, and if hee would not, then giue ouer thy vnprofitable griefe. Neither should an impious brother be so bewailed, neither would a pious be so lamented. But in this whole pietie is so well approued; thou art to resolue thy selfe that nothing can bee more grieuous vnto him, then if this his death be distastfull vnto thee: if it vexeth thee any wayes, if it troubleth and spendeth thine eyes vnworthy of so great misery, with causelesse shewers of complaint. But nothing shall withdraw thy pietie so much from vnprofitable teares as if thou thinke that thou oughtest to bee an example to thy brethren, where by they may be instructed to sustaine these iniuries of fortune with constancy. That now art thou to doe which great Capitaines doe in desperate dangers or vncertaine, who purposely faing a merry demesure, and cloake their discontents with a pleasant countenance, for feare lest their Souldiers should be discouraged by discovering their gouernors discontent. Shew thou a countenance that is contrary to thy thought, and if thou canst purge thy selfe of all sorrow, at leastwise hide and containe it inwardly, lest it appeare, and endeavour thy selfe that thy brothers may imitate thee, who will thinke that honest whatsoeuer they see thee doe, and will assume their courage according to the temper of thy countenance. Thou must both solace and comfort them; but thou canst not withstand their sorrow, if thou make a wanton of thine owne.

CHAP. XXV.



HIS thing likewise may restrain thee from sorrowing extreemely, if so bee thou informe thy selfe, that none of those things which thou doest can remaine hidden. The common consent of all men hath made thee great, maintaine that. Thou art enuironed with a troupe of men that come to comfort thee, who carefully consider thy thought, and diligently obserue whether it bee fortified against griefe besides, not only if thou know how to vse prosperity discretely; or if thou canst endure a duerfity manfully: they obserue thine eyes. All things are more free vnto those whose passions may be couered. As touching thy selfe thou canst not hide thy self; fortune hath placed thee in all mens eyes. Every man shall know how thou hast carried thy selfe in this conflict; whether vpon the first assault thou gauest ouer thy weapons, or if thou hast stood confidently in the battell. Heretofore the fauour of the Emperour, and thine owne valour haue made thee rise to great estate, and therefore all bare and vulgar infirmities ill besitteth thee. But there is nothing so vilde and so base, then for a man to suffer himselfe to bee deuoured in sorrow. In the same griefe it is not lawfull for thee to behaue thy selfe so as thy other brothers. The opinion which is conceiued of thy studies and manners, permiteth thee not many things; men require many things at thy hands, and expect much, if thou wouldest haue had all things lawfull for thee, thou shouldest not haue drawn all mens eyes vpon thee. But now so much art thou to performe as thou hast promised all men, who praye and applaude the endeouours of thy witte, who; whereas they haue no need of thy fortune, yet haue neede of thy witte. These are the watchmen of thy

The eighth, We ought to bee much aduised of confidence and patience to those that sinne.

The ninth, The more eminent our vocation is, the lesse occasion haue we to make our neighbours believe that we haue lost our courage, and that we are vnworthy to do that which is committed to our charge.

thy mind. Thou canst therefore doe nothing that is vnworthy the profession of a perfect and learned man, but if diuers men will repent themselves, because they haue admired thee. Thou must not weepe immoderately, and although thou art not to looke a part of the day in sleepe, nor in seeking thy repose, forsake the bulke of affaires, and goe and trifle it in the Country, nor undertake with a sprightly conceit a long voyage to recreate thy body, being wearied with continual trauell of thy weighty charge, nor to loose thy selfe in diuers pastimes in the Theaters, neither to spend the howers of the day according as it becometh thee.

CHAP. XXVI.

THere are many things which are vnlawfull for thee, which are permissible in men of base condition, and such as liue in obscurity. A great dignity and prosperity is a great seruitude. It is not lawfull for thee to doe any thing according to thine owne mind. Thou must giue audience to a thousand persons, read an infinite of petitions; thou must bee accosted by a numberlesse number of suitors, posting from euery part of the world. Thou hast need of a gouerned mind to dispatch readily and sodainly the affaires of the greatest Prince in all the world. I say it is not lawfull for thee to weepe, because thou art to heare diuers men that weepe; and to the end that their teares may be profitable vnto them that are in danger to obtaine the mercy of most milde *Cæsar*; thine are to beedried vp. Yet behold what will comfort thee greatly, and proue a singular remedy for thee: cast thine eyes vpon *Cæsar*, when thou wouldst disburthen thy selfe of sorrowes. Consider what a charge his fauour hath imposed vpon thee, how much industry thou owest him, and then shalt thou vnderstand, that thou art no more to bee humbled by these crosses, then hee (if a man may giue any credite to fables) who beareth the whole world on his shoulders. For this cause diuers things are not lawfull for the Emperour, who may doe all that which he pleaseth. His vigilancy conserueth the houses of all men in particular: his trauell giueth them repose, his industry maketh them liue at ease, and in delight. His occupation furnisheth them with time to disport themselves in. Since that time that *Cæsar* dedicated himselfe to the world, and rauished himselfe from himselfe, and as the Planets which incessantly runne their courses, hee cannot reple, neither dispatch any thing of his owne affaires. So in the like sort, the same necessity is enioyned thee, thou art neither to respect thine owne profite, nor affect thy studies. As long as *Cæsar* is Lord of the world, thou canst not addict thy selfe to pleasure, or griefe, nor to any thing els, thou art wholly *Cæsars*. Adde herunto that hauing alwayes made the world believe that thou lovest *Cæsar* better then thine owne soule, it is not lawfull for thee as long as he liueth to complaine of thy fortune. Hee being in safety, all they that appertaine vnto thee are in security; thou hast lost nothing, thine eyes must not onely bee dried but bee ioyfull. In him thou hast all things, and hee to thee is as much as all. I will tell thee without impeachment of thy prudence and piety, that thou hast little respect of his greatnesse, that as long as thy body is in good health, thou giuest way to any thy sorrow whatsoeuer. But I will shew thee another remedy which is not so strong as the precedent, yet is it more familiar, if at any time thou retire thy selfe into thy house, then wilt thou haue some cause to suspect thy

It is that in authority must not forsake himselfe with abstraction of mind, for a great mans example doth much harm on a sodaine then hee can remedy all his life time.

Eloquence from in vaine and pallid flattery.

The elements, we must consider as well those goods that remaine with vs, as those that leave vs, which we haue least.

thy sorrow, for as long as thou shalt behold *Cæsars* Godhead, sorrow will finde no access vnto thee, *Cæsar* will possesse whatsoeuer is in thee, when thou departest from him, then as if occasion were giuen, sorrow will finde out thy folitude, and will creep by little and little into thy soule that desireth repose. Thou art not therefore to intermit any time of study, then will sciences and good letters which thou hast so long and faithfully loued, requite thy endeavour, and auowing thee for their patron and affectionate seruant, will take thee into their safeguard. Then *Homer* and *Virgil* (who haue so much obliged all men vnto them, as thou hast made them obliged, hauing giuen order to make the known to more men, then they themselves haue written verses) shall long time make abode with thee. All the time thou shalt commit and giue them to keepe, shall be assured. Employ thy selfe then in couching, in writing the deeds of the Emperour thy Master, to the end that in all ages the Romane people may celebrate his memory, for he it is that will furnish thee with matter, and giue thee example to digest and set downe his actions.

CHAP. XXVII.

Dare not induce and perswade thee so farre according to thy accustomed elegancy to set downe the fables of *Æsop*, a worke as yet vnattempted by our Romane wits: for it is a hard matter for a mind so vehemently delected as thine is, so quickly to vnderstand this more pleasing and pleasant studies, yet shalt thou know that thy mind will be fortified, and recouer himselfe, if hee may giue ouer these grauer studies, and employ himselfe in those that are more delightfull and free: for in the grauer, the austerity of things which hee shall intreat vpon, will draw the same, although it bee sicke and at debate in it selfe, but in those that shal breede delight, thy spirit shall take no pleasure, but at such time as it shall bee settled and quieted in it selfe. Thou oughtest therefore to exercise thy selfe in matters of importance, and then to temper thy mind with more pleasing studies. This likewise will comfort thee very much, if sometimes thou debate in this sort with thy selfe. Whether am I sorrowfull in respect of my selfe, or in regard of him that is deceased? If for the loue of my selfe, it is in vaine that I perswade my selfe, that I am a good brother, and the griefe which beginneth is excusable, because it is honest, and estranged from piety in this, because it hath regard to profite. But there is nothing that worse becometh a good man then to haue a will to consider, how much hee hath cyther won or lost by the death of his brother. If I complaine me for the loue of him, I must needs approue it by one of these two succeeding considerations, that is to say, that cyther the dead haue a feeling or no feeling. If they haue no sense, my brother hath escaped all the incommodities of life, and is restored vnto that place wherein hee was before hee was borne, and being voide of all euill, hee neither seareth nor desireth, nor suffereth anything. What madnes is this in me, that I neuer giue ouer grieving for him who shall neuer bee aggrieved? If the dead haue any sense, the soule of my brother being as it were discharged out of a long prison, is now in freedome and full liberty, hee searcheth and beholdeth with content the workes of Nature, shee discovereth them from a high place wherein hee sees all humane things, & neerly approacheth the diuine: in search whereof hee was so long time vainly tormented. Why

N n n 2

there

The twelfth, Study lentish sorrow.

The thirteenth, If we haue the means to exercise our mind in high and worthy thoughts, it will be sure to expiate our griefes.

The fourteenth, Wee ought not to lament those that are dead in regard of our selves, for this were to loue our selves more for their sakes, for as touching their bodies they haue no sense, and as touching their soules, if they haue bene virtuous, they are in repose.

therefore afflict I my selfe with the losse of him who either is blessed, or is no body. To bewaile him that is blessed, it is enuy to lament him that is no more; is madnesse.

CHAP. XXVIII.

RARE thou displeased hereat, because in thy iudgement thy brother is deprived of great goods which followed and attended him? When thou shalt bethinke thy selfe that there are many things which hee hath left, consider that there are more things which hee feareth not. Anger shall not vex him, sickness shall not afflict him, suspicion shall not prouoke him, gnawing and hatefull enuy that is alwayes an enemy to other mens proceedings, shall not attend him, feare shall not presse him, inconstant fortune that now taketh from one to giue it to another, shall torment him no more: If thou calculate well, thy brother hath gotten more then he hath lost. But hee shall no more enioy his riches, neyther his owne honour, or the countenance hee hath had by thee; he neither shall receive or doe pleasures any more. Thinkest thou him miserable, because hee hath left these things, or happy because hee desireth them no more? Believe mee he is more blessed that hath no need of fortune, then hee that is much troubled in entertaining her. All these goods which delight vs by reason of their faire but fallacious appearance, as money, estates, credite, and other such like which corrupt couetous and ambitious mens minds, are possessed with paine, and beheld with enuy; they oppress those that are adorned with them, and threaten more then they profite. They are slippery and vncertaine, they are neuer firmly possessed, for although a man were not in doubt of that which is to come, yet so it is that the maintenance of a great prosperity is accompanied with many cares, if thou wilt giue credit to those who more inwardly examine the truth, all our life is but a punishment. Being cast into this fodep and troubled a sea, tormented with continuall ebbs and floates, that now rayseth vs vp with sodaine encreases, and straight forsaketh vs with greater losses, and continually tossing vs, wee neuer remaine in a settled place, wee liue in suspense and incertaintie, who are beaten one against another, and sometimes we are shipwrackt, but alwayes fearfull. Saying in this fo stormy sea, and exposed to all tempests, we finde no hauben but in death. Enuy not thy brother therefore, he is at rest, now at length hee is free, now at length hee is secure, now at length hee is eternal. He hath left the Emperour and all his race, thy selfe and all his brothers behinde him. Before that fortune turned her fauourable face from him, hee forooke her cuen then when shee stood vnto him, and heaped fauours vpon him with a plentiful hand. But now hee enioyeth an open and freer heauen from an humble low Tabernacle, hee hath attained so conspicuous a place, whatsoeuer it be that receiued those blessed soules that are deliuered out of these earthly bonds into his blessed bosome, that now hee freely wendeth and beholdeth all the goods of nature with exceeding pleasure. Thou art decieued, thy brother hath not lost the light, but hath attained a more fecurer. It is a way that we must all walke. Why complaine we of desteny? hee hath not left vs, but gone before vs.

CHAP.

The fifteenth,
They are deli-
vered from the
miseries and
misfortunes of
this life.

The vanity of
riches.

Great fortune,
great care.

The sixteenth,
They that we call
dead are liuing,
and the liuing
are dead.

CHAP. XXIX.

BELIEUE it, there is a great happinesse in dying happy, nothing is assured, no not for the length of one day, onely humane affaires being so obscure and confused, as they bee who will vndertake to resolve whether thy brothers death had wrought him enuy, or whether it hath procured him good? Besides this, there is another consideration, which is to comfort thee, for thou oughtest to think that in looking such a brother, thou hast received no iniury, but that thou hast bene greatly fauoured; because that so long time it hath bene in thy power, to enuy and make vse of his piety. Vnreasonable is that man that hath not giuen his benefactor that credite to dispose of that hee giueth according to his best liking, and that man is couetous, that in stead of calling that gaine which a man giueth him, complaineth that hee hath lost that which hee hath restored. Vngratefull is hee that faith, that iniury is the end of pleasure. And foolishe is hee that thinketh there is no fruit but in things present, that contenteth not himselfe with those things that are past, esteeming those things for certaine goods which appear not any more, because hee ought not to bee afraid that they are lost. Too much scantleth he his wayes, who thinketh that hee enioyeth nothing but those things that hee hath and seeth, and esteemeth them as much as nothing which he hath had, and hath no more; for all pleasures abandon others very sodainely, it is a thing that slippeth away, that passeth, and is taken from vs almost before it commeth; wee must therefore bestow our thoughts vpon the time that is past, and recall to memorie, and oftentimes ruminate on all that which hath euer giuen vs pleasure. The remembrance of delights and contentments is more assured and endureth longer time; then the presence of them: remember this therefore amongst thy greatest goods; that thou hast had a good brother: thinke not how long time hee might as yet haue liued with thee, but how long time hee hath remained with thee. Nature gaue him both to thy selfe, and the rest of thy brothers, not as a thing proper vnto you, but shee hath lent him you, and when shee thought good shee hath redemanded him, not satisfying thy will herein, but her owne arrest. If a man should bee angry for paying a debt for which hee allowed no interest, should hee not bee thought a most wicked fellow? Nature hath giuen thy brother life, and thy selfe likewise, and afterwards vsing her owne right, she hath redemanded her debt from him, shee thought fitte to challenge. Shee is not in fault (whose condition was very well knowne; but we ought to accuse the couetousnesse of mortall men, who sometimes cyther forget what nature is, and neuer remember themselves of their condition, except it be then, when they are brought in memory thereof. Reioyce therefore that thou hast had so good a brother, and take in good part the vse thou hast had of him, although it were shorter then thou couldest haue wished it. Thinke that it was most pleasing to thee that thou hadst, and humane that which thou hast lost. It is an unreasonable matter to bee sorrowfull, because thou hast so small a time enioyed thy brother, and not to be glad that thou hast once enioyed his presence. But hee died least thou at such time as thou leaust thought of it. Every one suffereth himselfe to be deceiued by his sleight believe, and when wee loue a thing, we will not forget that it is subiect vnto death. But nature hath protested that shee will exempt no man from this necessity, which is imposed vpon all men. Wee see daily both our acquaintance

N n 3

The twentieth,
He that dieth in
prosperity hath
no doubt aduan-
tage.
The eighteenth,
We haue long
time enioyed those
whom death re-
demanded at
our hands.

The nineteenth,
Wee ought not
to be grieved to
repay that to
God which hee
hath lent vs, as
appertaine to
him; it sufficeth
hee enough his
owne without
interest.

The twentieth,
It is a thing de-
cared that all
men must die,
therefore our
friend cannot be
excepted in
more then o-
thers.

and strangers carried to their graves, yet thinke wee vpon an other matter, and call it a sodaine accident, which during our whole life time hath beene tolde vs that it should come to passe. This is not therefore the iniquity of the Fates, but the deprauidnesse of mans mind, who is displeased because he must depart from that abroad, which was onely lent him for a time.

CHAP. XXX.



Ow farre more iust was he, who receiuing tidings of the death of his sonne, vttered a worthy speerch correspondent and answerable to his worthy mind; *I knew when I begat him that hee should die.* Wonder thou not that such a man begat such a sonne that could die courageously. The death of his sonne was no nought to him: For what wonder is this for a man to die, whose whole life is nought else but a journey vnto death. *I knew when I begate him that hee should die:* and afterwards hee annexed a thing of a greater note, prudence [and] constancy; *I brought him up to this end.* So are wee all whoe euer enters into life, is destined to death. Let all of vs therefore content our selues with that which is giuen vs, and restore it againe when wee are required. Let our minds be alwayes adressed, and neuer feare that which must needs fall out; nor expect that alwayes which is vncertaine. Shall I call to remembrance in this place, the great Chieftaines in warre, their children, and diuers persons honoured by diuers Consulats and triumphes, who are dead by the hands of inexorable Destiny? whole Kingdomes with their Kings, whole peoples and nations have ended their course. All men, nay, more, all things tend vnto their end. Although that in regard of the particular they are different. One is taken away, and dyeth in the midst of his reue, another in the entry, another in his extreme old age, being now wearied and desirous to depart, is scarcely permitted to die. The times of death are different, yet all of vs tend to the same place. I know not whether it bee more foolish to bee ignorant of the law of mortality, or more impudency to refuse the same. But I pray thee take some time to ourlooke these things, which with great trauel of thy mind thou hast worthily celebrated; namely the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, which thou hast foreadly and cunningly continued in prooffe, that although the quantity & composition of the verue, appeare no more, yet the grace of the same remaineth. For thou hast in such sort turned them from Greeke into Latine, and from Latine into Greeke, that thou hast attained all those perfections that are requisite in him, that translateth from one tongue into another. There is no one booke in all those writings that furnissheth thee not with a great number of examples of the vnconstancy of mans life, of vncertaine accidents and casualties, that succeed and flow from diuers courses. Consider with what Maiefty of speech thou hast presented these things, at such time as thou art ashamed to loofe thy courage so seen, and to descend so low after thou hast spoken so high. Demasclure not thy selfe like him that of late admired thy writings, and asked how it was possible that so feeble a spirit as thine was could conceiue so great and so solide things; but rather cast thine eyes aside from these afflictions that torment thee, and turne them toward so many excellent consolations, in regarding thy brothers so vertuous, thy wife and thy sonne. Fortune hath parted stakes with thee, in taking away thy brother, and leauing thee all the rest in security and safety.

CHAP.

An example
what we ought
to doe.

The twenty one,
we ought not to
feare that which
must necessarily
happen, although
it be in diuers
sorts.

The twenty two,
The good looks
that are written
either by our
filices or others,
may comfort vs
greatly, as also
promises in yeeres
or reputations,
and occupations,
which we ought
carefully to ob-
serue.

CHAP. XXXI.



I thinke not thy selfe so much, as to glue the whole world occasion to beleeue that one sorrow hath more power ouer thee, then these so many solaces. Behold thy brothers, thy wife, and thy sonne wounded with the same sorrow that thou art, without having any meanes to helpe thee, nay contrary thou feelest, that they expect thou shouldst succour them. And therefore the lesse spirite and knowledg they haue, the more needfull is it, that thou resist this euill that concerneth you all. And it is in some sort a kind of comfort to demand a mans sorrow amongst many, and because many partake with thee in thine, there should be very little remainder for thy selfe. I will not cease to represent vnto thee the Emperour *Claudius*, as long as hee shall gouerne the world, and make it knowne that the Empire is farre better maintained by benefices then by armes, thou needest not feare that thou shouldst feele any crosse: thou hast sufficient security, and a consolation in him alone. Raise and rowle thy selfe, and as often as teares beginne to drie thine eyes, fixe them so often vpon *Cesar*, and by beholding so great and so excellent a power, thine eyes shall bee dried; his brightnesse will so rauish them that they cannot admire any other thing but himselfe, and will keepe them fixed vpon himselfe. Hee it is whome thou beholdest day and night, and from whom thy heart is neuer estranged, & whose admiration must deuoure thee? This is hee that can assist thee against fortune, and I doubt not since hee is a Prince so courteous, and so well affected towards all his seruants, but that hee hath already applied diuers remedies to thy wounds, and ministred diuers medicines to thy paines, for feare they should encrease. And what? although hee had done none of all these, doth not the onely presence and remembrance of him comfort & animate thee greatly? Vouchsafe all you gods and goddesses to giue him a long and happy life: let him exceede *Augustus* both in actions and yeeres, and so long as hee shall liue in this world, let him bee exempted from beholding the death of any of his. Let his dominion of long continuance be adorned with all iustice. Let the Emperour leaue his sonne for their Lord, and receiue him as an associate to his Father, before they accept him as a successor. Let the time runne slowly, and only during the life of our children children, wherein his subiects shall ranke him amongst the number of the gods.

CHAP. XXXII.



Ouch him nor O Fortune, neyther employ thy forces against him, but in as much as thou art profitable, suffer him to heale mankind too long trauelled with sickness and misery, permit him to restore and reestablish all that which the fury of his Predecessor hath shaken. Let this starre euer shine that hath enlightened the world that was plunged in obcurity, and deuoured in darkenesse. Let him pacifie *Almany*, giue entry vnto *England*, triumph both for his owne, and his Fathers victories. His clemency the chiefe of all his vertues, promisseth mee that I shall be one of the beholders; for hee hath not so humbled me, but he may exalt me, what say I humbled? hee hath not onely relieved, but hee hath sustained

The twenty three
Oten ought
to consider the
goods that re-
maine with vs
to opposse against
them that they
are redimmed
from vs.

Seneca vni
and feret ingi
nuitatis.

sultained me at such time as fortune had deiected me, and when as I was headlong cast downe to the ground; he hath courteously and mercifully raised me by his diuine hand. Hee interceded to the Senate in my behalfe, and hath not onely giuen me life, but required it likewise; let him determine in what sort hee would haue my cause climated; eyther his iustice shall finde it good, or his clemency shall make it whatsoeuer befall me, be it that hee knoweth, or that hee would that I should bee innocent, it shall bee alwayes a benefite of his towards me; Meanwhile the greatest comfort that I haue in my miseries, is to see his mercy spread ouer all the world, which when it hath digged out many after the ruine of so many yeeres; and out of that very angle wherein I am buried, and brought them to light, I feare not, nay more I truit, that hee will not leaue me alone desolate. But hee best knoweth the time wherein hee ought to comfort and relieue every man; for mine owne part, I will endeavour to the vttermost, that hee may not be ashamed to succour mee. How happie is thy clemency O *Cæsar* which hath caused those that are banished to liue in greater assurance vnder thy gouernment, then Princes did vnder *Caligula*; The banished feare not, they expect not howly for a Hangman to come and dispatch them, neither are they abashed when they see the shippes approach, as by thy fauor there is some measure in their aduersity, so hope they for a more prosperous condition, and they content themselves in some sort in the exile, because it so pleaseth thee. Thou must know that the fustlings of thy lightning are not to bee feared, but daret of set purpose, when those that are attained therewith reuerence it.

CHAP. XXXIII.



His price therefore, who is the publike solace of all men, hath or else I am decieued already recreated thy mind, and hath applyed greater remedies to this thy so great wound: Hee hath already confirmed thee euery wayes, and with an exquisite memory hath related vnto thee all the examples which are proper to enduce thee to moderate thy griefe, and by his ordinary cloquence hath discouered vnto thee all the precepts of Philosophie. A man therfore cannot find out any who is more fitting to speake vnto thee then hee is. His wordes will be of great weight then mine, and shall be so much reuerenced as so many Oracles, which by thy diuine authority shall crush all the forces of thy sorrowes. Suppose therefore that he speaketh vnto thee after this manner. Fortune hath not onely made choise of thee to exemplifie her cruelty vpon. There neither is nor was any house in this whole world without some lament. I will ouerslip common examples, which although they are lesse, yet are they wonderful. I will reduce thee to our Annals and publike Chronicles. Seest thou all these images, which haue filled *Cæsar*'s imperiall hate; there is not one of them that is not touched with some calamity of his parents or friends, euery one of these men who by their vertue shall astonish the ages to come, haue been aggrieved at the death of those that touched them neere, or haue been with great sorrow lamented by their friends after their death. What neede I recount vnto thee *Scipio* of *Africa*, who during the time of his banishment was reioiced of his brothers death. This brother that had deliuered his brother out of prison, could not warrant him from death. All men saw how impatiently *Scipio* suffered

To comfort with more efficacye induceth *Cæsar* to purpose *Polybius*.

The twenty four. The example of greater men that haue been afflicted should comfort our consolation.

fered the iniury that was done vnto his brother whom he loued so much: for the same day that hee deliuered his brother from the hands of the Sergeant: hee presented himselfe as a private man before the Tribune of the people, to obtaine fauour. Meanwhile he endured the death of his brother, with no lesse courage then he had shewed in preferring his life. Shall I reckon vp vnto thee *Aemilianus Scipio*, who almost at one time saw his fathers triumph, and the obsequies of his two brethren? yet notwithstanding although hee were very yong, and but as yet an Infant, he endured this sodaine ruine of his family as constantly falling vnder the triumph of his father, as such a personage as hee should do, who was borne to that end, that *Rome* should not be without a *Scipio*, nor *Carthage* without ruine.

H A P. XX XIII.



Hall I tell thee of the amity of the two *Lucii* that was dissolved by death? Shall I reckon vnto thee the *Pompeii* whom cruell fortune permitted not to perish vnder one ruine? *Sexsus Pompeii* ouerliued his sister, by whose decease the firme bonds of the Roman Empire, and the peace thereof were broken. Hee ouerliued his brother likewise, whom fortune had raised to this end, that his overthrow might not bee lesse then the ruine of his fathers; yet after this fall of his, hee proved both sufficient to digest this sorrow, and to maintaine a warre. Infinite are the examples on euery side of brethren that haue died one after another, and I say on the contrary part, that scarcely shalt thou finde two brothers that haue liued so long as them both. But I will content my selfe with the example of those of our house: supposing that no man will bee so deuoid of reason and judgement, who vnderstanding that fortune hath taken pleasure to make Emperours weepe, will complain that she hath driuen others to sorrow. *Augustus* lost his dearest sister *Octauia*, neither did Nature take from him the necessity of mourning, to whom shee had destined heaven; contrariwise, this Prince afflicted with all sorts of death of those that touched him neere lost besides her his sisters sonne, who should haue bene his heire. And lest I should enter into a particular account of his sorrowes, hee lost his sonne in lawes, his children, his Nephewes, and no man amongst all mortall men, had more feeling that hee was a man then hee did, whilst hee liued amongst men; yet notwithstanding his heart, the most peaceable that a man might imagine, digested so many bitter griefes, and so made himselfe victorious not onely ouer forraign nations, but also of his passions. *Caius Cæsar* the Nephew of mine vncle by the mothers side, euen vpon the entrance of his youthly yeeres, lost his brother *Lucius* most deare vnto him, a Prince as yong as himselfe, during the preparation of the Parthian warre, and receiued a greater wound in mind then that was which afterwards offenced his body, yet endured he both the one and the other, both piously and stoutely. The Emperour mine vncle by the fathers side, saw his yonger brother, and my father die in his armes, at such time as hee was ready to enter the heart of *Almayne*, and hee subdued the most savage nations of the world, and made them subiect to the Romane Empire; yet kept hee a measure in his sorrow, and gave order that others should containe themselves, reducing the Army not onely aggrieved but desolate, and astonished, and who generally demanded the body of their general *Drusus* to the Romane custome;

Other examples

custome and manner in mourning, iudging this that hee was obliged not onely to obserue the rules of military profession, but a measure in bewailing the dead. He could not repress other mens teares, except first of all hee had restrained his owne.

CHAP. XXXV.

Marke Anthony my Grandfather inferior to none but him, by whom hee was ouercome, establishing the Romane Estate, and being one of the Triumirate, raised above all men, and (except his two companions) seeing all things vnder his feet, heard news that his brother was slaine. O insolent Fortune, what pleasure takest thou in procuring mens miseries. At that time when *Marke Anthony* had the power of life and death amongst the Romane Citizens, his owne brother was commanded to death; yet endured hee this so hatefull a wound with the same magnanimity of mind, wherewith he had endured all other adversities, and his mourning was of this nature, that hee solemnized his brothers funerals, with the bloody massacre of twenty Legions. But to lay apart all other examples, and to the end that I may suppress in my selfe other mens losses, Fortune hath assailed me twice in the death of my brothers, and I haue twice found this in my selfe, that I might beehurt but not confounded: I lost my brother *Germanicus*, whom how entirely I loued, hee may perfectly vnderstand, who thinketh how much pious brothers loue their brothers; yet so gouerned I my affection, that I neither omitted any thing that might be required at a good brothers hand, neither did ought that might be reprehended in a Prince. I thinke therefore that the parent of the common-weale relateth these examples vnto thee, and sheweth thee how nothing is sacred or vnattainted by Fortune, who out of these houses durst lead our funerals from whence shee was to receiue her goods. Let no man therefore wonder, if Fortune behaueth her selfe cruelly or vnjustly: for can shee acknowledge any equitie towards priuate houses, or any modesty, whose implacable cruelty hath vsurped vpon the gods? Let vs exclaime against her not onely in private but in publike, yet will shee not be changed, her cares are deafened against all prayers and complaints. This was Fortune in humane affaires, and this will shee bee; there is nothing that shee dare not attempt, nothing that shee leaueh vtouched: shee will forcibly enter thorough all things, and according to her accustomed manner, without making any difficulty to beare the dead into those houses, whereinto men enter by Temples, and to hang those dores with blacke, which before times were adorned with lawrell.

CHAP. XXXVI.



His one thing let vs obtaine at her hands by vowes and publike prayers, except as yet shee hath not resolved to confound all humane race.) That if with a fauourable aspect shee continue as yet, behold the Romane name, that shee will be pleased to rescue vnto herselfe and to all men, this Prince who was raised to reestablish the decaying world: let her learne clemency of him, and by the mild-

See Plutarch in this mans life and behold a true pattern of inconstant fortune.

The twenty five, if death speeth not the greater, why should we spare the small.

The twenty sixth if the great ones of this world heare their losses patiently, shee should follow their example.

dest Prince of all others be instructed what mercy is. So then thou oughtest to confidet all those of whome before time I haue made mention, either already receiued into heauen, or very neerely approach the same, and patiently endure fortune, who stretcheth her hand to thee also, wherewith she attempteth those likewise by name, by whom wee are accustomed to sweare. It behooueth thee to follow their constancy, and to sustain & surmount misfortunes, and as much as may bee lawfull for a man to follow the steppes of the gods. Although that in other things there is a great difference betwixt men, by reason that some are more highly raised then others; yet is vertue planted in the midst of all men and disdaineth not any man, provided that he thinke himselfe worthy of her. Be carefull to follow those who hauing any occasion to be displeased, because they are cloased in, and visited so neerely, notwithstanding haue thought that fortune offered them no outrage in equalling them with other men, but that it was the law of mortality, and thus were they neither vexed nor grieved, neither haue they shewed any faint and effeminate hearts in such like accidents: for not to feele a mans euils is the part of a beast, and not to endure them, is not the part of a man, yet can I not (after I haue ouerrunne all the *Cæsars* from whom Fortune hath taken their brothers & sisters) ouerslippe this man whom wee ate to draw out of the number of the rest) whom Nature hath produced and brought to light, to the generall disgrace and destruction of all mankind, by whom the Common weale was vterly ouerthrowne, and reduced againe by the clemency of our mercifull Prince. This *Caligula* that neither knew to grieve or reioyce according as it becomed his dignity, when his sister *Drusilla* was dead, retired himselfe out of the sight and conuersation of all his Citizens, neither was hee present at his sisters obsequies, neither honoured hee her according to her dignitie, but retired himselfe into his Albarium? yet relieved hee the sorrow of these haplesse funerals, by hearing pleas, and other such like occupations. What shame was this for the Romane Empire? The sport of a Romane Prince that bewailed his sister, was to solace himselfe at dice. The same *Calus* with furious inconstancy, sometimes suffering his beard and haire to grow long, sometimes courting along al the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, not following the ordinary wayes, and neuer certainly assured whether hee would haue his sister bewailed or desired: for at the same time when hee reared Temples and honours to her, hee punished them by most cruell torments, who sufficiently bewayed not her death: for no lesse intemperate shewed hee himselfe in fulfilling the shooke of these afflictions. as he was immeasurably proud in his prosperities, for hee swelled above humane measure. Farre bee this example from euery Romane Citizen, eyther to attenuate his sorrow by vntimely sports, or prouoke them in soying himselfe with odious and base vncleannesse, or to delight in other mens euils, and not in humane solace. Yet see thou that thou change nothing of thy accustomed carriage, because thou hast resolved to loue those studies, which most fitly extoll a man to felicity, and most easily lessen his calamity, and they are those that are the greatest ornaments and solaces of mankind.

Twenty seventh, the inconstant fury of Caligula in the death of his sister, ought to teach wise men how to temper and gouerne their passions, except they would haue their minds re-upted vnrubled.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Twenty eighth.
A speciall con-
solation to Poly-
bius, declaring
that vertuous
studious needs
the greatest sor-
rowes.

Against those
that coudorne
sorrow, and what
measure wee
ought to observe
therein.

Now therefore drowne thy selfe more deeply in thy studies: now enuiron them about thee as the fortresses and bulwarkes of thy mind, neither let sorrow find any entrance in any part of thee: Publish likewise thy brothers memory in some one monument of thy writings, for this is the onely worke amidst all humane offices, which no tempests may hurt, no age consume: the rest that consist in gathering and laying stones in marble monuments, or earthly tombes that are rayed to a great height, will not continue long, for they them selues will bee consumed. The monuments of the mind are immortall, bestow these on thy brother, enshrine him in these. Thou shalt alwayes eternize him better by thy lasting wit, then by bewailing him with fruitlesse sorrow. As touching that which concerneth fortune, although that for the present a man may not plead her cause before thee (for all that which the hath giuen vs are hatefull vnto vs for this very cause, that she hath taken somewhat from vs) yet then will wee speake of it when time hath made thee a more equall iudge in her behalfe, for then maist thou reenter into fauour with her: for shee hath provided many things whereby shee may amend this iniurie, for many things will shee now giue, whereby she may redeeme the same: to conclude thou receiuedst that at her hands which shee hath taken from thee, Vle not thy wit therefore against thy selfe, neither accompany thou thy sorrow. Well I wot that thine eloquence can approue those things to bee great, which are but small. Againe, it can lessen great things, and bury them in obscurity, but let her reserve her forces to some other purpose, and now let her employ them wholly in comforting thee. But beware that this thing likewise bee not vnprofitable for thee, for nature exacteth somewhat at our hands, and vanity striueth to shorten it: yet neuer will I entreat thee to giue ouer sorrow wholly. I know there are some men more obstinate and inflexible then prudent and couragious, who maintaine that a Wiseman should not bee touched with sorrow. But these men seeme to haue neuer tasted of such like disasters, otherwise Fortune had driuen their proud wisdom from them, and had compelled them though against their wills to confesse the truth. Reason hath don enough, if she restraineth the excess of sorrow, but to haue it wholly rooted out, no man ought either to hope or desire it. Let him rather obserue this measure, it neither falleth into impietie or folly, and containe vs in that habite which becommeth a quiet and no disturbed mind. Let our teares flow, let them bee stayed: let our sighes be drawne from the bottom of our hearts; yet let them haue an end. So gouerne thy mind that thou mayest approue thy selfe to Wife-men, and to thy brothers. Labour to deserue that thou mayest oft times remember thy brother, to the end thou mayest magnifie him in thy wordes, and that by a continuall thought and remembrance thou mayest represent him vnto thee. Whereunto thou mayest finally attaine, if thou make his memory pleasant vnto thee, and not lamentable. For it is naturall for the mind to flie alwayes from that whereto she returneth with sorrow. Thinke vpon his modellie, thinke thou of his readinesse in his businesse, his diligence in executing them, his faithfulness in his promises. Let other men know, and do thou thy selfe remember all his deedes and words. Consider what he hath bene

and

and what can bee hoped that hee shall bee: For what cannot a man promise for such a brother. This Discourse haue I addressed vnto thee in the best sort I may, hauing my spirite almost spent and dulled with sorrow, which if it bee scarce answerable to thy expectation, or seeme to bee too weake to medicine thy sorrow, bethinke thy selfe how hardly Latine wordes flow from him, whose eares are tired with the rude and vnpolished language of the Barbarians.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

O o o

THE





OF CONSOLATION. WRITTEN

By
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO
MARCIA.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

MARCIA a gracious and rich Matron, as it appeareth the daughter of AVLVVS CREMVTIVS CORDVS, a man famous both for his studies and writings, had a sonne who died in his full yeeres, for hee was a husband, a father, and a Priest, and already three yeeres were past as appeareth in the end of the first Chapter, since hee died. Therefore gather that this booke was published about the beginning of CLAVDIANVS time, and not before. For it is scarce probable that this METELLVS (say such was his name) was raised to honour in Tiberius time. And CREMVTIVS before, being out of some other acts of Tiberius, and namely appointed a while CREMVTIVS writings to be read: which likewise is touched in the first Chapter, and thus the consolation could not be published before, especially the grief being much at it, and after three yeeres space. Nay to him that will considereth the same, it may be supposed to be written vnder CLAVDIVS, and after his death, yet not much. Touching the Booke, it is one of his best, although it be not so much of feminine flattery. There are two partes thereof. In the former hee prayeth for and both by his own and other mens examples comforteth her with the first Chapter, in the latter hee descendeth to reasons, and first hee alleadgeth the common reason that sorrow profiteth nothing. Then what is unnatural, and rather grounded on tendernes, and in consideration, because wee foresee not that those things which may be done, are fit to succede. And againe, hee produceth the examples of men and women. Then passeth hee over to the estate and condition of those that are borne, to whose death is annexed, with the nineteenth Chapter. Then offereth hee this Dilemma: That neither the mother nor hee are injured. Of the mother, in part, shee is gracious, and onely vexed by opinion. Of the sonne diversly, hee is in quiet: and delivery both from casualties and vices. What if hee had beene inclined to the incest corrupt a City? that hee was therefore taken away in good time, and at last the father

ther CREMVTIVS is in person provided, comforting and animating his daughter, and inciting her with a constant speech to regard and behold celestiall and diuine things.

CHAP. I.



Xcept I knew Marcia that thou wert so farre estranged from womannish infirmity of minde, as from other vices, and that euery man obserueth thy manners, as it were some ancient patterne of vertue. I durst not undertake to encounter with thy sorrow, whereunto men are too willingly inclined & subiect: neither had I conceiued any hope in a time so vnreasonable, before a Iudge so partiall, in a crime so hateful, that I could effect this, that thou shouldst complaine of thy fortune: but the approved constancy of thy mind and thy vertue confirmed by many trials, haue animated me, and made mee confident. It is not vnkowne in what sort thou diddest bechaue thy selfe in the person of thy Father, whom thou louedst no lesse then thou diddest thy children, except in this that thou diddest not desire that hee should not ouerlie thee, yet know I not whether thou diddest with it mee or no. For a great piety permitteth it selfe some thing, which are not answerable to good and laudable manners of life. Thou hinderest as many as lay in thy power the death of Aulus Crematius Cordus thy father. But when hee had discovered vnto thee, that hee had but one meanes to escape from seruitude, wherein hee was detained by the vassalls of Seianus, thou fauouredst not his counsels, but sufferedst thy selfe to be overcome, and secretly powdest forth teares, thou deuouredst thy sorrow, yet couldst not conceale it with a merry countenance: and this in the age wherein it was great piety to doe nothing impiously. But as soone as the reuolution of time presented thee any occasion, thou broughtest him to light for the generall good of all men, the testimonies of thy fathers wisdom, who was put to death, and exempted him from the graue by publishing and communicating those his bookes vnto the world, which that worthy man had written with his owne blood. Worthily hast thou deferred of the Roman studies, for the greater part of them was consumed by fire; worthily of posterity, to whom the incorrupted truth of former occurrences had been testified to the glory of that great man thy father, who wrote them; worthily at his hands, whose memory shall flourish and liue as long as men are desirous to know the Roman affaires, as long as there shall be any who will reflect & read the acts of antiquity, as long as there is any that would know what a braue Roman, who seeing the yoke of Seianus vpon his necke, and his feete treading on the heades of euery man, hath brauely discharged himselfe of that seruitude, and shewed that both in vnderstanding, soule, and hand hee was a free man: Truly the common weale had suffered a great losse, if thou haddest not brought this worthy person to light, who was buried in obscurity, to let vs see two worthy parts in him, to witte, his cloquence and liberty: hee is read, hee flourisheth, hee is entertained in mens hands and hearts; hee feareth no injury of time. But the heinous crimes of those bloody butchers, who defrue

002

memory

Seneca in this place intending to comfort Marcia in the death of her sonne, propo-
seth two things in this Preface. The one the greatnesse of her courage in the death of her father: the other the good shee did vnto the Roman by reducing his bookes, which tell of that free patrician lady.

He excuseth the
vehementie, hee
is refused to life
considering the
wage of Marti-
as minde, the
time will free
her affliction,
and the con-
tempt of those
consolations that
haue bene mi-
nistr'd vnto her.

memorie for nothing but their murders, shall bee obscured. This greatnesse of thy minde, forbad me to looke backe vnto thy Sexe, forbad me to behold thy countenance, which the continuall sorrowes of so many yeares as it once clouded, it so now couereth it: But consider that I intend not to surprise thee, neither thinke thou that I will steale away thy passions. I haue refreshed the memorie of thine ancient euils: And wilt thou know that this wound also is curable? I haue shewed thee the cicatrice of as great a wound. Let other men therefore dally and flatter with thy sorrowes, I am resolu'd to combat with thy griefe, and if thou wilt heare a truth, I will drie vp the current of those teares that haue wearied and waitted thine eyes, which rather now flow by custome then any desire or cause, which may bee done if thou fauour those remedies which I present thee: if not, I will doe it against thy will, although thou retainest and entertainest thy griefe, which thou hast referred to continue in thy Sonnes place. But what end shall there be? All things are attempted in vaine. Thy friends are wearied with talking with thee, thy 'Allies and other great personages know no more what to speake vnto thee, thy deaffectations entertain no solace, although a man relate vnto thee that which thou hast learned, and

suddenly settled and pacified her minde. *Octavia* and *Albia*, the one the sister, the other the wife of *Augustus*. Lost each of them a Sonne, hauing both of them hope that one day they should haue bene Emperours. *Octavia* Sonne was called *Marcellus*, on whom his Vnckle and his wifes father began to build them selues, in committing to his hands the affaires of the Empire, a yong man of sharpe vnderstanding, of a great minde, modest and meruailously continent, and considering his yeares and fortunes, very laborious, enemie of delights, and readie to vndergoe all that which his vnckle would lay vpon him; or (if I may so speake it) build on his backe: Neither failed hee in his choice, for this yong man was sufficiently enabled to vndertake all sortes of burthens. His mother seeing him dead, ceased not all her life time to mourne and weepe, neither would shee admit any consolation, nor likewise suffer any by any meanes to disswade her from her pensiuie thoughts. But intending this one thing, and wholly fixing her minde thereupon, such was shee all her life time as shee was at his funerall. I say not that shee durst not rise, but that shee refused to bee raised, iudging it no lesse then a second orbitie to surcease her weeping. Shee would haue no Image of her dearest Sonne, neither would shee listen to any that made

more then either her grauity, or *Augustus* greatnesse, or the equity of the cause required. Meane while shee ceased not to publish her sonnes prayles in euery place, to represent him vnto her selfe both priuately and publicly, to speake most willingly of him, and take pleasure in those that recounted his stables, while as no man could make mention of any other, but incontinently the remembrance of *Drusus* made her perceiue: Choose therefore which of these examples thou thinkest most probable, if thou wilt follow the first, thou cuttest thy selfe off from the number of the liuing, thou wilt teach both thine owne and other mens children, and wanting him, thou wilt make all mothers afraid that meete with thee. Thou shalt disclaime thine honest and lawfull pleasures as ill becoming thy condition, and shall require nought else but to bee sequestered from company: in briefe, thou shalt loath thine owne life, because it endeth not as quickly as thou desirest. Besides, which is a thing estranged, and vnworthy thy mind, which hath a far contrary reputation, thou wilt make it known that thou wilt not liue, and that thou canst not die. But if thou fashion thy selfe according to the example of this great woman, which is more milde and moderate, thou shalt not vaile bonnet vnder thy sorrow, neither macerate thy self in affliction thy self so much: for what folly is this (poor woman as thou art) to drowne thy selfe in sorrow, and to encrease thy miseries? maintaine in all this accident the vertue, and moderation which thou hast approued in all the rest of thy former life; for if there bee any conueniency in sorrow, when thou hast alwayes the name of this young man (most worthy of rest) in thy heart and in thy mouth, thou thy selfe shalt place him in a happy abode; if hee appeare before thee merry and ioyfull as he did during his life.

CHAP. IIII.



Either will I perswade thee by more forcible precepts, command thee to endure humane accidents with a mind more then humane, that vpon the very day of the funerall thou shouldest dry vp the teares of a mother. I will doe thee iustice. The question is betwene vs, whether thy griefe ought to be great or perpetual: I assure my selfe, that the example of *Lutia*, whom thou hast inwardly both knowne and honoured will please thee more then the other. Shee cald thee to counsaile her. Shee in the first fauour (whome as miseries are most impatient and furious) gaue an eare to the counsels and comforts of the Philosopher, *Arenus* that attended her husband, and confessed that it yeeldeth her much more comfort then the *Roman* people, whom thee would not digest by her sorrow, more then *Augustus* who was troubled, who had lost one of the haies of his Empire (nor was to bee dejected by the sorrow of any of his) more then *Tiberius* his son, who effected this then, that in that bitter & displeasing funerall to all nations, found nothing missing but the humber of one. This as I thinke, was the induction of that discourse which hee vsed in regarde of this woman, that was so seled in her opinions. Hitherto liued, and as neerely as I could conceiue, in as much as I was an inward Counsellor to *Augustus* thy husband, (who not onely knew thy publike sayings and actions, but also the secret motions of thy mind, thou hast carefully endured that no man should finde any thing that might giue him cause of exception: Neither hast thou obserued this onely in affaires of importance, but in the smallest things thou hast taken care,

The third,
Sorrow should
not be extreme,
or perpetual.

A goodly breef
which discouers
both *Arenus*
& *Lutia* to *Seneca*
to teach by
the end hee
may perswade
Marcia more
powerfully.

lest thou shouldest doe any thing that might bee a fraide of report, which freely consumeth the actions of the greatest in this world. Neither thinke I that there is any thing that is more worthy those that are in high place, then to pardon many things, and to require pardon of nothing. Thou art therefore to obserue in this thing thine accustomed manner, not to limit any thing whatsoever, th at thou wouldest haue done lesse or otherwise.

CHAP. V.



After this, I desire and entreat thee, that thou shew not thy selfe froward and intractable to thy friends. For thou art not to bee ignorant, that all these know not how to behaue themselves, whether they shall speake any thing before thee of *Drusus*, or nothing, lest cyther the obliuion of so noble a young man should doe him iniurie, or his memory and mention wrong thee, when wee are drawn apart, and are assembled together, wee magnifie his deedes and speeches as much as in vs lieth, and hee deserueth, but in thy presence wee make no mention whatsoeuer: you are therefore deprived of a great pleasure, which is the prayles of thy sonne. When I assure my selfe thou wouldest eternize, if thou hadst the meanes, although it cost thee thy life. Suffer therefore, nay more, command men to speake of him, and yeelde thine eare to the name and memory of thy sonne, thinke it no irksome thing (as other men doe) who in such cases interpret all things to the worst that is spoken to them: if a man propose thee some consolation; thou inclinest now to the other side, and forgetting all the goods thou hast receiued, thou regardest the worse face of fortune, wherewith thee most affrighted thee. In stead of casting thine eyes on the consideration of thy sonne, vpon his pleasant and gracious entertainment, vpon his childish and wanton flatteries, vpon the aduancement of his studies, thou securest to bee enchained to this last apparance of life, and as if it were not mortiforous enough of it selfe, thou heapest vpon together whatsoeuer may bee possible. Long not I beseech thee after so vnmeasurable a glory, which may make thee being miserable, among miserable.

The fourth,
Wee must acc
custome our
selves in time to
wee a will to
care, in those
that speake of
them, whome de
scape we haue
downward in his
to, scarce.

CHAP. VI.



Thinke likewise that it is an act of a generous mild to carry a great appearance in prosperity, when as life exhausteth her course with a full sayle. For a peaceable sea and a fauourable wind approue not the sufficiency of a Pilot. There must some storme encounter vs that may approue the mind. And therefore discourage not thy selfe, but contrariwise stand firme in thy place, and endure euery burthen that is laide vpon thee, being onely affrighted with the first assault: there is nothing that so much confoundeth fortune, as a resolute mind. After this hee shewed her her sonne in safety, hee shewed her her Nephewes, to recompence the losse of her sonne. At that time *Marcia* thy affaires were in hand, *Arenus* fate by thee, and comforted thee vnder another name. But thinke *Marcia* that death hath taken from thee more then euery was taken from any mother (I will not flatter thee, or lessen thy losse) if teares may conquer the destinie, let vs vnite our

The fifth,
In adversity our
lymes are to
make proofe of
the constancy of
our mind.

The sixth,
Since this sor-
row is unprofi-
table, because
death is not too
widely, wee
ought to refrain
from.

our teares, let vs spend euery day in sorrow, let the sleeples night consume it selfe in sadnesse, let our hands violate our torne breastes, and let our nayles imprint our sorrow in our faces, let discontent exercise and extend it selfe in all sorts of cruelty. But if the dead are recalled by no teares, if Fate be immou- able, and euertlastingly fixed, no misery is changed, and death possesseth whatsoeuer hee hath taken away; let sorrowes cease because it is vnprofit- able. For which cause let vs gouerne our selues, neither permit this passion to transport vs beyond measure. It is a shame for a Master of a shippe to suffer his helme to bee beaten out of his hands by the billow, to neglect his Sailes that are shattered in the wind, and leaue his shippe to the mercy of a tempest, but hee euen in shipwracke is to bee commended, who holdeth his helme in his hand, though the seas swallow and sinke him.

CHAP. VII.

The seventh,
Wee must keepe
a measure in
sorrow.



But yet there is a natural inclination in vs to bewaile those whom wee loue, who denies it as long as it is moderate? For there is a necessity that presseth vs, and retireth, and astonisheth the most constant hearts, not onely at such time as our friends die, but also when in this life by diuers occasions they are separated from vs. But that which opinion addeth, is more then Nature commandeth. Consider how vnbridled the desires of brut beasts are, and yet they are short, Cowes for a day or two lowe after the Bull, neither doth the wanton and wandring course of Mares last long. Wilde beasts after they haue sented the store of their young ones, and haue searched them sometimes amidst the forest, when they returne backe againe to their empty dennes, in a few dayes surcease their rage. Birdes with great chattering flie about their empty nests, but in an instant they are appeased, and keepe their accustomed flight. There is no creature that so long time bewaileth the want of his young ones as man, who accompanieth his owne griefe, and is not onely touched with the sense thereof, but also with the conclusion; hee hath taken with himselfe to torment him- selfe thus and so long time. And to the end thou maiest know, that it is an vn- natural thing to bee broken with sorrowes; first one and the same losse is more hurtfull to women then men, to barbarians then ciuill men, to the ignorant then the learned. But those that haue receiued their forces from nature keepe the same tenure in all things. That which is diuers, is not natu- rall: Fire at all times will burne the Inhabitants of all Cities, as well men as women. Iron will shew it selfe in euery body that it hath power to cutte vpon. Why? by reason that nature which doth nothing in vaine hath giuen them this property. One man feeleth pouerty, paine, losse of children in one kind, and that man in another kind as custome teacheth him, and as a feeble opi- nion of fearing of those things that are terrible, maketh him eyther impati- ent or constant.

The eighth,
It is the prop-
erty of conuerse
and a generous
passion to tur-
ment themselves
much.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.



Gaineth that which is naturall decreaseth not by delay, but time consumeth sorrow. Bee thee neuer so rebellious, bee thee neuer so continuall, bee thee neuer so obdurate against remedies, yet time which is the most effectuall meanes to mitigate fury, will weaken it. True it is Marcia, that as yet thou art very much afflic- ted, and it seemeth that thy sorrow (not so vehement as at first, but settled and obdurate) hath contracted a callosity, and is wholly heardned. Yet will time draw this from thee by little and little, as oftentimes as thou shalt exercise thy selfe in other things, thy minde shall finde some reliefe. Now thou hast a guard ouer thy selfe: but there is a great difference whether thou permittest or com- mandest thy selfe to mourne. How farre more becomming is it for thine honest and venerable manner of life to gine an end to thy sorrow, then to expect that it should end of it selfe? neither oughtest thou to attend the day wherein sor- row should abandon thee against thy will. But beginne thou first to gine him pasport.

The ninth,
Wee must suffer
time to exim-
gish sorrow.

CHAP. IX.



Hence grow wee therefore so obdurate in our complaints, if this that is done, bee not by the commandement of nature. It is be- cause wee thinke that euill shall neuer encounter vs, except then when wee feele the same: but as if wee had a letter of exempti- on, and that wee were entred into a way more plainethen other men; the sinister accidents of our neighbours cannot teach vs that our danger is as great as theirs. Wee see so many dead bodies passe before our doores, and so many mourners that attend them with bitter teares, but in stead of thinking our death, wee shape out in our thought a mans garment for our young chil- dren, wee runne to the warres, and already husband the inheritance and succes- sion of our fathers. Wee see so many rich men suddenly become poore, yet neuer sinketh it into our hearts, that our riches may as easily slip out of our hands, as these did from them. Our fall therefore must bee the greater, be- cause wee feele not that wee are subiect to slippe, but then when wee are saue and brought vnto the lowest. Those things that are long time foreseene, assault vs more leasurly. Wilt thou know how thou art exposed to all strokes, and that those weapons that haue wounded thee, haue bene enforced against thee? Suppose that being disarmed, thou mountest vpon some wall, or some place well defended by the enemy, hard to bee scaled, and that thou expectest to be rescued, suddenly wounded, that thou makest a certaine account that those ar- rows, those stones, those darts that flie in the aire are aimed at thee, when thou shalt see that they fall on one side, or behinde thy backe, then maiest thou cry, O fortune thou shalt not deceiue me, neither shalt thou surpris me; ey- ther secure or negligent. I know thy designs, thou wouldest haue stricken me; but hast wounded another. But what man is he that euer considered his goods as if they should perish? who is he amongst us that durst bee so bold, as to thinke on his exile, his pouerty or sorrow? who is he, that if he bee admonished to thinke vpon his present security, refusech it not as a direfull and ominous pre-

The tenth,
The common
condition of all
mankind should
make vs resolute
otherwise if af-
flict them would
very hardly be
digested.

The eleventh,
Afflictions that
are far from
are light.

page

*The twelfth,
That which may
befall any man
may also before-
time vs.
When it is come,
let vs endure it.*

sage, and that prayeth not that this mishap may sooner fall vpon the head of his enemy, or of that his vntimely Counsellor and admonisher? I thought not that this should come to passe, I thinkest thou that which thou knowest is incident vnto many, and that thou seest befall other men, cannot happen to thee: I had an excellent verse and worthy *Publius*;

That which befortunes one may fall to many.

This man hath lost his children, and thou maiest lose thine. That man is condemned, and thine innocency is vnder the stroke. This error deceiue vs; this maketh vs effeminate, whilest we suffer those things which we neuer foresee that wee could succour. He taketh away the power of present evils, who foreseeeth the future.

CHAP. X.



ALL these accessories *Marcia* that shine about vs as children, honours; riches, large palls, and people that expect at our dore to salute and attend vs, a worthy, noble and fayre wife, and other such goods as depend on the inconstancy of mutable fortune, are but foraine and hired ornaments, which are not given but lent vs to decke the Theatre wherein the Scene of our life is acted, and which ought to be returned to those to whom they appertaine. Some of these must bee brought home the first day, others the next day; few shall perseuer, and continue to the end. We are not therefore to esteeme them, as if they were our owne, they are but lent vs. The vse of them is ours; according as it pleaseth him to whom they appertaine. Wee ought to haue in a readinesse those things which were given vs for a certaine time, that when they be called for, they may be restored without grudging. Wicked is that debtor that slandereth and iniureth his creditor; so then wee ought to loue those in such sort, who are isued from vs, and whom according to the law of nature wee desire to leaue in this world after vs, and doe not amisse to wish that we may die before them, as if we had no promise that they should suruiue vs or continue with vs. Oftimes the manner is to bee admonished to loue them as transitory things, yea as such as are already parting from vs, and let vs possesse all that which fortune hath giuen vs, as a thing that must vanish in an instant: take your pleasure of your children, and let them haue the fruition of your felices, and without delay enioy all that pleasure you affect. Let no man build vpon to morrowes content, I haue giuen you too long, delay nothing of that wherein which we are. Wee are to make hast, death attendeth at our backes, and all this number that attendeth vs shall bee scattered in a moment. In lesse then a watchword, all these secreties shall be disperfed. All things are vanished from vs miserable men; you haue not the spirit to liue in following life; if thou couldest playne the death of thy sonne, the fault is in the time wherein he was borne, for at that time was hee designated to die. Hee was giuen thee vpon that condition, and as soone as hee came out of thy wombe, hee ranne after this arrest. We are vnder the rigorous & vnconquered power of fortune, and endure our good or euill according to her pleasure: shee afflicteth, outrageth and tormenteth our bodies; some burneth thee with fire, either to rume them, or to heale them;

*The thirteenth,
All our goods
are giuen vs to
be; for as sign
at Gods pleasure
let vs not bee
aggrieved that
he rede mand
them.*

*The fourteenth,
It is Gods will
naunce that hath
limited our life
which wee shall
depart without,
when it pleaseth
him.*

them: some shall hee cast into the sea, where after they haue strugled with the waues in stead of casting them on the shore of the land, hee shall cast them into the bellie of some great fish. Other some there are that hee shall detain long time betwixt life & death, having tired them by diuers sort of sickneses; and likewise tied them to an vnconstant and lasciuious miserie, that maketh no account of her slaues, but sometimes tormenteth and striketh them, sometimes flattereth and rewardeth them. What neede wee complain of the partes of our life. The whole is lamentable; new incommodities shall vrge thee before thou hast satisfied the olde: you ought therefore to moderate your felices in those things, especially, which you impatiently suffer, applying one part of your thoughts to the apprehension of euils, an other to the fine of them.

CHAP. XI.



VE whence cometh it that thou thus forgettest thine own estate, and the condition of the whole world. Thou art borne mortal, and hast brought forth mortall children; thou hast a body enclined to corruption and distraction, having bene begotten with so many accidents and sickneses; didst thou hope, in so frail and weak a matter that thou trauest some thing solide and eternal. Thy sonne is departed, that is, hee hath finished his course, to which end they that are more happy then thy sonne doe flocke and hasten. All these that wrangle at the Palace, that fill the Theaters, that play in the Temple, march together but in a different place. Euen those things which you reuerence, and those things which you despise, one death shall make equal. The same is appointed thee by the inscription of the Oracle of *Apollon*: thou shalt haue a mortall broken vessel, a thing moore fragile then may be imagined; there neede no great tempest to breake thee; wherefore thou art called a vessel shattered. What is man? a weake, fragile, and naked body, disarmed by nature, that needeth an others helpe, abandoned to all the outrages of fortune, in the greatest vigor of his age, exposed for a pray to wilde beasts, subiect to be spoiled by the next that meeteth him; framed of those things that haue no firmity, or continuance, faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either colde, heate or trauell. Tending through his age and infirmity, to consume himselfe, fearing that which nourisheth him: because that sometimes the want thereof grieueth him, and sometimes the abundance burtheneth him. Careful and suspicious of his security, his soule but borrowed and leasing his abode, a sodaine noyse and vnexpected and dreadfull threat, of this care will driue her from him, and alwayes his nourishment corrupteth and humblyeth him. Doe wee remember that death which is necessary to all men, striketh at one man? was not this building raised to the end to be ruined? His odors, fauors, lassitudes, watchings, humors, meates and other things, his bowels, which hee could not liue, are the occasion of his death. On what doth hee trust? neth himselfe, hee incontinently espieth the markes of his infirmity. Every eye is not good for him, the change of waters, an vnaccustomed breath of winde, and other light and hurtfull causes make him feele that hee is sickly, rotten, broken, and that hee beganne his life with sickness. Men are they, what troubles doth this cattie creature cause? how many things pampereth hee in his head,

*The fifteenth,
Since we are
mortal, let vs
not thinke of
any thing as
strange or euill
if that which
is legition be
he subject to
death.
The description
of the miseries
of life.*

head being forgetfull of his owne condition? His thoughts wander vpon immortalityes and eternities, he disposeth of the affaires of his third and fourth generation, and whilst hee thus sweeteth after these long apprehensions, death laies hold on him, and that which wee call age is but a small reuolution of yeeres.

CHAP. XII.

Ell me O *Marcia*, if thy sorrow haue any ground or reason in it, whether it respecteth thine incommunities or these of thy sonne? Whether art thou moued in the losse of thy Sonne, because thou hast receiued no pleasures by him, or for that thou mightest haue enjoyed greater if he had liued longer? If thou say that thou hast receiued none, thou wilt make thy losse more tollerable. For men lesse complaine, the misse of those things that haue giuen them neither ioy nor pleasure. And if thou confesse that thy Sonne hath highly contented thee, thou art not to complaine, because hee is taken from thee, but to giue thanks for that thou hast enjoyed. Thou hast likewise reaped great fruit of thy labours in his very education, except happily they, who carefully nourish yong whelpes and birds, and such like frivulous delights of the minde; conceiue some pleasure in the sought touch and wanton fawning of mute beasts, and that education it self is not the fruit of education, to those that nourish their children. Although therefore his industrie hath profited thee nothing, neither his diligence hath preferred thee, that his prudence hath not employed it selfe to doe thee good, yet that which thou hast had and loud is the fruit of thy labour. But it might either haue beene longer or greater? Yet art thou delt better with all, then if it had not happened at all, for if choice may be giuen, whether it be better to be happy for a small time or neuer, it were better for vs to enioy those goods which must quietly passe from vs, then to haue none at all. Hadst thou rather haue had art with thee, who had nothing good in him; but the tide and name of a Sonne; or this thy Sonne who was of so good a nature? The young man was quickly prudent, quickly pious, quickly a husband, suddenly a father, quickly a magistrate or officer; and suddenly a Priest; In briefe, all good things appeared suddenly in him. Scarcely doth long and great goods befall any man. There is no felicity that endureth long, and attaineth his period, but that which entereth by little and little. The immortal gods intending to giue thee a Sonne for a little time, did presently giue thee him, such as hee might haue proved by continuance. Neither canst thou say this, that thou only art chosen by the gods to enioy thy Sonne a little while. Cast thine eyes every way amongst thy acquaintance and strangers, thou shalt euer where meete with greater. Great Captaines and Princes haue tasted hereof. The Poets haue not exempted the gods themselves, and I thinke they haue thus made men believe, that the gods were delected, that they might pacifie and lessen the sorrow we conceiue in the losse of our nearest friends. Priests say to euery place and thou shalt name me no house so miserable that shall not finde solace considering another that is farre more afflicted and miserable. Assuredly I haue not so ill an opinion of thy manners that I would thinke that thou wilt more easily endure thy crosse, if I should reckon vnto thee a great number of mourners. A troope of miserable men, is an eniuous kind of solace, yet some

Sixteenth, whether it be that those that are delected, haue bene in ioy little or long time, with us their condition is such that we haue no occasion to bewaile them.

The Souldiers, The more excellent the goods we haue are, the more willing should we be to restore them because the diuine providence is not accustomed to allow us a long possessor of that, which from the beginning he hath bestid.

some will I reckon vnto thee, not to the end thou shouldest know, that this is wont to happen vnto men, for it is a ridiculous thing to collect the examples of mortality; but to the end that thou maist know that there were many who haue lessened their aduersities by bearing them patiently. I will begin with a most happy man. *Lucius Scilla* lost his sonne, neither did this casualty weaken his malice or his extreame rigor both towards enemies & his citizens, neither was it the cause why hee might not seeme to vsurpe that surname, *Scutellus* which he tooke vpon him after the losse of his sonne, neither affraide of the hatred of men on whose miseries his ouer fruitfull felicities consisted, neither of the gods displeasure, whose crime it was that *Scilla* was so happy. But whilst *Scilla* was, let vs leaue amongst those things that are vncertaine, yet will his enemies confesse that he tooke vpon him armes happily and gaue them ouer discreetly. And in regard of that whereof we now speake, it appeareth that it is no great cruell which attaineth and attaineth those that are most happy. And no lesse let Greece admire that father, who during the time of his sacrifice receiuing tidings of his sonnes death, onely commanded the musician to hold his peace, and tooke the crowne from his head, and afterwards ducly finished the rest of the sacrifices.

CHAP. XIII.

This did *Pulvillus* the chiefe bishop, who at that time as hee held the post, and dedicated the Capitoll, receiued tidings of his sons death, and yet without making thew of that was toold vnto him, he pronounced the solemne hymne of the pontificall consecration, without interrupting the same with any sighes, and hearing the name of his sonne, he caused *Iupiter* to be propitious and fauourable to the citie & common weale. Wouldst thou thinke that this sorrow which vpon the first day, and the chiefe assault could not draw the father from the publique altars and solemne dedication, should euer haue ceased? vndoubtedly *Pulvillus* was worthy of a memorable dedication, worthy of a high priesthood, who desisted not from worshipping the gods; no not when they were displeased: yet the same man as soone as he came home, and had satisfied his grieffe with teares, and powred forth some lamentations, and hauing fulfilled those offices which were accustomedly due vnto the dead, returned to the Capitoll with a merrie countenance. *Paulus Æmilius* about that time of his so renowned triumph, wherein he led before his chariot the king *Perseus* as his prisoner, and giuen two of his sonnes to be adopted into another familie, sawe the two others buried, whom he had referred to himselfe: what were these two thinkst thou, when as *Scipio* was one of these that was giuen to be adopted? yet the Romane people beheld *Paulus* chariot voided & yet he vnmoued, yet declaimed he, and gaue thanks vnto the Gods, because they had graunted him his wish. For he had besought them often times, that if for so great a victorie some greater incommiditie might befall him, it might rather redowne to his priuate, then the publique damage. Seest thou with how great a minde he bare it? he gaue them thanks for the death of his children. Could such a change moue any man more? he had lost in one instant his solaces and his haies, and yet *Perseus* had not that credite to see *Paulus Æmilius*, sad or distressed.

Ppp

CHAP:

The eighteenth Other men afflictions should teach vs to distrust our enemies.

Other examples of Zenophon and Pulvillus.

CHAP. XIII.

The fourteenth,
Example of
Lucius Bibulus.



Hy should I leade thee thorow so innumerable examples of great men, and complaine their wretchednesse? as ift bee not a harder matter to finde out happy ment what house is it that hath continually stood at one stay in all respects? wherein there hath not hapned some disaster and perturbation? Consider the yeeres one after another, and marke those that haue bene Consuls, and if thou wilt *Lucius Bibulus*, and *Caius Caesar*, and thou shalt see betwixt these two companions that were mortall enemies, one and the same fortune. *Lucius Bibulus* a man more honest then stout, had two of his sonnes slaine at one time. They were both of them a scome to an Egyptian souldier; so that the Father had more occasion to bewaile the indignity they had receiued at his hands, then the losse of his children; yet *Bibulus* that during the whole time of his Consulate, had kept house by reason of the euill carriages of his fellow Consull, receiuing tidings of this accident, came abroad and performed his wonted and publicke offices. What could hee doe lesse then bestow one day on his two sonnes? so quickly ended hee his sorrow for his children, who had bewailed the Consulate a whole yeare. *Caius Caesar* when hee had ouerrunne the whole Country of *England*, and could not containe his felicity within the Ocean, had tidings that his daughter was dead, that by her losse drew the publicke peace into danger: he had represented before his eyes his sonne in law, *Cnaeus Pompey*, who could not endure that any other should be reputed or held more great in *Rome* then himselfe, and who would haue opposed himselfe against all those which pretended to bee aduanced, although it were not to his disadvantage, yet notwithstanding all this, *Caesar* which three dayes executed that charge which was committed vnto him in being Generall, and ouercame his sorrow so soone as hee was wont to ouercome all other things.

CHAP. XV.

The sixteenth
example of Augustus.



Hy should I relate vnto thee the funerals of the other *Caesars*, I will only tell thee this, that in my iudgement fortune hauing so rudely assailed them, hath giuen by this meanes a profitable instruction to the whole world; for shee maketh them see that the children of the gods, and such as should engender gods, haue not their owne fortune in their hands as they haue other mens. *Dionus Augustus* hauing lost his children and nephewes; in briefe the whole Progeny of the *Caesars* supported his desolate house by adoption; yet endured hee these losses as temperately as if hee had bene already desired, and as if some one had done him iniury, if hee should haue come and complained of the Deities. *Tiberius Caesar* both had lost him whom hee begat, and him whom hee had adopted, yet notwithstanding hee himselfe pronounced the funerall Oration, in praye of his sonne in the publicke place of declamations, and constantly stood in the sight of the dead body, and had but a vail betweene them to conceale the body from the sight of the high Bishoppe. Although the *Romane* people kept, hee changed not his countenance, and made *Senatus* know who stood by him, that hee was armed with patience to endure the losse of his children. Seest thou

thou not this great number of men, of note, enriched with so many gifts of the mind, and so many honours both publike and particular, whome death (that deuoureth all things) spareth not? nay further, this tempest extendeth it selfe ouer the whole world, and without election destroyeth all things, and maketh them as her owne. Command euery man to giue a reason, and thou shalt finde that no man hath entred into this world but to forsake it.

CHAP. XVI.



Know what thou wilt say. Thou hast forgotten that thou comfortest a woman, and onely tellest vs of the examples of men; but who dare maintaine that nature hath shewed her selfe partiall in womens behalfe, and hath restrained their vertues. Belieue mee they haue the same vigor and free faculty of mind, as men haue to apprehend that which is honest, and if they accustome themselves, they endure both labour and sorrow as equally as they doe. Good gods in what City speake weethis? In that where *Lucretia* and *Brutus* deliuered the *Romans* from the captiuitie of Kings: we must acknowledge our liberty to proceede from *Brutus*; and wee are indebted to *Lucretia* for *Brutus*. In that where wee haue eternized *Calia* the virgin in the number of the most valiant of her time, by reason of her vndaunted boldnes, when in despight of the enemy she swam ouer *Tiber*. Her statue on horsebacke, planted in the midst of that famous and sacred street, reproacheth our young men that are mounted in their Coaches, and enter in that sort into that City, wherein wee haue made presents of horses vnto women: but if thou wilt haue mee set thee downe an example of women that haue endured the death of their friends constantly, I will not begge it from dore to dore, I will produce out of our family the two *Cornelias*. The first was *Scipio*s daughter, and mother to the *Gracchi*. Shee had twelue children that all of them died before her. As touching ten of them, whom *Rome* neither apperceived liuing or dead, if I may so speake it, the losse might in some sort bee borne. But in respect of those her two sonnes *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Cnaeus*, (whom though men admit not for peaceable men, yet mult they acknowledge them for honourable Personages) shee saw them slaine and vbruiured. And when as some one in comforting her called her poore and desolate mother: *Nener* (saith shee) will I call my selfe unhappy who haue bred the *Gracchi*. The other *Cornelia* lost *Titus Drusus* her sonne a yong Gentleman, well borne of great hope, and one that followed the example of the *Gracchi*, who hauing left some suites of great importance vnperfect, which concerned the common-weale, was slaine in his owne house, and no man knew who did the deed; yet *Cornelia* endured the bloody and vnreueged death of her sonne, that shee her selfe presumed to bee so bold; as to publish certaine Edicts in way of consolation to the people. Now *Marcia* shalt thou become friends with fortune againe, if thou consider that shee hath darded the like arrowes against thee, as shee did against the *Scipios* their mothers three children, and *Caesars* themselves. Life is replenished and broken with diuers accidents, which haue no long repose, and almost no truce. Thou hast had fower children *Marcia*: but they say that there is no arrow that falleth in vaine that is shot against a troupe of the enemy. Is it so great a wonder that so great a company could not be ouerpassd without enuy or losse? But in this was Fortune more vnjust, because

To falsifie *Marcia*s obdion,
that these are
the examples of
m. hee induceth
Lucretia.

The nineteenth,
He answerseth a
new complaint of
Marcia as shee
flowes to her
what occasion
shee hath to com-
fort her selfe,
can siding those
comforts that
are left behind,
and this is it that
wee ought to con-
sider in our af-
flictions, that
God oftentimes
leaueth vs many
helpes, we can hee
might take a-
my all.

thee not onely tooke away thy children, but made choice of them, yet say thou not that hee is wronged that hath his equall part and portion with his Lord. Fortune hath left thee two daughters and their children, and of all these thee hath onely borne away thy sonne, whom thou so much bewaylest, hauing forgotten the other that was dead before him. Thou hast by this sonne two daughters who resemble their father, if thou bring them vp and nourish them against thy heart, they are two mighty burthens; contrariwise if thou take pleasure in them, they will bee great comforts vnto thee. To this end brought hee them thee, that seeing these daughters they should refresh the memory of thy sonne, and not of thy sorrow. The husbandman when hee sees his trees ouerturned, which cyther the winde hath rent vp by the roote, or the violent tempest hath broken by a violent wherry, nourisheth the rest of their liens, and presently setteth the seedes of those plants hee hath lost, and in a moment (for time is as violent and headlong in increases, as she is in losses) they spring more flourishing then those that were lost. Substitute now these daughters of *Metellus* in his stead, and fill vp the void place. Relieue thou our sorrow with a double solace. Truly this is the nature of mortall men, that nothing is more pleasing then that which is lost, wee are more partiall to those that are left, and more desirous of those that are taken from vs. But if thou wilt estimate how much fortune spared thee, eue then when thee was angry with thee, thou shalt know that thou hast more then comforts, witnessse fo many Nephewes and two daughters.

CHAP. XVII.

S Ay this likewise *Marcia*, it would moue mee, if fortune should respect euery one according to his behaiour. Good men should neuer be seconded by misfortunes; but now I see without any difference, and after the same manner, that both good and bad are indifferently distressed: yet is it a grieuous matter to lose a young man whom thou hast brought vp, and that now would be both an help and ornament to his father and mother. Who denies that it is a grieuous matter? yet is it humane. To this wert thou borne, that thou shouldst lose, that thou shouldst die, that thou shouldst hope, that thou shouldst feare, that thou shouldst disquiet both thy selfe and others, that thou shouldst feare & with death, and that which is worst of all, that thou shouldst neuer know in what estate thou wert. If a man should say to him that would embarke and sayle to *Siracusa*: Before thou set sayle, consider all the commodities and in-commodities of thy voyage, then enter thou the shippe. These are the things that thou maist wonder at. First of all thou shalt see *Sicily* diuided from *Italy* by a little arme of the sea, whereas in times past they were of one conitient. The sea in that place maketh foudaine insults;

Diuiding Italy from Sicily.

Then shalt thou see (for thou must ouerpasse swiftly that dangerous ingate of the sea) that gulf of *Charibdis* so renowned amongst the Poets, which as long as it is free from the southerne winds is peaceable and calme; but if any wind breath from that place, shee swalloweth shippes in her deepe

The twentieth,
The condition of
our life taught to
impute vs to con-
stanty.

Vnder an ex-
cellent descrip-
tion of a voyage
by sea in *Sicily*
he sheweth to
what good and
evill our lives
are allotted, so
the end in pro-
sperity to pre-
pare vs to ad-
versity.

deepe and deuouring billowes. Thou shalt likewise see the fountaine of *Aretusa*, so celebrated amongst the Poets, wonderfully cleere and pure in the bottome and bubling vpp water that is very colde, whether thou drawest it from the spring, or where shee stealeth from vnder the earth, when shee looseth her selfe, and passeth vnder the sea without intermixing it selfe loosing her sweetnesse amidst the salte water. Afterwards thou shalt arrive in the securest haue that Nature euer made, or that humane industry hath accommodated for the security of shippes, so assured and calme that the fury of most greatest tempests cannot any wayes afflict or encrease the same. Thou shalt see the place where the Athenian Nauy was discomfited, when so many thousand men were lost, and lockt vpp in that renowned prison, so immeasurably high and builded of hewen stone. After this the great City of *Syracusa*, and her towred walles of greater extent then are the Confinnes of diuers Cities, and no day without Sunne-shine. But after you haue seene all these commodities, on the other side, there presenteth it selfe a most hote and vnholesome Summer time, which corrupteth the benecites that the Winter had caused. There shalt thou find the Tyrant *Dionisius* sworne enemy of liberty, Iustice, and lawes, desirous of gouernement, and domination, and of life also. After his banishment, some he will burne, other some he will beate, these vpon a sleight occasion hee wil command to bee beheaded, to satistie his sluits; hee shall make vs both of male and female. and amongst the loathsome troupes and attendants of kingly intemperance, it shall bee a small matter at one time to commit pollution both wayes. Thou hast heard what may inuite thee, and what may withdraw thee; therefore cyther sayle onward or stay behind. If after this relation any man should say that hee would enter *Siracusa*: can hee iustly complayne against any man but himselfe, who should not haue false vnto these miseries, except willingly and wittingly hee had sought them out? Thus speaketh Nature to vs all. I deceiue no man; thou if thou bearest children maist haue them faire, maist haue them deformed, and if happily thou bring forth many, one of them may as well bee a Protector of this Country, as another a Traitor. Thinke not that they shall mount to that high dignity, that no man dare speake euill of thee for feare of them. But propose this to thy selfe, that they may bee so dissolute and licentious: that euery one will curse them. Nothing hindreth them to acquire themselves of that deuotion which they owe vnto thee. neyther are they forbidden to praise thee, set dispose thy selfe, as if thou wouldst lay them on the Beere, cyther children, young men or olde men; for yeeres concerne this matter nothing at all: because there is no funerall, that is not accompanied with sorrow, and attended by the parents. If after these conditions, which haue been proposed, thou buriest thy children, thou canst in no sort complaine against the gods who haue promised thee nothing.

CHAP. XVIII.

An application of
that he hath per-
form'd of the voy-
age to Syracusa.



Ow therfore let vs apply and compare all the course of our life according to this example; I haue tolde thee since thou art determined to visite *Syracus*, what thing may please thee, and what offend thee, & suppose that now when thou art to enter life I come and giue thee this counsell. Thou art to enter a City, that is common both to gods and men, comprehending all things, obliged to certain eternall and irrevocable lawes; where the celestiall bodies performe their course without repose or lassitude. T here shalt thou see innumerable stars, and wonder to see one Planet that enlighteneth all things; the funne that by his daily course diuideth the spaces of day and night, equally distinguishing the yeere into Winter and Summer. T here shalt thou see the nocturnall succession of the Moone borrow her milder and remiser heate from her brothers beames; sometimes hidden, and straight againe ouerlooking the whole earth with a full face, admirable in her encreases and decreases, being no one day the same, but altered continually. T hou shalt see the fierie Planets obscuring different courses, and shining oppositely the one against the other in their Sphaeres: on their so sodaine courses depend the destinies of nations, great and lesser effects doe follow, according to the benignity or malignity of their aspects. Thou wilt admire to behold the clouds that are gathered, the rains that fall, the oblique flashes of lightning, and the thunder in the ayre; when thou shalt cast thine eyes vpon the earth that are already glutted with the sight of celestiall wonders; thou shalt be entertained with an other forme of things and wonderfull in an other kinde. On this side the extent of spacious Planets that the eye cannot apprehend them, on that side the toppes of mountaines enuying the cloudes, charged with snow the downefall of riuers, the floudes issuing from one and the same source, running from east to west, the Forrests nodding their bowes vpon the toppes of the highest mountaines, so many woods with the beaults that inhabit them, and such variety of melodious birdes. After these the diuers situation of Cities, the nations separated the one from the other by the difficulty of passages, the one retiring themselves to the mountaines, the other spared themselves along the riuers sides, lakes, vallics, and marshes: the haruest forwarded by the husbandmans hand: the trees fruitfull without assistance of man, the gentle floating of breakes and of the lawndes, the pleasant gulfes, the commodious hauens, so many Isles disperfed in the Ocean, which by their situation distinguish the seas. I speake not of pearles or pretious stones, nor of golde that runneth amid the sands of the most violent riuers, nor of those fires that are enkindled both in the earth and in the seas, nor of the Ocean, which is the bond of Nations which separateth them with a triple straight, hauing otherwayes her perpetual flux and reflux. When his billowes are layde, and scale along without any agitation of the winds, thou shalt see terrible filthes, and of incredible greatnesse: others more heauie which swimme along vnder the conduct of others, some very swift, and more sodaine in their turnings then a vessell with many Oares, others breathing out water to the great dangers of those that are Passengers. Thou shalt observe on these Seas certaine Vesselles that goe to seeke out new found Landes, thou shalt see that humane boldnesse would know and discouer all things and thou thy selfe bee a looker and the greatest

Aduen-

Adventurer in the voyage thou shalt learne & teach with some tending to the commoditie, other some to the ornament and others to the gouernment of this life. But on the other side in this citie there shall be a thousand plagues of bodie and soule, wars, thefts, imprisonings, shipwrackes, heate, cold, terrible changes of the aire, and cruell punishment of our bodies and of those whom weloue most; but finally death which thou knowest whether it shall be sweete and easie or accompanied with tortures and grievous punishments. Deliberate with thy selfe, and ballance carefully which of these two thou wilt entertaine, if thou hast part of those goods that are mentioned before, thou must issue likewise thorow the midst of those miseries. T hou wilt answer that thou wilt live and why not? nay rather I thinke that thou pretendest not to approach such a thing whereof thou canst not endure that any one should pull any portion from thee! Live therefore as it becommeth thee, no man faile thou hast demanded our aduice. Our parents haue consulted about vs, who whereas they knew the condition of life verie well, haue brought vs vp vnto that end.

CHAP. XIX.



Vt to returne to consolations, wee must first of all see what their firmities is whereunto we ought to apply a remedie. Secondly in what manner. He that mourneth is moued with the losse of him whom he loued, and this appeareth tollerable in it selfe. For wee bewaile not those who during their life time are and ought to bee absent from vs, although we bee deperied of their presence and the aide they might yeelde vs. It is therefore opinion that tormenteth vs, and all affliction is as much to be prised as wee haue rated it at. T he remedie is in our owne hands. Wee iudge that our friends, parents, and neere kinsfolke are absent, and wee deue our glues; we haue dismissed them, nay more we haue sent thee before with a purpose to follow them. T his likewise moueth him that mourneth, I shal want one to defend me, & protect me fro contempt. T o vse a scarce probable but yer a true comfort. In our citie want of children getteth vs more grace then it taketh from vs. And so much hath solitude enabled ould age that was wont to destroy it; that some faire hatred of their children, some forswearing them, and willingly make themselves desolate, I know what thou wilt say, my detriments moue me not, for he is vnworthy of solace that taketh it heauily that his sonne is departed from him, as if he had lost a slave, and that considereth in his sonne any other thing then his owne person. What therefore moueth thee *Marcia*? whether art thou agreed because thy sonne is dead; or for that hee liued not long; if because he is dead, thou shouldst haue beene alwaies in griefe, for thou knowest alwaies that he should die. T hinke this that the dead are afflicted with no euils, those things that make hell terrible vnto vs, are but fables, wee know that the dead are not enfolded in darkenesse, that they are not in prison. Wee beleue not those flouds flaming with fire, neither the lake of forgetfulness, nor the iudgement seate, neither that there are any guilty in that so large liberitie, neither likewise that there are tyrants. T hese are poeticall, and thus haue they tormented vs with vaine terrors. Death is both the solution and end of all sorrow, beyond which our euils passe not that reposest vs in that tranquillitie wherein we lay before we were borne: if a man will be sorrowfull for those that

The One and twentieth, They that are decaied are not absent, neither haue abandoned vs, but haue gone before vs, and we shall suddenly follow after them.

The two and twentieth, Oft times it is better for vs to be alone then in company.

The three and twentieth, Since those that are dead were ere, it is to be desired that they should not weepe for them.

The four and twentieth, Death is the end of miseries, but this must be so understood that it is intended only in respect of the body and till the time of the day wherein the world shall haue an end.

that are dead, let him haue compassion likewise on those that are vnborne. Death is neither good nor euill. For that may bee either good or euill which is any thing, but that which of it selfe is nothing, and reducedd all things to nothing, betrayeth vs to no fortune. For those things that are good and euill haue relation to some matter. Fortune cannot detain that, which nature hath dismissed, neither can he be a miserable man that is no man. Thy sonne is exempted from those bands wherein he was in bondage. He is entertained by a great and eternall peace, he is not afflicted with the feare of pouertie, the care of riches, the prouocations of lust attainting the minde by pleasures, hee is not touched with the enuy of another mans felicity, neither are his modest eares beaten with any flanders, hee beehouldeth neither publike nor priuate slaughters, he taketh not care for that which is to come, neither dependeth he on euents which tend and incline alwaies from euill to worse. At last he is staid in such a place, from whence nothing may driue him away, and where nothing affrighteth him.

CHAP. XX.

How ignorant are men of their miseries, who praise not death which is the best inuention of nature, which whether it include felicity, or repe calamity, or terminateth facie or lassitude of old age, or carries away youth in his flower whilst better things are hoped for, or cutteth off childhood before hee vndergoe dangerous courses; The end of al, the remedy of many, the wish of diuers men, desiring better of no men, then of those to whom shee came before she was called. She dismissed the slave in dispiight of his Lord, she vnchaineth prisoners, shakes off the fetters of those men whom tirants hold captiue. She sheweth banished men that haue alwaies their hearts and eies fixed vpon their country, that it is a small matter amongst whom they are laid and buried. Shee when as fortune hath diuided common goods vnequally. And hath giuen to two brothers different things, maketh them equall. She it is that hath neuer done anie thing according to another mans liking, he it is in which no man hath felt his humility, he it is that hath obaid no man, he it is *Marcia* whom thy father desired. She it is I say that bringeth it to passe that to bee borne is no punishment, that causeth me not to loose my courage when I am threatned by infinite accidents that maketh mee preferre my minde entire and maister of himselfe; I know where I must arriue; I see on this side libberts of diuers fashions, some hanging their heads downward towards the earth, some thrust thorow with flakes, some hauing their armes stretched out vpon the gallowes. I see cords, strapadoes, and tortures for euery member of the body, yea likewise I see death. On the other side, I perceiue furious enemies, and proude citizens, but heere likewise I see death. It is no hard matter to serue, when as at such time as a man cannot endure his maister, he may attaine his libbertie by stepping one foote forward, against the iniuries of life I haue the benefit of death. Think how much good a hit and commodious death affordeth vs, and what euils haue befallen many by liuing too long. If *Pompey* that honor and support of our common weale had died at Naples, vndoubtedly a man might haue said, Behold the prince of the Romaine people is depered. But now the adiection of a little more time made him fall from the height of his dignitie. Hee saw his legions slaine before

his

this face, and what miserable remainders were these of that battaile, where the Senators led the armie to their end, that their Generall might be saued? For anon after he saw the Egyptian murderer, and presented his so venerable bodie to a souldier that slew him. And had his life bene saued, he had repented himselfe. For what a shame had it bene that a King should haue giuen *Pompey* his life? If *Marcus Cicero* had died then, when he deliuered himselfe from that massacre, which *Catiline* pretended to execute vpon him and Rome, that Common-weale that was defended by him, had called him her protector and safeguard. Afterwards had he followed his daughter, then might hee think haue bene esteemed happie, hee had not seene those threatening swords that were brandished ouer the heads of his Citizens, nor the goods of those that were murdered, giuen to the murderers, in such sort that riches were cause of their deaths, who possessed them, he had not vnderstood that those goods that were taken from Consuls were sold at out-cries; nor of the murders, nor of the spoiles which were recompensed out of the publike treasure, nor of the warres and rapines of three as bloudie as *Catiline*. Had the sea swallowed vp *Cato* when he returned from Cyprus, with those goods which the King had bequeathed by his will to the Roman people, or had he perished with all that filter which he brought with him, which was afterwards employed in the maintenance of ciuill warre, had he not died happily? Surely he had carried away this honour with him, that no man had or durst doe any fault in *Catoes* presence. But now the adiection of a few yeares constrained this man, who was borne to maintaine both his owne, and the publike libbertie to flee from *Cesar*, and to follow *Pompey*. No euill therefore hath vntimely death brought to *Aetilius*. Nay more, he is thereby exempted from all euils; yet died hee too soone and too young. First presuppose that he liueth yet, and consider how little time is allotted man, in regard of the yeares of his life. And what is this? We are placed in this world for a moment of time, and shall in lesse then an instant dislodge from the same: and hauing entered thereunto vpon this condition, we haue alwaies our eye fixed on that place whither we must tend: I speake of our yeares, which flie away with an incredible swiftnesse. Examine how many yeares, Cities haue stood, and thou shalt see how little while they haue lasted, yea euen those that most glorie in their antiquitie. All humane things are fraile, and scarce occupie any place in this vast extent of infinite time. We say that all this earth, with the people thereof, these Cities, riuers, and that sea which incloseth them, is but a point in respect of the vniuers. Our life is lesse then a point, if it be compared with all that time which is past, and is to come, which hath farre greater extent then the world, considering that time so oftentimes turneth and measureth himselfe in this so great inclosure of the same. What auaileth it vs then, to extend that which being brought to his full extent, will be almost as much as nothing? In one kinde we haue liued enough, and long enough, if it sufficeth vs. And if thou liuest as long as I can desire, and that therein old age be extended so farre as thou mayest make reckoning of ninety or of an hundred yeares: yet if thou wilt fixe thy thought vpon all the time of eternitie, there will be little difference betwixt the shortest and the longest life: if considering how many yeares euery one hath liued, if thou compare time with those wherein he hath not liued. Again, he died not vntimely, for he liued as long as he should haue liued: for there was no ouerplus of time wherein he should haue liued longer. The age of old men is not alike, no more is that of beasts. Some creatures are a weery of life after fourteene yeares, and this is their longest

age.

The face and
twentieths are
prosecuted herein
be proueth more
particularly the
commodities of
death.



The five and
twentieths are
doubtful here
gett vs a way
forward.

The seven and
twentieth, that
no man dieth too
soone.

The eight and
twentieth, No
man dieth be-
fore his time, be-
cause he hath li-
ued as much as
he ought.

age, which to a man is but the first. Each one hath a different facultie of living. There is no man dieth too soone, who was not to live longer than he lived. Every mans time is prefixed, it shall always continue where it was setled; neither shall cyther diligence or care advance him farther: he knoweth that he breaketh his braines, and looeth his labour that precedeth the contrary. Thy sonne hath runne his race, and hath attained to the prefixed end of his life. Thou art not therefore to loade thy selfe in this sort: He might have lived longer. His life was not interrupted, and fortune never crossed the course of his yeares. Every one is payed that which is promised him: the destinies are carried according to their proper vehemency: they neither lengthen or shorten the time: in vaine are they besought or solicited. Every one shall have as much as the first day of his life hath assigned him. From that time he began to see the light, he hath entered the way of death, and approached decline: those yeares that were added to his youth were stolne away from life: we are all in this error, that we thinke that none but olde and aged men are neere unto death, whereas infancy, youth, and every other age leadeth vs thereunto. The Fates ply their businesse, they steale from vs the apprehension of our death; and to the end the may more easily feele vpon vs, the masketh her selfe vnder the name of life. Childhood carrieth away infancy, youth rauisheth childhood, and olde age youth: but if thou calculate well these decreases, they are as many decreases and losses.

CHAP. XXI.

THou complainest *Martia*, that thy sonne lived not so long as hee might, but how knowest thou whether it were expedient for him to live longer, or more profitable for him that he died thus? What man canst thou finde at this day, whose affairs are so firme and well assured, that he hath no cause to feare that which is to come? Humane affaires steale and slip away. Neyther is there any part of our life more declining and incertaine, than that which pleaseth vs most. And therefore the most happy ought to with for death; because amidst this inconstancy and confusion of things, nothing is certaine but that which is past. Who could assure thee that this faire bodie of thy sonne, and the marvellous care that hee had of his honour, maintayned in the middell of so many eyes of a Cittie, founded and confounded with dissolutions and excesses, could in such sort warrant himselfe from lickenesse, that vntill olde age his beutie and seemlinesse should have remained vntouched?

CHAP. XXII.

Ropose vnto thy selfe a thousand infirmities of the soule for many excellent spirits have not maintained vnto their olde age, that hope that we had conceived of them in their youth; but oftentimes they haue degenerated. In their latter dayes therefore consequently, and to their greater shame, they haue addicted themselves to palliards, which hath made them soile the faire beginnings of their life. Or being plunged in drunkenness and gourmandise, their principall care

hath bene to know what they should eate or drinke. Adde hereto the burnings, the ruines, ship wrackes, the operation of Surgeons, who cut off their members, pull out their braines, thrust their hands into their entrailles, and heale their priue parts, not without excessive paine: after these, banishment, for thy sonne was no honeste man then was *Rutilius*: and prison, sure he hath not bin a wiser man then *Socrates*: and with the flab of a Poinard that was voluntarily buried in his breast, sure he was not more vertuous then *Cato*. In considering these things thou shalt finde that they are happy whom nature hath retyed in good time into a place of securitie, considering that in the end they could not receive any other reward of their life, then that or some such like. There is nothing so deceitfull as mans life, nothing so trayterous. No man would haue accepted life except it had bene given as vnawares: and therefore it is a great happiness not to be born, and another happiness that death is neere to shorten that life, and put vs in that estate wherein we were before we lived. Call to thy remembrance those wretched times, when *Seianus* made a present to *Attius Secundus* his Clyent of the confiscation of thy fathers goods; which he tooke from him by reason of some confident speeches he had vitered: for thy father could not holde his peace, seeing that men intended not onely to make vs subject to *Seianus*, but that by degrees he maunsted to the soueraine apothecary. It was decreed that a statue should be raised for him in *Pompeii* theater, which the Emperour caused to be redified because it had bene burned. *Cardus* exclaimed, *That then the Theater was wholly ruined*. And what heart would not haue burst, seeing *Seianus* sit vpon *Pompeii* Cinders; and a wicked souldier entailed in the place of a great Captaine? Notwithstanding the statue was reared with a subscription. On the other side those Masters that this cursed *Seianus* nourished with humane blood, to the end that they should be priuate to himselfe, and enraged against all others, began to barker on every side against thy father, who thought not of them. What should he doe? To maintaine himselfe in life, it behooued him to humble himselfe before *Seianus*; to die, to haue licence from thee his daughter. But it was impossible for him to pacifie *Seianus*, and his daughter lesse; yet at the last *Cardus* resolved with himselfe to deceiue his daughter. Having therefore taken his bath, the more easily to deceiue her, he retired himselfe into his chamber, as if he intended to take some refrection before his supper; and hauing dispatched his seruants and pages about some businesse, he cast some morrels of meat out of the window: to the end it might be thought that he had eaten. Afterwards, as if he had sufficiently nourished himselfe in his chamber, he abstained from his supper, continuing the same course the second and third day: vpon the fourth day the infirmities of his body discovered what he meant. Embracing thee therefore he said, *My dearest daughter, I haue concealed nothing from thee during my whole life; but this, I am entred the way of death, and haue almost attained the halse: thou neyther shouldst nor canst recall me back againe*. After he had spoken this, he commanded the lights to be carried away, and retired himselfe into an obscure place. This act of his being discovered, every one was glad that the prey was taken out of the throats of those greedie Volucres. His accusers by *Seianus* incitation, presented themselves before the siege of the Consuls, complaining that *Cardus* was a dying, to the end to obtain permission to withdraw him from that whereunto they had compelled him; so much were they aggrieved that *Cardus* should escape their fingers. The question was vpon a matter of great importance, whether those that were adiuuged to die should be hindered from procuring their death. Whilst this matter

A notable manifestation of Cato's constancy and death; yet let men temper their judgement: there is a law about Stoicism which they must reforme these resolutions.

The time and twaine, but are all in error, there is no man more changed from his former estate.

Thy thinke, it is only God that knoweth what is expedient for vs to haue our liues.

The next distinction, no man can come to his old age, and the best advised cannot foresee that which he ought to possess; we ought therefore to be wise that die in youth.

was in debating, and the accusers goe and come, *Cordus* was deliuered from their claws. Seest thou not, *Marcia*, how vnexpectedly the reuolutions of wretched times doe steale vpon vs? Doeſt thou weepe becauſe one of thine muſt needs die? Thou ſeeſt how hard a thing it was for him to get this priuiledge.

CHAP. XXIII.



Esides this, that euery future thing is vncertaine, and the way to the worſe is more aſſured: it is eaſier for vs to aſcend to brauent, whereas our mindes are quickly diſmiſſed from humane conuerſation. For they haue gathered leſſe drefſe and ordure, and being deliuered, before which were conſuſed and ouerwhelmed with the meditation of earthly things, they are more light to ſlie backe againe to their original; and more eaſily ouerpaſſe all that which may hinder them. For neuer did great wits take pleaſure to remaine in their earthly priſons, they are glad to forſake them, and breake thorow them: theſe ſo ſtrict limits are diſpleaſing to them, being accuſtomed to raiſe themſelues aboue the heauens, and to contemne from aboue all humane and baſe things. Hence is it that *Plan* crieth, *That a wiſe mans minde is wholly intended vpon death, that this he willeth, this he meditateth, that he is alwayes poſſeſſed with this deſire, when he beholdeth exterior things.* What thoughteſt thou, *Marcia*, when thou ſaweſt a yong man replenished with aged wiſedome, a minde triumphing ouer all pleaſures, reformed, deuoid of vice, rich without auarice, raiſed to honor without ambition, deſirous to haue pleaſures without diſſolution to keepe him long time? What ſoouer hath attained his perfection haſteth to his end. Perſect vertue retireth it ſelfe and vaniſheth from our eyes: neither do the fruits expect their Autumne, that are ripe in Summer. The fire the more it ſhineth, the ſooner it is extinguished, and that laſteth longeſt which being mixed with a moiſt matter and hard to kinde, and ſmothered in ſmoke, ſhineth thorow the ſmother. For that which nourriſheth it, as it were by conſtraint, is the cauſe it continyeth more long time. So good ſpirits, the more famous they are, the ſhorter they liue. For whereas there is no place of encreaſe, there decreaſe is the nearer. *Fabianus* ſaid, and our predeceſſors alſo haue ſeen it, that there was an infant at Rome, as great as an abſolute man, but he liued not long, and euery one that had iudgement was of opinion that hee ſhould die ſhortly. For he could not encreaſe ſo much in yeares, as hee had attained by his ſtature. So maturitie is a token of imminent ouerthrow, and the end aproacheth where encreaſe are conſumed.

CHAP.

The two and thirtieth, Our bodies are the priſons of our ſoules, which conceiue great content to get their reſcuſe to beauen.

CHAP. XXIII.



Eginne to eſtimate him by his vertues, and not by his yeares. He hath liued enough, he was leſt a pupill, and vntill the fourteenth yeare of his age he was vnder the gouernment of Tutors, but alwayes vnder his mothers cuſtodie: when hee had a houſe of his owne, yet would he not leaue thine. Being a yong man, both in ſtature, beautie, and other ſtrength of the bodie, borne to be a ſouldier, he reſuſed warfare, becauſe hee would not leaue thee deſolate. Conſider *Marcia*, how many mothers there bee in diuers houſes, that ſee their children verie little. Thinke you that thoſe mothers, whoſe ſonnes follow the warres, loſe in reſpect of them whole yeares, and liue ſolitarie? then ſhalt thou know that there is much time remaining thee, in which thou haſt loſt nothing. Thy ſonne neuer departed out of thy ſight, hee framed his ſtudies in thy preſence, ſheuing himſelfe of a moſt excellent ſpirit, but it was accompanied with a modeſt feare, the which hath buried many perfections in diuers men. He was one of the goodlieſt Gentlemen that a man might behold, yet behaued he himſelfe with ſo great temperance and modeſtie, that amidſt ſo great a troope of men-corrupting women, he gaue no occaſion of ſuſpition: and whereas ſome of their impudencie had attempted ſo far as to tempt him, he bluſhed and was angry with himſelfe, becauſe he had pleaſed. This holineſſe in his manners was the cauſe, that ſo yong as he was, he was thought worthe to be entertained amongſt the number of thoſe that intermeddled with thoſe things that appertained to religion, and that by the aid and aſſiſtance of his mother. In contemplation of theſe his vertues ſo behaued thy ſelfe, as if he were more conuerſant with thee now then cuer. Now hath he nothing to withdraw him, he ſhall neuer put thee in care, or cauſe thee to forrow, and all the griefe thou haſt conceiued for ſo good a ſonne is finiſhed: the reſt being exempted from casualties, are full of pleaſures, if thou knoweſt how to make vſe of thy ſonne, and if thou knoweſt that which hath bene moſt precious in him, thou haſt but loſt the Image and reſemblance of him, although it reſembled him not rightly. For he is eternall, and for the preſent in better eſtate then cuer, deſpoiled of forren incombrances, and at his full libertie. Theſe bones that thou ſeeſt wretched about with nerues, this ſkin that couered vs, this countenance, and theſe miniſtring hands, and thoſe other members that enſeale vs, are the bonds and fetters of the ſoule which is deiection, obſcured, infected, and hindered from knowing the truth of thoſe things that appertaine vnto her, and diſtracted with error. Shee hath a grievous combat with this fleſh, to the end the may not be made captiue and ſlaue vnto it. Shee extendeth and raiſeth her ſelfe to the place from whence ſhe was ſent: there is her eternall repoſe, where in ſtead of troubles and conſuſions of this world, ſhe ſhall ſee nothing but that is cleare and pure.

CHAP. XXV.



Hou haſt no cauſe therefore to runne vnto thy ſonnes ſepulchre. There lye his bones and aſhes, the worſer part of him, and moſt troubleſome vnto him, and are no more parts of him then his raiment and other couertures of his bodie. He is fled away wholly, and is departed wholly out of this world, without leauiſg a ny thing of himſelfe vpon the earth: and afterwards hauing made a little pauſe

Q q q

The three and thirtieth, He that hath liued veruouſly, ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the ſoules he had ſlayed, the more might hee haue bene corrupted.

The foure and thirtieth, The body is not the man, but the ſoule, which leaueſt nothing of her ſelfe vpon the earth.

about vs, to censure him from those spots that were remaining in him, and to shake off the rust of this corruptible life, he hath bene carried to farre higher places, where he conuerseth with the happier foules, and hath bene entertained by that holy company of *Scipios, Catoes*, and others that haue contemned this life, and now enioy a full libertie by the benefit of death. There *Marcia* thy father embraceth his nephew (although that there al be parents) joyfull to see him enlightened with a great brightnesse, and teacheth him the courses of the neighbouring Starres, not by coniecture, but as one that is truly expert, and leadeth him willingly into the secrets of Nature. And as he that sheweth the singularities of an vnknowne Citie, is an agreeable guest to that stranger that hath not seene them: so is this domestical interpreter welcome to his nephew, that examineth the causes of celestiall things, and taketh delight to pric into the secrets of the earth. For he hath a singular contentment to behold from on high that which he hath left. Behaue thy selfe there fore in such sort, O *Marcia*, as if thou wert in the presence of thy father and thy sonne, now such as thou knowest them, but without comparison more excellent and highly raised. Be alhamed to estimate them, so as if they were in some abiect and contemptible estate, bewaile not them who are happy, and who haue attained through fire and spacious fields to the place of eternitie. They are not hindered by entrance of seas, neither by high mountaines, nor by deepe valleyes, nor by the dangerous straits and quicklands of the sea. Their way is ealie euery where, they may change, and end them easily, the one teach the other, and are intermixed with the Starres.

CHAP. XXVI.

THinke then, O *Marcia*, that thy father (who before time had credit with thee, as thou haddest with thy sonne) addrest him selfe vnto thee, from the celestiall tower speaketh thus. But not with that thought wherewith he deplored the ciuill warres, and caused them cuer to bee detested, who made vp the roles of those who were proscribed, but with a sence as farre more cleare, as he is more highly raised. Daughter, why so long time remainest thou in discomfort? Why art thou so long time blinded in the ignorance of the truth? to thinke that thy sonne hath bene hardly dealt withall, in that being wearie of this life, he hath retired himselfe amongst his anceltors. Knowest thou not with what stormes Fortune disturberh all things? how little fauour she sheweth, except to those, who haue not in any sort frequented with her. Shall I recount vnto thee by name those Kings that should haue been most happy, if death had more maturely taken them from their instant euils? or those Roman Captains, who wanted nothing of their greatnesse, if somewhat had bene diminished of their yeares? or those noble and famous persons, who haue yielded their neckes, and expected the stroke of their souldiers swords? Behold thy father and thy grand-father. The one fell into a murderers hand, that tooke away his life. Offered my selfe to no other mens hands, and forbearing my meate, made it knowne, with how great a minde I had written. Why is life so long time lamented in our house, who died most happily? We are altogether vnited together, and see that you that are aliuie are inuironed with profound darknesse. There is nothing amongst you that is to bee wished for, nothing excellent

The fine and
thorowth, we
ought not to limit
those, that with
out comparison
are more happy
out of the world,
then in the world.

For conclusion
and confirmation
of all the
wisdom past be-
fore he induceth
Marcias fa-
ther to discouer
the ioy of this life
that are dead,
and too Statically
speakes he of
the end of the
world. I laugh at
the alchymists,
paine his igno-
rance, embrace
the liu.

or worthy: but all things are humble, heauie, and incertaine: neither see you but a litle parcell of our light. Shall I tell thee that heere are no warres, nor battels fought by land or sea; that Parricides are neither imagined nor thought vpon here, that our Courts are not confused with pleas, but that our daies are perpetuall, that nothing is done in obscuritie, that our minde are simple, our hearts open, our liues laid open to euery one, and that all ages and euents are manifest? I tooke delight to collect together all the aduentures of a whole age, in a corner and remote place of the world, and such actions as were attempted by a few. Now may I see so many ages, the course and carriage of so many yeares, and whatsoeuer time is past. Heere may I behold those Kingdomes that are rising, and those that fall to ruine, the ouerturne of mightie Cities, and new courses of the seas. For if it may yeeld thee any comfort to vnderstand the secrets of common destinie. I tell thee, that nothing that standeth shall continue stedfast: age shall destroy and carrie away all things with it, and shall play her part not onely amongst men (for how slight a portion are they of Fortunes power?) but also in places, countries, and parts of the world. So many mountaines shall she suppress, and enforce others in another place: shee shall sup vp the seas, and turne riuers; and breaking of the commerce of Nations, shall dissolve the societie of mankind. In other places she shall deuoure Cities with horrible yawning of the Earth, and shake them with Earth-quakes: shee shall cause pestilent exhalations to arise from the earth, and shall couer the inhabited countries with deluges of water, killing euery creature, drowning the whole world, and with vast fires shall terrifie and burne all mortall men. And when the time shall come, that the world shall cease, to the end it may be renewed againe: these things shall beate and breake one another, and all things set on fire, all that which now shineth by an artificiall brightnesse, shall bee consumed by one and the same fire. We also that are blessed foules and partakers of eternitie, when it shall seeme good vnto God to warpe these things once againe, when all things shall be confounded; then we who are but a small part of this great ruine, shall returne into our ancient elements. O *Marcia*, how happy is thy sonne, who alreadie knoweth all these things.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

Q q q

Stoicall conclu-
sions, prayse God
that hath giuen
thee a better
light.

OF CONSOLATION,
WRITTEN
By
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
To His Mother HELVIA.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke was written during the time of his exile, which was about the first year of CLAVDIVS raigne (in the year since the Citie was builded DCCXCIII.) by the suggestion of impure MESSALINE. This publique Harlot objected against him, that he had committed adulterie with IVLIA GERMANICVS daughter, and charged SENECA therewith. Of this haue we spoken in his Life. Now therefore being banished into Corsica, he comforteth his mother, and sheweth her how he brooth his misfortune constantly, and that she should doe no lesse. He wrote it not presently upon the beginning of his exile, which the Preface testifieth, but the last of the first yeares, or the beginning of the second. But this wrote he now, when he was in the vigor and maturity of his iudgement, being somewhat more then fortie yeares old. And therefore his writing is answerable, full of confidence and eloquence. Perfect in stile and structure, and more orderly disposed then all therest. I dare say it carrieth away the Palme from all other bookes. He maketh two heads of this his Consolation. Thou must neither be sorie for my sake, nor for thine owne. Not for my sake, for none of those which the common sort repaite for evils, as Change of place, Pauertie, Ignominie, Contempt, are evils, and thus orderly proneth he till the fourteenth Chapter. Neither must thou be sorie for thine owne sake, for there are two things that may afflict thee, either because thou hast lost some helpe and comfort by me, or because thou canst not endure my want. The first belongeth not to thee, because thou art not ambitious, neither euer didst boast of the grace and power of thy children. Neither ought the other, because thou wert always constant about thy sex. Thou hast suffered many miseries, endure this. Impley thy selfe in the studie of wisdome which will further thee. Turne thy selfe to my brothers, and of thy nephewes by them and mee, thou art not alone, nor leadest a solitary life. This will both serue and delight thee. Turne thy selfe likewise to my

Of Consolation to Helvia.

myselfe, which will proue both a comfort and example vnto thee. And he concludeth his Booke with her praises.

CHAP. I.



Haue already oftentimes vnderaken this resolution (most dearest mother) to comfort thee, and oftentimes haue I contained my selfe. Many considerations moued me thereunto. First, I supposed that I should despoile thee of all sorrow, if being vnable as yet to suppress thy teares, I should in the meane space wipe them away. Secondly, I assured my selfe that I should haue more authoritie to excite thee, if first of all I had conformed and confirmed my selfe. Furthermore, I was afraid that if I had not mastered Fortune, she would haue troden vnder foote some of those whom I most loued. I therefore endeouour howsoeuer, in laying my hand on mine owne wound, to creepe forward and binde vp yours: notwithstanding there were some things on the contrarie side that crossed this my resolution. I knew well that it behoued me not at the first to encounter with thy sorrow, when it was most vehement, for feare lest my consolations should incense and afflict thee the more. For in infirmities and sicknesses, likewise there is nothing more pernicious, then vntimely remedies. I expected therefore, whilst thy sorrow had weakened and disheartned it selfe, to the end, that being mitigated and confirmed, by delay to sustaine remedies, it might suffer it selfe to be comforted and cured. Moreover, after I had turned ouer all the monuments of those happie wits which they had composed to pacifie and moderate sorrow, I found not any example of such a man who had comforted his friends, when as he himselfe was bewailed by them. So then I remained perplexed in this new accident, and was afraid lest my endeouour, in stead of prouing a consolation, should become a renewing and cause of further griefe. Besides this, had not that man need of new words, not borrowed from vulgar and ordinarie discourse, that lifting his head from the Beere, should vnderake to comfort his friends? But it cannot otherwise be, but that the greatnesse of a griefe that exceedeth all measure, should vterly deface the ornament and choice of words, when as oft-time it stoppeth and cloaseth the mouth. Yet howsoeuer I will endeouour, not in respect of the confidence I conceiue in mine owne wit, but because I may serue for a most assured consolation, because I propose it my selfe. My hope is, that since thou wouldest vouchsafe me any thing that I should require, that thou wouldest doe me this fauour (although that all sorrow is rebellious) to suffer me to prefixe some limittes to thy discontent.

He proposeth diuers reasons why he deferred to comfort his mother.

CHAP. II.

*The summe of
his discourse,
what paine his
mother hath ap-
proved her selfe
congruous and
consequour in o-
ther afflictions,
she should not
give place to
this.*

BEhold how much I vsurpe vpon thine indulgence. I doubt not but I shall be as powerfull with thee as thy griefe, which notwithstanding is a passion that wonderfully murthereth the afflicted; neyther will I suddenly attempt to charge him, I will first defend his cause, I will discouer all things whereby he is prouoked, and cut vp those things that are already cured. Some man will say, What kinde of consolation is this, to reuiue long buried euils, and to discouer vnto the vnderstanding all his aduersities, that can scarcely endure the presence of one onely? But let this man thinke that those afflictions that are so crosse and pernicious, as they surmount their remedies, are oftentimes cured by their contraries. And therefore will I present sorrow with all her owne attendants, and will not make a palliative cure, but I will feare and scarifie: what shall I get by it? That thy inuincible spirit that hath ouer-mastered so many miseries may be ashamed to shrink at one wound in a body that hath so oftentimes bin cicatrized. Let them therefore weepe and mourne longer, whose delicate minds haue bene weakened by long felicitie, and are quickly dejected vpon the motion of the slightest miseries, but let them who haue spent their whole yeares in calamitie, endure the most grievous assaults, with a confident and vnmoveable constancy. This one good hath continuall infelicitie in it, that finally the hardneth those whom she tormenteth ordinarily. Fortune hath not giuen thee any intermission, but hath exercised thee in most grievous sorrowes, nay, she hath not spared thee on the very day of thy birth. Thou diddest loose thy mother as soone as thou wert borne, nay, euen in thy very entrance into the world, and as soone as thou wert; as it were, abandoned to this life. Thou wert brought vp vnder thy stepdame, whom thou by all obsequiouse and pietie (as much as could be expected from a naturall daughter) compelledst to be thy mother; yet none there is that hath not paid dearly to finde out a good stepdame. When thou expectedst the arriuall of thine vnckle by the mother side, a man both vertuous and valiant, thou diddest loose him. And lest that fortune should make thy misfortune more slight by delay, a moneth after thou buriedst thy dearest spouse, by whom thou haddest three sonnes. In the height of thy sorrow these mournfull tidings were brought thee, euen then when thy children were absent, as if all thy miseries had bene reserved till that time, to the end that thy sorrow might haue no meanes of reliefe or refuge. I passe ouer so many dangers, so many afflictions that incessantly assaulted thee, and which thou hast endured. Into the same lap wherein before time thou hast dandled thy three little Nephewes, thou hast afterward entertained their dead bones. Twenty dayes after thou haddest solemnized the obsequies of my sonne, who died enfolded in thine armes, and attended by thy louing kisses, thou heardest the newes that I was banished. Thou wert as yet vnexercised to bewaile the liuing.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I Confesse that this later wound is one of the most grievous that thou hast euer felt, and that it hath not only scratcht of the skin, but hath pierced into the depth of thy breast and entrailes. But euen as yong Souldiers bemoane themselves ouer-much for a slight wound, and are as fearefull of the Phisitians hand as the Surgeons razor, where contrariwise they that are old Souldiers, although they are thrust thorow, doe patiently and without groning suffer their armes and legs to be cut off, as if their bodies were not their owne: so must thou now present thy selfe with a great courage to entertayne thy cure. Remove from thy selfe these lamentations, these shrill shrieks and other immoderate howlings of disconsolate women. For in vaine hast thou suffered so many miseries, if thou hast not yet learned to be miserable. What thinkest thou that I deale too fearefully with thee? I haue taken none of thine euils from thee, but haue heaped them vp and laid them before thee. I haue done this resolutely, for I am resolute to ouer-come thy griefe, not to circumscribe it.

*That although
this accident be
griuous, yet
Heluius con-
fesse it much
approved before
but can and
myselfe that.*

CHAP. IIII.

I Shall first of all get the vpper hand as I thinke, if I shall approue vnto thee that I suffer nothing, in respect whereof I might be called wretched, and much lesse make other men wretched whom I touch. Secondly, if I shall passe ouer vnto thee and approue that thine accident which dependeth on mine is not grievous. This first will I vnder-take, which thy pietie will be content to giue eare to, that I haue no euill; and if I cannot approue this vnto thee, I will make it manifest, that these things wherewith thou thinkest me to be oppressed, are not intolerable. But if this may not be believed, yet will I please my selfe the more, because I shall be happy amongst those things which are wont to make others miserable. Thou art not to credit others in that which concerneth mee, I my selfe tell thee to the end thou maiest not be deluded by ill grounded reports, that I am not miserable; nay, I say further to secure thee more, that I cannot be miserable.

*Senecaes intell
in this Treatise
which be distin-
guisheth into
two principall
points.*

CHAP. V.

WE are first borne vnder a good condition, except wee for sake the same. Nature hath so disposed things, that to liue well, we haue no neede of great necessaries: euery man may make himselfe blessed. These externall things are but slight matters, and haue no great effect either in prosperitie or in aduersitie, neither doe the one of these raise a wiseman, neither doth the other deresse him. For hee hath alwaies endeouored that his greatest goods should consist in himselfe, and the complement of his contents should bee resident in his heart. What then? say I that I am a wise man? no: for if I could freely speake it, I would not onely denie that I was miserable, but contrariwise I would maintaine it boldly, that I was the most fortunate of all men, and would repute my selfe to be most neare-ly

*He entereth into
the considerati-
on of the former
point, which con-
cerneth himselfe,
and sheweth
that he is not mi-
serable. First,
nature hath
taught vs to bee
contented with a
little.*

ly lodged by the Gods. For the present, which is sufficient, to mitigate all my miseries I haue wholly dedicated my selfe to wife-men, and being scarce able enough to allure and counsaile my selfe, I haue retired my selfe into another mans Campe, that is to say, amongst those who easily both defence themselves and their owne fortunes. They haue commanded me alwayes to stand adressed, as if I were enioyned to stand Sentinell, and to foresee all the assaults and attempts of fortune long before they assaile me. To them is fortune tedious whom the assault suddainly, and easily repulse they her, who continually expect her. The enemies charge most instantly defeateth those whom they suddenly let vpon: but they that before the battell haue prepared themselves for a future warre, being well arranged and in a readinesse, do easily sustaine the first assault, which commonly is the most dangerous. I neuer gaue credite to fortune, although the seemed to claime a truce at my hands: and as touching all those things which with a liberrall hand the hath bestowed vpon me, such as are illuer, honours, and great credite, I haue put them in that place where she may fetch them, without eyther my discontent or preiudice. There was a great distance betwixt her and me, and therefore hath she carried them away from me, and not pulled them out of my hands. No man hath aduersitie ouerthrowne, but him whom prosperitie hath decieued. They that haue loued her presents as if they had bene perpetual and properly theirs, who would haue themselves respected by reason of the trifles; discomfirt themselves incontinently, when these false and fraile delights abandon their feeble and childish vnderstandings, who know not what true pleasure is. But he that is not puffed vp with prosperitie, neyther restrained by aduersitie, hath an inuincible heart at all times, and an approued contiaunce in eyther fortune; for he knoweth well in his felicitie, that he can make head against mishap. I haue therefore alwayes had this opinion in those things which all men wish for, that there is no true goodnesse in them; nay more, I haue alwayes found that they were vaine and outwardly smoothened with a deceiueable glosse, but inwardly hauing nothing that is answerable to their exteriour resemblance. For in those things which we call euils I find nothing so terrible and hard as the common opinion threatneth. The word it selfe by a certaine perswasion and consent, is now-a-dayes more distastefull vnto the cares, and afflicteth those that heare the same, as if it were some heauy and execrable thing, for so will the people haue it: but men of wisdome doe for the most part disdain the ordinances of the people.

CHAP. VI.

Leauing apart therefore the iudgement of diuers men, which is extinguished by the first appearances of things: howsoeuer they be beleued, let vs consider what banishment is. It is the change of place. It may be thought that we seeme to lessen the same; and that we take from it all that is worth in it. This change of place is accompanied with the incommodities of poeury, of ignominy, and contempt: against these hereafter I will combat. In the meane while I will first of all haue this looked into, which incommodie this change of place breedeth. It is an intollerable thing to be deprived of a mans country. Behold this multitude which may hardly be contained within so many thousand houles of this Citie, the greatest part of this troupe wanteth their country; they are retired hither

Secondly, nothing is to be false but that he hath not prosperitie, because he neuer gaue credite to his worldly prosperitie.

Thirdly, the goods of this world are not truly goods, and the euils are but apparently euils.

the distasteth pleasures of banishment, and proueth that there is more in it than they think, and that those euils which accompany this change should not be called euils.

from their Hamlets, Colonies, and all the quarters of the world. Some are drawn hither by ambition, other some by the necessitie of publique offices, some by Embassages enioyned them, other some are inuited for ryot sake, that hunteth after the opportunity of riches, and a fit place wherein to exercise their dissolutions; other some are drawne with a desire of liberrall studies; others with a delight to haunt the Theaters; some to visite their friends, others to make proofe of their industry, hauing gotten an ample meane to make shew of their vertue; some haue brought their beautie to set it out to sale, other some their eloquence. All sorts of men resort hither, where both vertues and vices are highly prized. Command and cite euery one of these in person, and aske of euery of these whence he is; thou shalt see that for the most part of them they haue forsaken their country, to come and dwell in this spacious Citie, which notwithstanding is but a Citie, and not their owne. Againe, depart from this Rome, which may be called a common country of all men, and ouersee other Cities, and there is none of these wherein thou shalt not finde a greater part of forraigne multitude: But leaue thou these countries, and all those who for the pleasant situation of the place, are drawne to inhabit there, and goe into the deserts and desolate Illes, as those of Cithnon, Serephium, Giare, and Corsica. Thou shalt not finde any place of banishment, but that some one remaineth there for his pleasure. What place may a man finde more naked and craggie on euery side, then this mountainous Ile which I inhabit? Is there any foyle more barren? Are any people more sauage? Is any situation of place more vnholsome, or are more displicant and intemperate? Yet are there more strangers dwell here then those that are naturall, borne in that country. So little therefore is the change of place grieuous vnto men, that this Ile hath withdrawne some from their owne country. I finde some that will say that there is a certaine naturall desire in mens mindes to change their seats, and to transerre their houses. For man hath a moueable and vnstedfast minde giuen him, he is neuer Master of himselfe, he is confused, he intrudeth his thoughts into all knowne and vknown things, still stirring and neuer quiet, and best contented with the noueltie of things; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider his first originall. The minde is not compoed of a terrestriall and waighty matter, it is a parcell of the celestiall spirit. But the nature of celestiall things is alwayes to be in motion; he flyeth and is carried away with a most swift course. Behold the Planets that enlighten the world, there is none of them that standeth still, but they incessantly turne, and daily change their places. Although they whirle about with the heauens, yet haue they their contrary motion. The Sunne runneth thorow all the signes of the Zodiaque, his motion is perpetual, neyther remayneth hee at any time in one point. All things tuene and passe without stay; and as the law and settled ordinance of nature hath determined, they are carried from one place to another: when as the celestiall bodies shall within certaine spaces of months and yeares, shape their course in their spheres, they shall renew the same. Goe therefore now and makethy selfe beleue that humane vnderstanding compoed of the same seeds that diuine things are, euery patiently endures a passage and change from place to place, since that God himselfe taketh pleasure in a continuall and sudden motion, and maintaineth himselfe thereby. But withdraw thine eyes from these celestiall things, and behold these terrestriall and base things. Thou shalt see Nations and people change their seat: what meane these Cities, peopled with Gracians, euen in the very middelt of barbarous Nations? What meane this Macedonian language amongst the Indians

Whence is cometh that men are so mouable.

and Persians? *Scythia* and all that tract of fierce and unconquered nations (thence) vs the Cities of *Aethia*, built vpon the shores of the Pontique sea. The continuall colde and the strange and inflexible natures of those Nations more vnted then their ayre, could not hinder the Grecians from planting their Colonies there. There is a company of the Athenians in *Asia*, the city of *Miletum* hath peopled seuenity five Cities in diuers places: All that side of *Italy* that bordereth vpon the lower sea, was the greater *Greece*. The *Tuscan* issued from *Asia*, the *Tirians* planted themselves in *Africa*, the *Africans* in *Spain*, the *Greekes* in *France*, and the *French* in *Greece*. The *Perinean* mountaines forbade not the *Germanes* to passe onward, humane leuety led them by vnhaunted and vnknown wayes. They drew with them their children, their wiues, and their parents laden with age. Some of these being wearied with long trauell, chose not their habitation by iudgement, but by reason of their wearinesse made choice of that they next met withall. Some maintained their possession by force of Arms, some in seeking out vnknown Countries perished by sea, some planted their paulsons there where necessity commanded them; neither had they all of them the same cause of seeking out, and leauing their Country. Some of these after the ruine of their Cities, escaped from the fury of their enemies, haue by force made themselves Lords of other Cities, and haue driuen out the right owners. Other some haue bene dispersed by ciuill warres, other some when their Cities were ouer peopled, were mustered and sent away to other places, as superfluous. Some Nations haue bene driuen out of their habitations by the plague, or by often earthquakes, or by some insupportable incommodities of the territory: and other some haue bene allured by the bruit that ranne, that such or such a Country was farre more pleasant and fruitfull then their owne. Some others haue forsaken their houses for diuers occasions. This then is euident that no one hath remained in the place where hee was borne, and that humane kinde ceaseth not to runne hithe and thither. There is dayly some change in this so great a world. Heere some men lay the foundation of new Cities, there ariseth a new Nation, and the name of the olde is lost, and is made and becometh more great then any other. But what are all these transmigration of peoples but pub. ke banishment.

CHAP. VII.



Hy leade I thee in so great a Windelesse? What neede I specifie vnto thee *Athenor* that builded *Padua*? or *Euander* that Planted the Kingdome of the *Aradians* vpon the banks of *Tiber*? What should I tell thee of *Diomedes*, and so many others, who both victorious and vanquished, haue bene scattered by the Trojan warre into so diuers Countries? Behold the founder of the Roman Empire, who being an Exile, a fugitiue, gathering together some few scattered foundlers with him after the lacke of *Troy*, constrained by necessity, and to warrant himselfe from the hands of his victorious enemies, searched out forraigne Countries and arriued in *Italy*. After all this, how many people hath hee sent in Colonies thorow out the Countries of the whole world? Wherefoeuer the Roman is Conquerour there dwelleth hee. To this change of places every one willingly subscribed his name, and the oldest forsaking their altars and fires, willingly accompanied those that fought out other Countries beyond the Seas.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.



He matter requireth not much example, I will onely adde that which I know to bee ordinary, the life where I am hath changed the inhabitants diuers times. But wee ought not to insist vpon those histories which antiquity hath buried. The *Greekes* themselves, who at this time inhabit *Marsilia*, had before time made their abode in this life. No man knoweth who draue them thence, whether it were the ayre which is vnpleasant, or the feare they had of *Italy*, which is the Mistrisse of the world, which is more neighbour to the life, or because there is dangerous landing at it. That the naturall fiercenesse of Islanders was not the cause it appeareth, because these *Greekes* went and intremixed themselves with the *French*, a cruell nation, and who at that time knew no ciuility: A none after these of the Coast of *Genes* came hether, the *Spaniards* likewise, which appeareth by their resemblance in manners, and the behaviour both of the one and the other; for their head attire is the same, and their shooes, such as the bordering *Spaniard* vse; they retaine likewise some wordes of their language, hauing forgot their mother tong by reason of the conuersation they haue had with the *Greekes* and *Genowayes*. After these *Marcins* caused a Colony of *Romane* Citizens to bee sent thither, and *Scilla* another. See here how oftentimes one barren, cragged and mountainous Country hath changed inhabitants. In briefe, thou shalt not finde one Angle of the earth that a man may say it was manured by the homebred Countrymen of that place. All are mixed, transported and translated from one quarter to another. One people hath succeeded another. One Nation hath desired to dwell there which another hath dispeopled. That other haue been driuen from that place whence they expelled others. So hath it pleased the Destinies, that nothing should alwayes remaine firme and continue in one place. *Varro* the most learned man amongst the *Romanes*, thinketh this a sufficient remedy, that wherefoeuer we become, wee account it the same world. *Marus Brutus* thinketh this sufficient for those that are banished to carry their vertues with them. If any one thinketh that these two expediments considered apart, haue little power to comfort a banished man; hee will confesse that these two together may doe very much. For that which wee haue lost, deserueth it to bee called any thing? Two the most excellent priuiledges, that is to say, common nature, and our proper vertue will follow vs in euery place wherefoeuer wee fixe our foot. Beluee whofoeuer hath created this vniuers, whether it be that Almighty God, whether it be incorporall reason, that Workmaster of great things, whether it be a demy spirit, equally extended and spred amidst all great and small Creatures, whether it be *Delthy*, and this immutable succession of things enchaineth the one with the other: such a one hath caused that no things (except they be things most abiect and of little worth) are not out of our power. All that which is good in man, is not subiect to humane power and violence, which neither can giue it, or take it away. Nature hath created this world which is the greatest and fairest thing that aman may see. But as touching the foule that contemprateth and admireth the world, whereof she is the most excellentest part, she is proper vnto vs, shee is perpetuall and shall continue so long with vs, as wee continue: let vs goe forward therefore willingly and confidently, whetherfoeuer our fortune leadeeth vs; let vs march forward with a confident pace.

CHAP.

A second proofe by the inhabitants of the life whereinto he was banished.

The third in all the states of the world, priuiledges which hee cannot take from vs.

A doubtfull opinion of Seneca, as touching the Deity, and his ordinary vnderstanding, the first cause which is God to secondary causes, reside here with aduice.

He proueth the change of place by those that first founded and peopled the Empire of Rome.

CHAP. IX.

An other notable
consideration
in exile, that
the whole world
is a most country

ET vs trauell ouer what countries soeuer wee will, and wee shall finde no Country in this world that is not accessible by a man. On what soeuer side wee address our eyes towards heauen; these things that are diuine are separated from those that are humane by equal distance: so then provided that mine eyes bee not hindered from beholding the heauens, as long as it shall bee lawfull for mee to behold the Sunne and Moone, and to consider neerely the other celestiall bodies, their risings, settings and distances: Search out the causes why the one haue more swifter motions then the other; behold so many shining starres by night, the one fixed, the other shaping a short course, and retiring into their Spheares, some appearing sodainly, others blemishing the eye with their spacious clearenesse, as if they would fall; others flying with a long tract, and great light. As long as I shall behold these things, and exercise my selfe amidst these celestiall troupes, as much as is lawfull for a mortall man, and if I haue alwaies my mind lifted vp on high in contemplation of those things that concerne the same, what care I vpon what ground I tread? But this land wherein thou liest is not fertile, neither beareth it shadowie trees: it is not watered by the currents of great and nauigable riuers; it bringeth forth nothing that other Countries might seeke after; fearfully it is able to sustaine the inhabitants: no precious stone is cut here, no veins of golde or siluer are digged out of it. Bate is that mind that taketh pleasure in terrestriall things; to those things must bee addressed which euery way appeare equally, and euery where shine equally, and this is he to thinke, that the goods of this world through the false opinion that men haue conceiued of their firmity, doe but obscure and hinder the true goods. The more they enlarge the walkes and porches of their houses, the more high they raise their turrets, the more larger they extend their streets, the more deeper they digge their caues and summer retreates, the more higher they raise the roofes and ceilings of their dining Chambers, the more they hide the heauens from themselves. An accident hath driuen thee into a certain Country, where in Reade of a Pallace thou hast but a little Cabbin, truly thou hast but a weake minde, and such as is comforted with base delights, if therefore thou endure this patiently, because thou knowest, *Romulus* his cottage. Rather say thus, what soeuer the house bee, it is bigge enough to entertaine vertues. Then will it bee more faire then all the Temples when iustice shall be seene there, when continency, when prudence, piety, the meanes how to discharge himselfe of his duty, and the knowledge of diuine and humane things. No place is too straight that entertaineth this troupe of so great vertues, no banishment is grievous, wherein a man may march in such cōpany. *Brutus* in that booke which hee wrote of vertue, saith; *That hee saw Marcellus that was banished into Atti- lene, and as farre as humane nature permitted, liuing most blessedly, neuer more desirous of the knowledge of good letters then at that time: hee therefore added, that hee in departing from him, rather thought that hee went into banishment, who was to re- turne backe againe without him, then that hee left him an exile.* O faire more happy *Marcellus* at that time when hee approoued his banishment to *Brutus*, then when hee iustified his Consulat to the people of *Rome*. How great a man was he, who brought to passe that, that man should seeme abanished man in his own iudgement, in departing from him that was an exile. The same *Brutus* sayth, that

that *Cæsar* passing along by *Attilem*, would not onely enter into the same, be- cause then could not endure to behold a deformed man. The Senate by mutual supplication obtained *Marcellus* reuocation, so peniue; and sad were they, that a man would haue said at that time, that euery one of them had *Brutus* to loose, and besought not for *Marcellus*, but for themselves, for feare least being without him, it should proue a true banishment, yet more attained he that day when *Brutus* was for to leaue him an exile, and *Cæsar* to see him: for by this meanes he had a testimony from them both, *Brutus* was for to returne without *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* was ashamed; doest thou doubt that this so worthe, aman did not encourage himselfe to endure his banishment with a quiet mind in these or such like words? *It is no misery for thee that thou wastest thy Country: so hast thou informed thy selfe with good letters, that thou knowest that euery place is a wise mans Country. And what shall wee say of him that hath banished thee? hath bee- ne bene out of his Country for the space of ten whole yeeres? Vndoubtedly it was to the end to encrease the Roman Empire, yet was he absent so long. And now behold A- frica draweth him vnto her, being replenished with the alarmes of a threatening war. Spaine recalleth him that repaireth the broken and dispersed troupes of Pompey, per- fidious Egypt call's him forth, and in conclusion the whole world which is intent vpon this occasion of the shaken Empire. Whether shall he march first, against what party shall hee first oppose himselfe. His victory shall drine him thorow all the countries in the world. Let all Nations reuerence and serue him, as for thy selfe finish thy dayes with this content, that thou art much esteemed by *Brutus*. Constantly therefore did *Marcellus* endure his exile, neither did the change of place any waies change his mind, although he were pressed with poeury, wherein there is no euill, as that man knoweth very well, when auarice and dissolution (which ouerturne all things,) haue not as yet ouerturned his vnderstanding. For how little is it, that is necessary for a mans entertainment? hath a vertuous man need of this or that? For mine owne part I finde that I am dispossessed of many incommbran- ces, and not of my goods. The desires of those things whereof the body standeth in need are short, hee demandeth no more but a couering to defence him against the golde, and meate and drinke to extinguish his hunger and thirst. All that a man desireth besides these, serueth but to entertaine excessse, and hath no true vse. It is not necessary to found all depthes, nor to murder so many, beastes to fill the belly, nor to goe and sift for Oysters in forraine and vnknown seas: The Gods and Goddesse may destroy those men, whose dissolution hath exceeded the bounds of the Roman Empire so much enuied. They will haue the fowle of their ambitious Kitchens taken and brought from beyond the floud *Phasis*, which is in the further part of *Asia*, and are not ashamed to send for their dainties from the Parthians: from whence as yet wee haue not de- manded recompence for the wrongs they haue done vs. They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle the gluttonous appetites: that which these decayed stomakes will hardly digest, being glutted with too ma- ny dainties, is brought from the farthest Ocean: they vomit to the end they may eate, they eate to the end they may vomit: they take not time to digest those dainty morsels which they search through the whole world. If a man dis- pise these delicacies, what wrong doth hee to poeury? if a man delice them, poeury likewise profiteth him. Some there are that are not healed but against their wils, and if a poore man being deprived of these dainties, cease not to wish for them, yet vndoubtedly when hee cannot, hee is like to him that will not. *Cæsar* whom Nature as I thinke brought into this world to shew*

Notable con- siderations to pa- cify the fury of exile, whereby set downe vnder the person of Marcellus.

what great vices might doe in a great and worldly prosperitie, spent at one only supper the summe of two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes; and being herein assisted by the wits of his best belly-gods, yet scarcely found he bow he might consume in that one repast all the revenue of three Provinces. O miserable men whose pallets are not pleased but with precious dainties, which are made precious, not by reason of their excellent fauour or any sweetnesse they yeeld the taste, but by reason of their raritie and cunning in dressing. Other wits if they would awaken themselves neuer so little what neede they so many arts to entertaine their bellies? what neede they such traffiques, such defoliation of woods, such fishing of Seas and Riuer? Nature hath furnished in all places sufficient meat for our bodies. But these Countries and places like blinde men they passe ouer, and trauell through all Nations, and saile all Seas, and when as they may satisfie their hunger with a little, they prouoke the same with much.

CHAP. X.

IT pleaseth me to aske: Why rig you and lanch you your ships? Why arme you your hands both against wilde beastes and men? why runne you hither and thither so tumultuously? why heape you riches vpon riches? will you not thinke how little your bodies are? Is it not a desperate furie and extreme folly when as thou canst hold to little, to desire so much? Although therefore you increase your rents, and enlarge the bounds of your lands, yet shall you neuer make your bodies greater. When your traffique hath beene prosperous, your warfare hath brought home rich spoiles, when all the dainties you haue fought for from all places are gathered together: where will you bestow all this prouision? why heape you vp so many things? vndoubtedly your ancestors whose vertues at this time sustayne your vices were vnhappy, who prepared their meat with their owne hands, whose bed was the earth, whose houses as yet shined not with gold, whose temples as yet shined not with precious stones. In these daies they swaie religiously by Gods made of earth, and those that had sworn by such Images returned to the enemy with resolution to die, to the end they would not violate their pledged Faith. By this accompt lesse blessedly liued our Dictator who gaue audience to the Embassadors of the Samnites, at such time as he dressed his homely victuals by the fire with his owne hands. Yea such hands as had already oftentimes defeated the Enemy, and put the crowne of Laurell in the lap of *Iupiter Capitoline*. Better then *Apicius* liued in our memorie, who in the same Citie out of which sometimes Philosophers were commanded to depart, as if corrupters of youth, made profession of the science of gourmandise, and infected the whole age with his discipline, whose death it shall not be amiss to consider and know. After he had gathered together into his Kitchin the summe of two millions and a halfe in gold, after hee had in his particular banquets consumed all the presents that were giuen him by Princes, and the great revenue of the Capitoll, finding himselfe very much in debt, he beganne at that time to consider in what estate his affaires stood, and finding that there remained as yet the summe of two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes, supposing that it was too litle; and that he should be in danger to die for hunger, he killed himselfe by poison. How great was his dissolution that thought

A continuation
of his incontinence
against intemperance.

The frugallitie
and prosperitie
of the ancient
Romans.

thought himselfe poore hauing two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes? Goe now and thinke that the measure in monie and not in minde, is pertinent to the matter.

CHAP. XI.



APICIUS made small reckoning of two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes, and that which other men desire with wilhes, he drove away by poison. But to a man of so deprauid a minde, that last potion was the most hollofome. Then ate hee and drunke he poison, when as he was not only delighted with immeasurable banquets, but gloried therein: when he bragged of his vices, when as he had drawne the whole Citie into admiration of his riot, when as hee had incited the youth (who of themselves are apt enough to follow euill examples) to follow and imitate him: This is the end of those men who keepe no measure in the vse of worldly goods, which notwithstanding haue their bounds, but abuse and follow cuill customes, that hath no limit or rule but his vnbridled will. Couetousnesse thinketh no thing enough, nature is sufficed with a very little. Is pouertie then no incommode to those that are banished? none; for there is no exile so miserable that is not fertile enough to nourish one man. Should not a banished man couet a gowne or a lodging? if hee desireth them only for vse, hee shall neither want house or cloathing: for the body is couered with as little as it is nourished. Nature hath made euery thing easie which thee knew necessarie for a man. If he with for a furre gowne of purple embroidered with gold, composed of diuers colours, and after a rich fashion, hee is poore by his owne default, and not by the rigour of aduersitie. Restore vnto such a man all that hee hath lost, yet shalt thou doe nothing for him, because hee shall want more of that which he desireth thee, a banished man wanteth of all that which he hath had. If hee coueteth a Cubberd garnished with vessell of gold, silver cups of great price, because that long agoe they were laboured by cunning workmens hands, medals made precious by a few mens madnesse, and a troupe of Seruants so great that the house (which otherwaies is spacious) is vnable to containe them; a goodly stable furnished with many fat and gallant Horses, marbels, and other stones of price, brought from all the corners of the World. Let a man gather vp together as many of these things as he can, yet will they neuer satisfie an vnstable minde: no more then all the winter in the world is not sufficient to quench his thirst, that desireth to drinke not to satisfie his neede, but to extinguish the heat proceeding from the inflammation of his entiailes. For this is no thirst but a sicknesse: neither hapneth this only in monie, but in meate also. This is the nature of euery desire that proceedeth from error, not from want: all whatsoever thou shalt heape vp, will but serue to inflame him, not to satisfie him. He then that containeth himselfe within a naturall measure will haue no fence of pouertie, but he that exceedeth this mediocritie in midst of his greatest riches shall alwayes finde that pouertie attendeth him. The most solitarie and barren places suffice those that content themselves with necessarie things, but they that desire superfluitie haue neuer enough although they had whole Kingdomes. It is the minde that maketh men rich, he it is that accompanieth them in exile and in the desert, where finding sufficient to maintaine his bodie he hath goods in abundance, and enioyeth them

Heauily sufficed
intemperance,
he praueth a
gaine that euery
Country hath
enough in it selfe
to nourish him
that misleadeth
the same.
The desire of
worldly goods
is insatiable.

Mediocritie on
the contrary
side is alwaies
and euery
where content.

Whye tuous
men cannot loue
the goods of this
world.

contentedly. Many appertaineth nothing to the mind, no more then all those things which vntrained minde, and too much addicted to their bodies, so much affect, concerne the immortal Gods. Precious stones, gold, siluer, great tables well garnished are but earthly burthens, which a sincere minde, and such as is not forgetfull of his nature cannot loue, because it is alwayes light, and will mount as high as heauen as soone as he findeth the gate open; in the meane while, and in as much as these bonds of the body, and masse of the flesh which inuironeth the same will permit, vpon the wings of a suddain and swift thought he visiteth and raileth celestiall things. And therefore a free-man that is allied to the gods, as great as this world; or time; can neuer be banished: for his thought circlethe the heauens, and examineth both time past and that which is to come. This fraile body, the fetters and giues of the soule, is toiled higher and thither, punishments, thefts, and sickeneses are exercised vpon it. As for the minde, it is sacred and eternall, and hands cannot be laide vpon it.

CHAP. XII.

The fourth fruit
of exile and po-
uertie is, that it
hath no care or
torment of
mind, and con-
trariwise, the
rich are poore
for the most part
of their liues.

Neyther thinke thou that to lessen the incommodities of pouertie (which no man feeleth to be grieuous except he that supposeth it) that I vse only the precepts of Philosophy: first, consider how great the number of poore men is, whom notwithstanding thou shalt not see more peniurise or carefull then the rich; contrariwise, I dare almost auow it, that they are more ioyfull, because their mindes are leste distracted by affairs. Let vs ouer-passe the poore, and com vnto the rich: In the greatest part of their liues resemble they not poore men? If men would trauaile they scandle their burthens, and trusse vp their packes, and as often as necessitie requireth them to make more halt, they ouergoe the troupe, of their companions. They that follow the warres, for the most part carry none of their necessities with them, because that militarie discipline permitteth them not to carrie much luggage. Besides this condition of time, and incommodity of places, which equalleth them with the poore; sometimes they are so glutted with their riches, that some dayes they will contont themselves to suppe vpon the grasse, and will command their vessels of golde and siluer away, and content themselves to be serued in platters and vessels of earth: mad and vnadvised they alwayes feare that which they couet sometimes. What cloude of error, and what ignorance of truth shaddoweth these men, which auoyde that which they imitate to yeelde them pleasure? For mine owne part, as often as I consider the life of our ancestors, I blush and dare not vse the solace that pouerty giueth me, because that dissolution hath gotten so great a head in this time, that at this day banished men haue a greater viaticum, and more commodities then great Princes patrimonie and reuenuues came to in times past. It is well known that Homer had but one seruant, Plato three, and that Zeno the author of that seuer and manly wisdom of the Stoicks had none at all: If any one will therefore say that they liued miserably, wil not he think himselfe a cative & miserable, by reason of this his false opinion? Menenius Agrippa, who made a peace betwixt the Senate and the Romane people, that were ready to assaile one another, was buried at the common charge. Attilius Regulus after hee had ouerthrowne the Carthaginians in Africa, wrote vnto the Senate that his husbandman was dead, by reason whereof his lands were vnmanured, whereupon the

Senate

Diuers exam-
ples of the con-
science of our
ancestors.
See Titus Livi-
us in his second
book, and eigh-
teenth chapter:
Valerius Ma-
ximus in his
fourth book and
fourth chapter.

Senate tooke order as long as Regulus was absent. So much was it to him that he had not a seruant, that the Common-weale of Rome became his husbandman. Scipios daughters were married at the Citie charge, because their father had left them nothings. Truly there was great reason why the people of Rome should pay tribute vnto Scipio once, when as they exacted a tribute from Carthage alwayes: How happy were the husbands of these daughters, who had the Romane people for their fathers in lawe? I thinkest thou them more happy, whose daughters after they had played in the Theatres, had twentie thousand crowns to their marriage, then Scipio was, who from the Senate their Tutor, haue received some small summe of money for their dowry? What man is he that dare disdaine pouertie, that hath so worthy examples? Would a banished man complaine that he wanted this or that, when as Scipio had no money to marry his daughters? Regulus was without a husbandman, Menenius had need of friends to pay for his funerals, and considering that all that which was wanting to those worthy men, hath bene more plentifully ministred vnto them then they had need; so then such Patrons not onely make pouertie le- cure, but also gracious.

CHAP. XIII.

O this it may be answered, Why so artificially discoursest thou on these things, which considered apart may be maintained; but if they be compared cannot? Change of place is tolerable if thou onely change thy place: pouertie is tolerable, if ignominy be taken from it, the which alway is wont to oppresse mens mindes. To him who would terrifie me with a troupe of evils, thus would I answer: If thou haue force enough against euery part of fortune; the like mayest thou haue against all: When vertue hath once hardened the minde it maketh him invincible: If auarice dismisst thee, which is the most violent plague of mankind, ambition will neuer leave thee at rest. If thou beholdest thy last houre, not as a punishment, but as a lawe of nature, into that breast whence thou hast driven the feare of death, there is no feare of any thing that dare enter. If thou thinkest that the honest desires of marriage, was not allotted man to feed his lust, but to encrease his family. He that is not violated with this secret mischiefe infixed in his bowels, euery other desire will ouerpasse and touch him not. Reason not onely ouerturrieth vices one after another, but all of them together: The fight- eth at once, and ouercommeth the enimie at one stroke. I thinkest thou that a wife-man that is grounded in vertue, and estranged from vulgar opinions is shaken by ignominy? Death is more ignominious then one simple ignominy; yet Socrates with the same countenance and resolution entered the prison, wherewith he in times past alone brought the thirtieth tyrants into order; and tooke the ignominy from the place by his entry: for that could not seeme to be a prison whereln Socrates was lodged. What man is he so brutish, that will say or think that Marcus Cato was disgraced, at such time as he demanded the Pretorship, and afterwards the Consulate? It was a disgrace both to the Pretorship and Consulate who were honoured by Cato. No man can be despised by another man, except he first be contemned by himselfe. An humble and abiect minde becommeth subiect to this contumely; but whoeuer encourageth himselfe against these terrible accidents, and ouercommeth those evils where-

An obsequie,
that ignominy
annexed with
pouertie is a
thing very odious

His opinion as
touching death,
proceeding from
the ignorance of
the fall of the
first man.

Examples to
conferme his
answer.

Rrr 3

with

with other hearts are ouerturned, reputeth his afflictions to be his ornaments. When we are thus affected, that nothing moueth more admiration in vs then to see a man courageous in his miseries. *Aristides* was sent by the Athenians, and commanded to be put to death, who made all those hang downe their heads and mourne that saw him in that estate, not as if they had executed a iust man, but iustice her selfe; yet was there one amongst them that spit in his face: this might he haue taken heauily, because he knew that no man that had modestie would haue done it, yet wiped he his face, & smilingly beheld the Magistrate, and said thus, *Admonish this man, that hereafter he open not his mouth so vncleanly.* This were enough to humble outrage it selfe. I know that some will reply, that nothing is so hardly digested as contempt, and that death seemeth more pleasing then the same. To these I answer, that oftentimes exile is exempted from these incommunities. If a man of note fall vpon the ground, yet is he alwayes the same, and as great; neyther is contemned any more, then when as the ruins of sacred Temples are trod vpon, which as well both the religious as the standers by doe adore. Thou canst not therefore finde any want of thy sonne that is taken from thee, whom during his abode with thee, thou neuer thoughtest to appertaine vnto thee.

CHAP. XIII.

Since, most deere mother, thou hast not any occasion in respect of me to afflict thy selfe thus continually, there must be therefore some particular considerations that presse thee thus. But these are two; for eyther thou tormentest thy selfe because thou thinkest that thou hast lost some stay, or because thou canst not endure the sorrow thou sustaineest. I will slightly touch the first consideration, for I know that thy heart loueth nothing in thy children but themselves. Let those mothers, who by their indiscretion breede much discontent in their children that are growne in credite, consider what they doe. Being vnable to execute publique charges, they shew themselves ambitious by their children, they embezzill and spend their reuennues, and by their bables breake their heads who are constrained to giue care vnto them. But for thine owne part thou hast greatly reioyced at the goods that haue befallen thy children, which thou hast neuer had a part of. Thou hast alwayes restrained our liberalitie, when thou hast had no power of thine owne: thou being but the daughter of a family, hast not forborne to bestow thy fauours plentifully vpon thy children that were rich: thou hast administered the goods that our father left vs, as if they had beene thine own, and hast beene as sparing of them as if thou haddest had them to restore them to some strangers: thou hast spared our credite as if thou haddest been to employ such a one that were no wayes allied vnto thee: our estates and honours were but a charge and pleasure to thee, and thou neuer diddest respect vs to enrich thy selfe: thou canst not therefore want thy sonne that is taken from thee, who in his safety neuer thoughtest that he appertaineth vnto thee.

CHAP.

He now cometh to the second point of his discourse, the scope whereof is, that Heluia in regard of her selfe, hath not any occasion to torment her selfe for the absence of her sonne, and that for two principal causes.

CHAP. XV.

All my consolation must be aimed to withstand that, whence the true force of thy motherly sorrow doth arise. I want the embraces of my deare child, I cannot see him, I cannot deuise with him. Where is he, by whose sight I redeemed my sorrow, to whom I communicated all my discontents? Where are his discourses, where with I could not satisfie my selfe? Where are his studies, which I entertained more willingly then a woman, more familiarly then a mother? Where is this meeting, wherein the sonne shewed himselfe ioyfull to behold his mother? Thou wilt adde hereunto the very places where I was wont to reuerence thee, to drinke and eate with thee: the place likewise, whereas we met the last time, which cannot but haue great efficacy to afflict the minde. For this likewise did Fortune most cruelly complot against thee, because that when thou wert secure, and fearedst no such matter, she dared to assault thee three dayes before. I was stricken. We had before times beene fitly separated by distance of places, and our absence during some yeares, had as it were, disposed thee to this affliction: thou camest backe againe vnto me, not to enioy any pleasure or contentment by thy sonne, but to the end thou mightest not lose the good to conuerse and communicate with him. Haddest thou beene separated from him long time before, this assault had not so much vexed thee, because the distance of time might haue allwaged thy sorrowes: if thou haddest not beene seuered from him, thou haddest endured thy losse more contentedly, because thou haddest enioied this last fruit to be yet two daies in thy sons companie. But cruel destiny hath carried the matter in such sort, that thou foundest me not at Rome at such time as I was banished, and arriuedst there incontinently afterwards, to receiue the more grieffe, because I was then vpon departure. But the more furious these assaults are; the more oughtest thou to call thy better resolute vertue to assist thee; and to fight more confidently with thine enemy, which is sufficiently knowne vnto thee, and that heretofore hath beene diuers times defeated by thee. This blood of thy present affliction, is not the first that thou hast lost, thy precedent wounds, as yet vnehealed, haue beene renewed againe.

To remedie his mothers sorrow, the better he specifies the parties, and applieth diuers remedies.

CHAP. XVI.

Thou oughtest not to alleage in thine excuse, that thou art a woman, which is almost permitted to weepe her fill, and yet ought there to be some measure. And therefore our Ancestors allowed them ten moneths space to bewaile their husbands, and in limiting in this sort by their publike ordinance this obdurate sadness of women; they pretended not to hinder their teares, but to bring them to some end. For it is a foolish and unbridled affection in any one to torment himselfe incessantly, for the death of another whom he loueth. As contrariwise not to be moued, is to be reputed to haue a heart both obdurate and inhumane. The best meane that we can obserue betwixt pietie and reason, is to feele some remorse, and afterwards to extinguish the same. There is no reason thou shouldst build vpon certain women, that hauing once begunne to entertaine sorrow,

He confirmeth her by the consideration of other women's infirmities.

row, neuer giue it ouer till death hath made an end of them. Thou hast knowne diuers, that hauing lost their sonnes, haue neuer afterwards put off their mourning garments. The constancie that thou hast alwayes shewed heretofore, requireth somewhat more at thy hands. Such a one as in times past hath appro- ued it to all men, that she was deliuered from all feminine imperfections, can- not allege for her excuse, that she is a woman. Impudicitee, one of the most greatesse euils that raigne in our time, hath not entangled thee amongst diuers others: pearles and precious stones haue not tempted thee; riches, which are esteemed the greatest good in this world, haue not bewitched thine eyes; the dangerous examples wherewith the wicked sort seduce the best haue not di- tracted thee, thou that hast bene well brought vp in a Noble and well ordered Familie, art not alhamed to haue bene fertile, and the mother of diuers chil- dren: as if thou wert vbraided thereby that thou art old. Neuer hast thou ac- cording to the custome of diuers other women, which desire nothing more then to be reputed bewittoll, hidden thy grossnesse, as if it had bene an vn- wishing burthen, neither hast thou made away the fruit of thy wombe, which thou thoughtest thou haddest recieued. Thou hast neuer painted thy selfe, nor taken any pleasure to weare such garments as might discouer thy naked skinne. Modestie is the onely ornament which thou hast esteemed to be most fitting, most seemely, and such as cannot bee indemnified by age. So then thou canst not to the end thou mayest obtaine licence to weepe; pretend the name of a woman, because thy vertues haue separated thee from that ranke. So farre oughtest thou to be estranged from the teares of this sex, as thou art from their imperfections. Women likewise themselves will not permit thee to consueie and submit thy selfe to thy sorrow: but hauing suffered thee to weepe a little, and as much as need requireth, they will make thee rise vp, especially if thou wilt behold those women; who for their excellent vertues, haue bene numbered a- mongst the most famous men. Fortune reduced *Cornelia*, the mother of twelue children, to that passe, that shee had onely two remaining: if thou wouldest count those she had buried, they were ten; if thou wilt estimate them shee had lost, the *Gracchi*, yet expressly forbade those that wept about her, and cursed that vnhappy aduise to accuse Fortune in any sort, which had giuen her the *Gracchi* to her sonnes. By this woman should he be bred, who said vnto a certaine person that declamed before the people: *Speakest thou euill of my mother that bare mee?* But the mothers speech, in my iudgement, is more coura- geous. The sonne made high reckoning of the birth of the *Gracchi*, the mother of their deathea. *Rutilia* followed her sonne *Cotta* into exile, and her loue to- wards him was so true, that shee had rather endure exile then his want; nei- ther returned shee backe againe into her Countrey, before shee returned with her sonne. After his returne, and at such time as her sonne was raised to the great- est honors: she bare his death as constantly as she had followed him, courage- ously; and no man could euer marke that shee let one teare fall from her eyes af- ter he was entered. She made proofe of her vertue at such time as she was be- nished, and of her wisdom, when death drew him out of this world. Nothing hindered her from shewing her selfe charitable, and nothing detained her in a foolish and superfluous sorrow. My desire is that thou shouldst be numbered amongst such women, and because thou hast alwayes imitated their life, bee thou continually most studious and careful to follow their example, and to repress and suppress thy sorrow. I know that the matter is not in our power, and that there is no passion that will bee moderated, and especially not that

He animates
her by worthy
examples.

Afterwards he
counsaileth her
to conquer, and
not to disguise
her passions.

which

which proceedeth from griefe, for it is fierce and rebellious against all remedy: yet will wee in the meane time that it master and swallow up sorrows, and yet notwithstanding permit we teares to streame along a counterfeite and concea- led countenance: wee will endeavour to exercise the mind in labors; or in de- ling the Sword-players skirmish; but amidst all these spectacles that shall de- taine the same, wee are content that a light touch of griefe shall shake the same. It is far better to ouercome the passion then to abuse it: for sorrow with draweth the pleasures of this world, or beguiled by occupations, relieth himselfe, and by the meanes of repose gathereth more greater forces, and with more after- wardes more confidently. But the mind that giueth place to reason, straieth a perpetual repose. But I will not teach thee these remedies which I knowe: di- uers other shauel vied, namely that thou shouldst passe the time in some long voyage, or that thou shouldst sport thy selfe in places of pleasure; or that thou shouldst employ many daies in carefully ouerlooking how thy affaires are car- ried, and to order thy reueneue, or in short that thou shouldst entangle thy selfe alwayes in some new affaires: All these things profite for a short moment, and are not reme dies, but delays of sorrow. For mine owne part I had rather thou shouldst cea se then deceiue thy griefe. I will therefore lead thee thither: whe- ther all they ought to haue recourse, who flee from fortune; that is to Philoso- phy, which will heale thy wound, & plucke out all sorrow from thy mind. Though hitherto thou hast neuer addicted thy selfe thereunto, yet thou must thinke doe it; but thou hast not studied all the liberal sciences, thou hast onely tasted: so much as the ancient severity of my father permitted thee: I could haue wished that my Father (one of the best men in the world) had bene lesse addicted to the fashions of our ancestors, and that hee would haue permitted thee seriou- sly to bee instructed in Philosophy, and not sleightly: now then shouldst thou not haue needed to prepare a remedy against Fortune, but thou shouldst haue excelled therein. As for these that vie good letters, not for wisdomes sake, but rather for ostentation and pride; for their cause hee suffered thee the lesse: to follow thy studies, but by reason of the pregnant witte thou hast apprehended more in a little time then could bee expected. The foundations of all sciences are laide in thee. Returne now vnto these, and thou wilt make thee secure: these will comfort thee, these will delight thee, these if they enter thy mind in good earnest; neuer shall sorrow or solitude; nor the vaine sorrow of superfluous affliction enter into thy heart any more, thy breast shall lie open to none of these, for already is it shutte vpp against all other vices. These are the most assured remedies, and such as can onely deliuer thee from for- tune. But whilst thou hast attained that part which studies promise, thou hast needed of some supports and staies, and therefore in the meane while will I shew thee thy comforts. Behold my brothers who being in security, if it is vi- nall for thee to accuse fortune, thou hast in both to delight thy selfe for their seuerall vertues; the one by his industry hath attained honours; the other hath contented them wisely: content thy selfe in the one of thy sonnes di- gnity, and the others quiet; note the plenty of them both: I know the in- ward affections of my brethren; the one in this respect affecteth dignity, that hee may bee an ornament vnto thee, the other hath retired himselfe to a peace- able and quiet life, onely to attend thee. Fortune hath disposed thy children wel; both for thy succour, and for thy delight; thou maist bee defended by the dignity of the one, and enuy the others retirement. They will contend of- fices towards thee, and the desire of one shall bee supplied by the piety of them both.

A principall re- medy in philosophy and vnderstanding passions to haue recourse to Philosophy, whereunto hee exhorteth his mother.

Particular re- medies, he re- quireth her to consider her o- ther children that continue with her, and de- scribes how be- neficiall they be- come, and plea- sure they bring, enuoy- ed by their gra- titude.

both. I dare boldly promise thee, thou shalt want nothing but the number: From these behold my Nephewes likewise, *Marcus* that pretty wanton lad, at whose sight all sorrow must be banished, there is nothing so great, nothing so newly, impressed in any mans breast, which hee by his wanton dalliance will not lenise, whose teares will not his pleasures suppress: whose mind except hee wholly contracted by care, will not his merry and witty jests make joyfull: Who will not bee drawne to delight by beholding his wantonnesse, who though wholly fixed and deuoured in thoughts, would not bee delighted by his pretty prattle, and so pleasing that neuer wearyeth any man? I beseech the Gods to grant him long life amongst vs. Let all the wearied cruelty of the Fates bespit and spent vpon me, let all my mother should grieve for, be transferred to me, or what afflicts my grandmother, afflict me. So the rest may flourish in their accustomed estate, I shall not complaine of mine owne solitude and condition. Let mee onely be the expiation of the family, that hereafter shall liue in repose. Keepe in thy lappe my *Rapistilla* that shall shortly make thee a great Grandmother with that affection I appropriated and made her mine owne, that hauing lost me, shee might seeme to bee an Orphan, although I am now liuing. Loue her I pray thee for my sake: Fortune of late hath taken her father from her, thy piety may effect this that shee shall only haue cause to bewaile the death of her mother, and yet notwithstanding shall haue no sence of this losse. Now fashion her mind, and then her manners. Precepts take best hold when they are imprinted in tender yeeres. Let her accustome her selfe to your speeches, let her conforme her selfe according to thy manners, shou shalt giue her much, although thou giue her nothing but thy example. This so lolemne an endeavour will serue for a remedy, nothing can diuert a mind that is piously sorrowfull, but eyther reason or honest occupation. I should number thy Father likewise amongst thy great comforts, but that hee is absent: but now, be thine selfe by thine owne affection what concerneth him, and thou shalt vnderstand how far iuster a thing it is that thou art referred for him, then bestowed vpon me. As often as immoderate force of sorrow shall inuade thee, and shall command thee to follow him, thinke vpon thy father; in giuing him so many Nephewes and Nephewes children, thou hast brought to passe that thou art not alone. Meane while thou enioyest this honour, that thou hast happily finished the courie of thy life, and as long as hee liueth, it is vnlawfull for thee to complaine that thou liuest.

CHAP. XVII.

Ec had I almost concealed thy greatest solace, thy sister that hath alwayes been so faithfull vnto thee, in whose bosome thou hast familiarly discharged all thy sorrowes; and who hath shewed towards vs all an affection of a mother: thou hast mingled thy teares with hers, and thou first breathedst in her mouth. Shee alwayes followeth thine affections, and yet in my behalfe shee grieveeth not so much for thee. By her hands was I brought into this City, by her pious and motherly nursing, I recovered after a long and dangerous sickness, shee employed her credite to make me Quæstor. And whereas shee blushed if any one should haue spoken to her, or saluted her with a lower voyce, shee was not ashamed to goe and speake with diuers seuerall men in my behalfe, neither could her retired

course

Steadily, her Father.

Thirdly, her sister, whose vertues and constancy she commends.

course of life, neyther her modesty (in so great petulancy of Country women) neither her quiet, neither her secret and inclined maner, aiming at nothing more then apostle, detain her from showing her selfe ambitious in my behalfe. This deare mother is a solace whereby thou must bee comforted, as much as in thee lyeth ioyne thy selfe to her, and tie thy selfe to her strict embraces: They that are in sorrow are wont to flee those things which most they loue, and to seeke a liberty for their sorrow: but see that thou both retire thy selfe, and whatsoeuer thou thinkest vnto her, whether thou wilt keepe this habite, or lay it aside, with her thou shalt finde, eyther a companion, or an end of thy sorrow. But if I be not deceiued in the widome of this most perfect woman, shee will not suffer thee to consume thy selfe in fruitlesse lament, and will propale thee her owne example, whereof I my selfe was a witness. Hauing bene married young, shee lost her husband, and our vncle vpon the sea, yer in the mean while, & at the same time shee endured her sorrow and feare, and afterwards escaping from the storme shee solemnized his funerals. O how many worthy actions of women are buried in obscurity, if this woman had liued in the time of our ancestors, who with a pure affection honoured their vertues how many braue spirits should haue enforced themselves to extoll a woman, who without any apprehension of her weaknes, neither feared windes, neither letted by waues, exposed her selfe to all hazards to bury her husband, and thinking of his obsequies, had not any thought at all of her owne? The Poets haue enobled *Alevis*, that hazarded her life to ransom her husband from death. But this is more, to search with the expence of her owne life a Tombe for her husband: the greater is the loue that redeemeth by eminent danger that which seemeth to be little. Furthermore, is not this a thing worthy of admiration that during the space of fixeteene yeeres, in which her husband was gouernour of *Aegypt*, shee was neuer seene in the street, neither suffered shee any of that Prouince to enter her house; shee demanded nothing at her husbands hands, neither suffered any other to entreat ought else at her handes: by reason whereof this Prouince so talkatiue and ingenuous to defame their gouernours, wherein diuers hauing carried themselves honestly, haue notwithstanding bene accused of euill conversation, reuerenced thy sister as the onely example of sanctity, and enforcing their owne natures which is to take pleasure in stying whatsoeuer become of it, earnestly contained their tongues, and although they hoped not quier to haue had such a Gouernesse, yet wished shee the like dayly. It was much for her to make her selfe knowne in *Aegypt* in fixeteene yeeres space, but it was farre more to controule her selfe so long. I recount not these things to the end to rippe vp the prayles of this woman, for to represent them so briefly, is to diminish them; but to the end that thou mayest vnderstand that shee is a woman of a great mind: whom neither ambition, nor auarice (the companions and plagues of all humane creatres) could ouercome, neither the apprehension of death, affrighted so much (although shee saw the ship disarmed and ready to sinke) but that holding her dead husband embraced in her armes, shee fought out, not the meanes to escape, but how she might bury his body. The like resolution oughtest thou to show, and retire thy minde from sorrow, and behaue thy selfe so that man may not thinke that thou repentest this that thou hast brought me into this world, but because it is needfull when as thou hast done all things, yet that they should now and then reflect vpon me, neither that any of thy children should be more frequent in thy memory, not because they are lesse deare vnto thee, but because it is a natural thing

The Heroicall vertues of Heluia sister.

For conclusion, and for this last consolation, shee saith that Heluia hath no occasion to bee sad, because her former enioyment is singular contentment in minde in his exile.

thing to lay thy hands more often on that which is aggrieved. Behold, what thou oughtest to thinke that I am: I am ioyfull and merry, as if all my affaires were in the best estate of the world, and so they be, because my mind being discharged of all cares, imployeth it selfe in those actions that are proper vnto it, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in more pleasing studies, and sometimes being greedy to discover the truth, disposeth and causeth himselfe to, consider both mine owne nature, and the disposition of the whole world. First hee taketh a review of all Countries, and leareth out their situations. Afterwards he considereth the sea that circleth them round about, and the ebbes and floates of the same; then regardeth he all that which is maruellous, and dreadfull in the heavens and earth, that is to say, this great space, wherein the noyse resoundeth of so many thunders, of so many lightnings of contrary winds, of ouerflow of waters, of snowes and haile. And hauing trauelled through these low places, he ascendeth more high to enioy the sight of more diuine things, and remembering himselfe of eternitie, he examineth all that which either hath beene, or shall bee in all ages.

The End of the Booke of Consolation.

OF



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

Hee handleth that part of naturall Philosophie in these books, which is called *metaphysica*, that is the discourse of Meteors, because for the most part it intreateth of sublime matters, and those things that are betwixt heauen and earth; yet intreateth he of the motion of the earth, as also of floods and waters; but in this respect, because they haue their beginning or cause from spirit or ayre, and in the regard thereof haue some relation to sublime nature likewise. These books are both excellent and learned; I will not say more better, yet more plentiful then ARISTOTLES are vpon this argument, and such as he wrote when he was very olde, about that time when he wrote his Epistles. They are therefore fitly annexed in this place. This appeareth by diuers places, where he maketh mention of his olde age, where he speaketh of CAIUS BALBELLVS, who was Prefect of Egypt vnder NERO, but most manifestly in the beginning of his sixth booke, where he speaketh of that earth-quake which shooke Campania, when as VIRGINIVS and MEMMIVS were Consuls. And these were some two yeares before SENECAES death.

THE PREFACE.

AS much difference as there is (most vertuous Lucilius) betwixt Philosophie and other Arts, so much suppose I that there is betweene that part of Philosophie that concerneth men, as the other that concerneth the gods. This is more high and courageous; it giueth it selfe a larger scope, and not content with that which the discouereth by the eyes, suspecteth that there is somewhat more greater and more fairer, which Nature hath locked from our sight. In briefe, there is as much difference betwixt the one and the other, as between God and man. The one teacheth what is to be done vpon earth, the other what is done in heauen.

SCC

The

*The difference
betwixt Philo-
sophy and other
sciences, and be-
twixt that which
is naturall and
the other that is
morall.*

The one discussth our errors and minisreth vs light, whereby we may discern the doubtful things in this life: the other raiseth vs above that gulf of obfuscitie wherein we were confounded, and having redeemed vs from thence, bringeth vs thither where this brightnesse shineth. Verily I then praise and giue thanks vnto nature when I behold her, not by this meane, which is publique, but when as I haue euered her secrets. When I learn what the matter of the world is, who is the author and conferrer thereof, what God is, whether he be wholly intended in the contemplation of himselfe, or whether sometimes he haue a care of vs, whether he doe any thing daily, or whether he hath done it at once, whether he be a part of the world, or the world, whether it be in his power to ordaine something to day, and to derogate somewhat from fatall destinie, whether it should be a diminution of his maiestie, and confession of his error, to haue made things that should be subiect to change: for it is necessary since that nothing can please him that is not perfectly good, that those things which please him should be alwayes the same; and yet for all this is he no lesse free and powerfull, for he is necessitie himselfe. If I were not admitted to the knowledge of these things, there was no necessity why I should be borne: for what cause had I why I should be glad if I am numbred and placed amongst the liuing? What to swallow downe and digest meate and drinke? what to glut this fraile and decaying body that must perish, except it be interchangeably nourished? or to liue a slave to infirmities, or to feare death, whereunto we are all of vs borne? If thou take away from life this inestimable good, it is not so much worth as to be sweat or laboured for. O how contemptible a thing is man except he raise himselfe above humane things! As long as we struggle with affections, what doe we that deserueth praise? Although we get the upper hand, yet overcome we but monsters. What cause haue we to boast of our felues because we are vnlike the worst men of the world? I see not why he should take pleasure in himselfe that is stronger then a sicke man. There is great difference betwixt strength and good health. Thou hast escaped from the vices of the minde; thou art no hypocrite, nor flatterer, nor double, nor soyled with uauice, which denieth her selfe that, which she hath taken from all men, nor grounded in dissolution, which spendeth his goods and money basely, and getteth them likewise most villainously; neyther trauailed with ambition, which will not leade thee to dignity but by indignities. Thou hast yet gotten nothing, thou hast escaped many mens hands, but not thine owne. For that vertue which we affect is magnificent, not because it is blessed thing of it selfe to haue wanted euill, but because it freeth the minde, and prepareth it to the knowledge of heavenly things, and maketh it worthy to come and accompanie God. Then enioyeth the minde the consummate and complete good of humane condition, when as (tredding all euill vnder foot) he flieth to heauen and nestleth in the secret bosome of nature. Then taketh he delight in wandering amidst the starres, to laugh at the pauements of the rich, and to deride the earth with all her golde, not only that I meane which the hath deliuered out and giuen to make money of, but that also which the keepeth close hidden, to content the auarice of prosperitie. He cannot contemne the porches, nor the house beames that are burnished with Iuory, nor the groues planted vpon the tops of hilles, nor the riuers drawne and conuayed throw chambers before he hath circled the whole world, and beholding the globe thereof from above, small and for the most part couered with the Sea, and in that place where it discovereth it selfe, hugely desart, and cyther burnt or frozen, without saying to him-

Happy is contemplation if it be rightly gouerned.
This is wealth and altho possessor of the world.

himselfe: Is this, that point that is diuided amongst so many Nations by ligs and sword? O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men? Is not the Dane passe beyond the riuer of Rhene? Strimo include the Iudians, let Euphrates bound the Parthians, Danubia separate the Samaritans, and the Rhene let Rhene border Germany, the Pyrenean mountaines raise the bounds betwixt France and Spaine, let the desolate vastnesse of lands diuide the part from the Ethiopians. If we should giue humane vnderstanding vnto Ants, would not they likewise diuide a lile Mole-hill of earth into Kingdomes? As thou hast raised thy selfe to those things that are truly great, as often as thou shalt see whole armies marching with displayed engines, and as if there were some great matter in hand, the horse-men now following and discovering before, now flanking the battell, thou mayest freely say,

The blasphe Squadron trottest through the Planets.

All this is but a businesse of Ants that labour in a Mole-hill. What difference is betwixt them and vs, except it bein the measure of their little bodies? It is but a point wherein you faile, wherein you goe on war fare, wherein you dispose Kingdomes, yea and a very little once a man consider the Ocean, that beginneth in on euery side. About these there are spacious expanse, into the possibleness whereof the minde is admitted. If hee being with him a very little of the bodie, if he be cleansed from all ordure, and being expedite and light, and contented with a little, he hath shined in these lower parts. When he attaineth to the higher, he is nourished, he increaseth, and being as it were purged from homedage, returneth to his originall. And this argument hath receeued his dismille, that he is delighted in diuine things, not as stranger to him, but as his owne. He lecturely beholdeth the rising and setting of the Planets, and the different courses of so accordant creatures. He diligently obserueth where euery starre beginneth to rise, and lend her selfe light to the world, where her Zenith is, what way she shapeth her course, and how farre she descendeth. Like a curious obseruer he examineth and debateth on euery point, why should he not enquire, he knoweth that they appertin to him. Then endurement he the straightnesse of his former houle, for how farre is it from the wind bein the Poop, and Spain and the Indies? It is layed in a few dayes if the wind bein the Poop, and prosperous. But that celestiall Region furthest a way from thirty yeares space to the swift Planet, that neuer sayeth his strength on his course with equal swiftnesse. There at length he reacheth he that which he hath long sought for. There he beginneth to know God, what is God. The mind of the Minde. What is God? Altho the world and all that therein is, for as length he attaineth his greatness, then when he greatest strength he is brought to the alone beall and holdeth his worke both with our earth and in the sky. But difference then is there betwixt the minde of God and our minde. Our minde part in the minde in him no part is without the minde, but hee all round is in the minde. Our minde is so dulle as to conceive that the world is a thing that is in the minde, by beanie, in disposition, in our minde is a small thing that is in the minde, by chance; for that is in the minde is a small thing that is in the minde, by chance, and other such noyous fancies. The world is a thing that is in the minde, this is folly onely pregnant among the common people, and least of all in the minde. Philosophers like wise haue beene much troubled with this error, and yet they think that they haue gained knowledge, such as that, in the minde is a small thing that is in the minde.

S F F 2

What a vertuous man should be that enueth the fruits of vertue.

The affairs of the world are trifles.

A greatly defective opinion of euill.

The argument of avarice is a contemptible thing.

The world is a great stage, and the minde is a small part of it.

The world is a great stage, and the minde is a small part of it.

The supernaturall Philosophie of the Stoicks.

The vse of this discourse.

Of the Meteors of fire.

Lib. II. Meteor. cap. 4.

They were called Goats, by reason they had some resemblance of little beards hanging on them.

Whether extraordinary Meteors are fore-tokens of things to come.

every thing, both his owne and others: but that this vniuerse wherein likewise we are, is void of counsaile, and either is transported with a certaine temeritie, or by Nature, that knoweth not what she doth. How profitable is it, I thinke it thou, to know these things, and to prefixe limits vnto Science? To know how much God can, whether he formeth his owne matter, or vseth that which is giuen him, whether the Idea was before the matter, or the matter the Idea. If God maketh all that which he willett, or if in diuers things there faileth him somewhat to worke vpon, or if diuers things are kindly formed by their great work-master, not because his art causeth, but because the matter wherein he is exercis'd, is not oftentimes conformable to his workmanship. To examine these things, to learne these things, to search the secrets of these things: is not this to exceed his mortality, and to be translated into a better estate? What faileth thou will these things profit thee, if they further mee in nothing else, of this I rest assured, that all things are too little. But of this hereafter.

CHAP. I.



BE now let vs come to our intended purpose. Heare that which Philosophie teacheth, as touching those fires that the ayre driueth outwardly. It is a signe that they are driven by great force, because they are carried side-long, and by a violent swiftnesse. It appeareth that they goe not, but that they are forced. And of these fires there are diuers formes. *Aristotle* calleth a certaine kind of these Goats. If thou askest me why, thou must first of all giue me a reason, why they are called yong Kids. But if

we be agreed vpon the name, as it is expedient, let none of vs examine one another, what this or that man saith. It shall be better to examine what the thing is, then to wonder at it, why *Aristotle* called a globe of fire that is in the aire a Goat. Such was that which appeared as great as the bodie of the Moone, when *Paulus Æmilius* made warre against *Perseus*. And we our selues haue oftentimes seene a flame in forme as great as a pillar, which notwithstanding in the verie course thereof was scattered. About the time that *Cæsar Augustus* died, we sawe like Meteor, and prodigie: we sawe the like, when *Scdanius* was aduenged to death; neither was *Germanicus* death vnaccompanied with the like prodigie. Thou wilt say vnto me, Art thou then so badly taught, as to thinke that the gods send some predictions of death, and that there is any thing so great on the earth, that the heauens should foresee the end? Wee shall finde another time for this matter: meane while we will see if all things be deduced by certaine order, and the one so infolded in the other, that that which goeth before, is either the cause of those things that follow, or the signe. We will see whether the gods haue care of humane affaires, or whether the order of things discovereth by certaine markes, that which ought to be done. Meane while, I thinke that these fires are assembled by a vehement agitation of the ayre, when as the inclination thereof hath extended it selfe towards one part, and hath not giuen place, but sought within himselfe. From this encounter and enterhooke of the ayre arise these pillars, these globes, these flashings. But when the ayre assemblenth

assemblenth more mildly and remaineth shur, there issue diuers impressions of fire farre lesser, and these crinite and bearded comets haue their originall, then the fires that are lesse thicke marke out their way, which appeareth not very much, which they extend in the heauen, in such sort as there passed none a night, wherein a man may not see such impressions in the ayre, because there needeth no great agitation to create them. To speake in a word, these impressions haue the same considerations, as lightnings, yee are they caused which lesse force. Euen as clouds being but indifferently broken one vpon another, cause flashes, and being impelled with greater force, breed lightnings. *Aristotle* yeeldeth this reason. The globe of the earth exaleth diuers vapours, some moist, and some drie, some cold, and some other hot, and fit to be enflamed: neither is it to be wondered at, that so many different vapours issue from the earth, since in the heauens there appeare diuers colours, but some more fierce, as the ferie rednesse of the Dog-starre, some more remisse, as that of *Mars*; some none at all, as that of *Iupiter*, but a pure and cleare shining. It must therefore needs be, that in this so great abundance of exhalations, that mount from the earth into the ayre, there must some aliments of fire be raised to the clouds, that might fall on fire by reason of their enterhooke, but also by the assistance of the beams of the Sonne. For with as likewise we see that straws that are besprinkled with brimstone, draw vnto them fire that is distant from them? 'Tis likely therefore to be true, this matter gathered together within the clouds, is as easily kindled, and that the fires are great or little, according as the vapours haue bene feeble or strong. For this were a foolish thing to imagine that the starres fall, or that they rise and mount againe, or that any thing is taken away or separated from them: because if this were so, by little and little there should be no more starres, they should faile. For there is no night whatsoeuer, during which a man seeth not diuers starres, that seeme to shooote forward or backward. But contrariwise, every one of them is found in his accustomed place, and every one continueth in their proportion. It followeth therefore, that these fires live engendred beneath these starres, & continue not long time, because they neither haue foundation nor certaine place. Why therefore likewise are they not transferred by day? What if I say that the starres are not by day, because they appeare not? Such as these remaine hidden, and obscured by the light of the Sun, so the Meteors of fire runne in the ayre, as well by day as by night, but the brightnesse of the day hindereth our eyes from beholding them. Notwithstanding, sometimes the matter whereof they are composed is so abundant and bright, that they are manifestly discouered euen in the day-time. In our age we haue oftentimes seene diuers fires in the day-time, the one gliding from the East to the West, the other from the West to the East. The Mariners thinke it to be a signe of a tempest, when as many starres shooe; but if there be a sight of wind, it is there where the windes are, that is, in the ayre, which is in the midst betwene the Moone and the Earth. In a vehement tempest there appeare certaine fire or starres that sit vpon the sailes, and at that time those that are in danger doe suppose that they are assisted by the god-heads of *Cæsar* and *Pollux*. And their cause of better hope is, because already the tempest seemeth to be allayed and the windes calmed. Sometimes these fires are carried, sometimes they are settled. When as *Gilippus* trauelled towards *Syracusa*, hee saw a Star that settled it selfe vpon his lance. In the Roman Campe, in some mens iudgement, there appeared certain darts, as if see by fire by reason of fire of the ayre that fell on them, which oftentimes after the manner of lightnings, are wont to blake both men and trees.

So f f

But

The fires called Cæsar and Pollux. They were Iudiciaries, some by Leads, who for their great valour and cunning by sea were reputed gods.

Of falling fires.

But if they descend with a lesser force, yet slippe they downe and settle themselves without doing any hurt, or inflicting any wound. Some of these breake thorow the clouds, some other in faire weather, if the ayre be fit to enkindle. For sometimes it thundereth in faire weather, vpon the same cause as it doth in close and troubled aire, which is by reason of the collision of the aire within it selfe, which although it be clearer and drier, yet can meet together, and make some bodies that are like vnto clouds, which by incountrie found and make a noise: sometimes therefore there are diuers pillars made, and sometimes shields, and images of vast fire, when as the like, but greater cause falleth vpon such matter.

Of thunders.

CHAP. II.

Of the circles
and crowns that
appeare about
the Sunne and
Moone.
Albert. lib. Me-
teorolog. tract. 4.
cap. 8.



Et vs now see whence that light is made that enuironeth the Planets. It is reported that vpon the same day that Augustus returned from Apollonia and entered Rome, there was seene a certaine circle of diuers colours about the Sunne, after the manner of a Rain-bow. The Grecians call this *Halo*, and we may properly call it a *Crowne*. I will endeavour to expresse whence the cause herof is. When as a stone is cast into a Fish-pool, we see that the water maketh diuers circles, whereof the first is small, the second more great, the others consequently greater, untill the force of the stroke be vanished, and that the water be settled as it was before. Let vs suppose that some such matter is done in the ayre, which becoming more thicke may receiue an impression, by the meanes of the brightnesse of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or of some Star, the which enforcing it selfe against the Sunne, constraineth it to retire, and to fall in circles. For humiditye and ayre, and all that which taketh forme by reuerberation, is impelled into the habitude of that thing that impelleth the same. But all light is round, by meanes whereof it must needs be, that the aire beaten backe by this brightnesse, must shew it selfe in the same forme. And therefore it is that these shining circles are by the Grecians called *Arae*, because that the places that are ordained to throsse come in, are round for the most part. But we thinke not that these, either *Arae*, or Crownes, are caused neere vnto the Moone, or the Sunne, or other celestiall bodies, for they are few of them, although they seeme to begitt and crowne them. This impression is made not farre off from the earth, but our eyes being decieued by their ordinarie imbecillitie, thinke that it is placed iust about the star. But no such thing may be done neere vnto the Sun or the stars, because the etheriall region is thin and transparent. It is in grosse and thicke bodies, that such impressions are accustomed to be made, neither can they take footing in subtle and thin bodies. We see I know not what such like as these impressions about our Iambs in the stoue, by reason of the obscuritie. They are made for the most part at such times as the Southerne winde bloweth; when as the skie is covered and obscured. Sometime by little and little they are dispersed and vanish, sometimes they breake in some part, and from thence the Sallers expect the winde where the flame first appeareth. For if it faile to the Northward, a Northerly winde will follow, if to the Westward, a Westerly, which is an Argument that in that part of the Heauens these crownes are made, where ordinarily the windes are engendered: But the higher Region of the aire hath none of these circles, because the Windes are lodged vnder it.

In what region
of the aire.

In what time.

vnder it. To these Arguments adde this likewise, that a crowne is neuer gathered there, but where the aire is settled and still. Otherwise it is neuer seene. For the aire that is settled may be pulsed, extended, and moulded into some forme, but that which is agitated cannot receiue impression of the light, for it is not formed, neither reuieth, because every first part and portion thereof is scattered and hath no stay. And therefore neuer shall we see any Planes whatsoeuer crowned, except when the aire is thicke, and calme, by means whereof it is capable to conferre the line which in appearance begireth his round brightnesse, and not without cause. For call againe to thy remembrance the example I proposed thee a little before. The stone that is cast into a fish-pool, or a lake, or any settled water, maketh innumerable circles, and this it doth not in a River. Why? Because the water that flieth thus quickly, giueth not any leisure or meanes to the stone to forme any figure. The same therefore falleth out in the aire, for that which is settled may receiue any impression, but that which flieth and runneth away swiftly, is incapable of forme, and dispereth every where that would approach it if it staid. These circles being scattered by little and little, and as it were confounded in themselves, expresse the stillnesse, repose, and tranquillitie of the aire, and if they scatter but on one side the winde cometh from thence: if they be opened in diuers places some forme will follow. How this cometh to passe, it may be vnderstood by those things which I haue declared already. For if the whole face of the circle vanish, it appeareth that the aire is moderate, and consequently still and peaceable: if it be cut off but on one side, we see that the aire is shaken on that side that is opened, and that from the same the winde will blow. But when it is disperised in every part, it is a signe that it is assailed diuers waies, and that the aire stirreth it selfe from one side to another. By meanes whereof it appeareth that a storme is at hand, and that there will be some combat of the windes by reason of this inconstancie of the aire, that whirleth and turneth it selfe thus from all parts. These crownes, for the most part appeare about the Moone in the night time, and are noted about the other stars, but seldom by day: so that some of the Grecians haue denied that they are at all, whereas Histories reprove and confute them. But the cause of this raritie is this in that the light of the Sunne is more strong, and the aire it selfe being agitated by the same, and being hot is lesse thicke. But the power of the Moone is more feeble, and therefore is it more easily sustained by the aire that inuironeth the same, and because that the other celestiall fires being feeble cannot by their beames breake or scatter the aire, that excludeth and driue away from him the brightnesse that is lent him, neither so thin and attenuate that it giueth not any meanes to the beames that beat vpon it to stay with him. This temperature properly falleth out by night, when as the starres reflect vpon the same by their brightnesse, not violent or forcible, the aire gathereth together and formeth these circles, because it is more thicke then in the day time.

CHAP. III.

Of the Raine-bow, the cause and forme thereof, and why it appeareth not by night.



Contrariwise, the Raine-bow is neuer made by night, except very seldome, because the Moone hath not so much force to trauele and colour the clouds as the sunne hath. For thus make they the forme of the discoloured Raine-bow: Because some parts in the clouds are more swelling, other some more submisse, some thicker then that the sunne beames may be able to pierce them; other some so thin that they passe quite thorow them. This inequality mixeth together this shadow and this brightnesse, and maketh this wonderfull varietie in the Raine-bow. There is another reason giuen of this Raine-bow; We see that when a Pipe is broken in any place, that the water bubbleth forth by a little cracke; and if the sunne beateth obliquely vpon this water, it representeth the diuers colours of the Raine-bow. The same shalt thou see fall out, if at any time thou wilt obserue a fuller, when as he hath lightly filled his mouth with water, and besprinketh his cloth that is stretched on the Tenters. In this ayre besprinkled with water there appeareth diuers colours, such as we see in the Arke. Doubt thou not but the cause hereof is in the humour: for the Raine-bow is neuer seene except it be in rainie weather. But let vs examine how it is made: Some say that there are certaine drops of water, beaten backe by the sunne and the clouds, so thicke as the brightnesse cannot pierce them, in such sort that from these drops there proceedeth a shining, and from the thicke cloudes a shadow; by means whereof, and by this incounter the Raine-bow is made: one part wherof, which receiue the sunne, is shining, the other that repulseth the same, and hath made a shadow of it selfe to the neighbouring clouds, is more obscure. Others there are that are not of this opinion. For this might seeme true, if the Raine-bow had but only two colours, and it consisted of light and shadow.

*But we although that colours infinite
Shine in this Arch, yet maketh there light
Is so conioyn'd, as it deceiues the sight,
Because their meetings are not knowne aright:
For that which toucheth is the same vnite,
And yet the brinks are partie coloured quite.*

Of the colours of the Arch.

We see in it I know not what yellowesse, rednesse, greene, blew, and other colours, drawne after the manner of subtil lines, as the Poet saith, that whether they be different colours thou canst not know, except thou conferre those of the one side with those of the other; for their conjunction and assemblance blemisheth and dazeleth the eyes: and therein is shewed the admirable worke of Nature, because that that which began with things that were alike, endeth different. To what purpose therefore serue these two colours of light and shadow, whereas a reason is to be yielded of innumerable sorts. Som think that the Raine-bow is made thus: they say that in that part where it raineth, euery drop of the falling raine is a feuerall mirror, that representeth the sunne, then that this great and infinite number of images long, large, and hollow, come and ioyned and mixe themselves together; so that the Raine-bow is an assembly of diuers mirrours or representations of the same. To proue this, beholde

what

what they allege: If in a faire and cleere day you set a thousand Basons in the Sunne, all of them feuerally represent his countenance. Purme a drop of water vpon euery leafe of a tree, each one of these drops will haue in it selfe the resemblance of the Sunne; but contrariwise a great standing poole representeth but one Sunne. Why? Because all this limited plainnesse that hath his brinks, cannot be but one mirror: but if thou makest partitions, and distinguishest by diuers walls a huge and mighty Fish-poole, so many images shalt thou haue of the Sunne as there are feuerall lakes. Leaueth that Fish-poole intire and one as it was, thou shalt obserue but one sunne. It is no great matter whether the drop of water be small, or the Fish-poole narrow; if it hath brimmes it is a mirror of the sunne. So then these infinite drops of water, carried by the raine that falleth, are as many mirrors, and haue as many faces of the sunne. These appeare confus'd to him that looketh against them, and seeth not their distances, because the space suffereth him not to distinguish the same. Furthermore, in stead of so many faces there appeareth but one confus'd and compos'd of all. Aristotle is of the same opinion: From all that (saith he) that is light and thin, the sight repealeth vnto it selfe his beames, but there is nothing lighter then ayre or water; and therefore the radiations of our eyes returne from the thicke ayre backe againe vnto vs. But if the sight be feeble and infirme, it falleth vpon the least shooke that the ayre yeeldeth it. Some are troubled with this infirmite, that they themselves seeme to meet themselves, and euery where they behold their owne image. Why? Because the weaknesse of their sight cannot penetrate the ayre that is nearest them, but stayeth short; so that whatsoeuer the fogges effect in others, euery ayre worketh in these. Euery ayre how thin soeuer it be, hath power enough to repulse a weake sight; yet more easily may a thicke ayre reflect backe againe vnto vs our sight, because it cannot be pierced, but stayeth the beames of our eyes, and repelleth them backe againe from whence they came. So then, since there are diuers drops of water, they are as many mirrours; but by reason of their smalnesse they represent only the colour, and not the forme of the sunne. Moreover, when as one and the same colour is impress'd in the infinite of drops, that fall without intermission, it beginneth to be a face, not of many different images, but of one that is long and continued. How cometh it to passe (saith some one) that thou tellest me that there is so many thousand of images here, where I see not one? And since the sunne is all of one colour, why are these images thus diuers coloured? To answer thee hereunto, and to other such obiections, I must tell thee that there is nothing more incertaine then our sight, not only in those things which it is hindered from seeing exactly, by reason of this diuersitie of colours, but also in those things which the discourereth hard at hand. A Water-mans Gate being plunged into a little cleere water, seemeth either broken or crooked, although it be straight. Apples seeme greater to those that looke vpon them thorow a glasse. The pillars in long Galleries seeme to be ioyned together, although there be a distance betwixt euery one of them. Returne againe to the sunne it selfe, be whom reason approacheth to be greater then the whole world, our eye hath so contracted; that some wise men contend that it hath but a foote of Diameter. We knowe that he runneth with a swiftnesse surpassing all swiftnesse, yet none of vs perceiue any motion; neither would we beleue that he had kept on his course except it were apparant that he moueth: There is none of vs that can obserue the course of the heauens, turning with a headlong and incredible swiftnesse, in such sort, that in the twinkling of an eye hee causeth in diuers clymaxes of the world,

The opinion of Aristotle as touching the colours in the Arch.

Of the diuers colours in the Arch.

red plumes shine and sparkle: shall wee therefore say, that these feathers are Mirrors, who vpon euery inclination of the head, present new colours; as much correspondence haue the cloudes with mirrors as those birds I tolde you, and the Camellions and other kind of Creatures, who of themselves change their colours, as often as either wrath or desire of generation maketh them spread a humour which giueth a new tincture to the skin, or that they receive this colour by reuerberation of the light according as it beateth vpon them directly, or obliquely. What resemblance is there betwixt mirrors and cloudes? mirrors are not transparent, but thicke and of one peece, and matter: contrariwise brightnesse traueseth the clouds, which are thin, composed of confused matter, by means whereof they cannot remaine long times tied together, but the one of them destroyeth the other. Besides, wee see a part of the heauen that is red, when the Sunne riseth, and sometimes wee see cloudes that are coloured like fire. What letteth then but as they receive this colour by the actuall and encounter with the Sunne, so also they should draw diuers colours, although they haue not the same efficacy as a mirror hath? Thou saidst not long since, (will some man say) that the Rainebow is alwayes made by the opposition of the Sunne, because a mirror could not represent a face, if it were not set opposite against the Sunne. Herein, faith he, wee are aggrieved. For euen as wee ought to set before the mirror the thing whose image wee would haue the glasse to represent: so is it needfull that the Sunne beames should beate directly vpon the clouds, and that they should bee neare him to contract colour. This is their allegation, who would pretend that a cloud is coloured. *Poſidonius* and they that thinke that a cloud is as a mirror, answer thus. If there were any colour in the Rainebow it would continue, and it should be seene the more manifestly, the more neerer wee were vnto it: But now the image of the Arch appeareth best when it is furthest of, the more it neereth vs, the sooner it dieth. I cannot giue way to this contradiction, when as I approue the sentence. Why? I will tell you; because the cloud is coloured, but so that the colour thereof appeareth not euery wayes; for the cloud it selfe appeareth not euery where; for no man seeth the cloud wherein he is. What wonder then is it, that the colour thereof is not seene vnto him, by whom (shee her selfe is not seene?) yet although shee bee not seene, shee is; and consequently shee hath colour. So it is not an argument of a false colour, because that in drawing neere vnto the same, shee ceaseth to appeare the same as shee was before, for the like falleth out in the cloudes themselves, which are not therefore false, because they are not seene. Furthermore, when it is tolde thee, that the cloud is straked with the Sunne, it is not intended that this colour was mixed as in a hard, firme, and permanent body, but as in a fluid and flitting masse, which receiueh neyther forme nor colour but for a very little while. The better and deeper tincture the Tyrian scarlet is, the higher must you holde the same, to the end that the lustre thereof may shew the better, yet looser not in being neere vs his perfect colour, but that tincture it hath, howsoeuer it be discovered, sheweth it selfe. Of that opinion am I that *Poſidonius* was, that the Arch is made when as the cloud is informed after the manner of a mirror, hollow and round, like the halfe of a bowle. This cannot be approued by the assistance of the Geometricians, who by inuincible reasons proue that the cloud is an image of the Sun, and yet reſembleh him not; as likewise mirrors are not answerable wholly vnto the truth of things. There are somethou wouldst be afraid to looke vpon, so deformed maketh it their face to appeare that beholde the same, by representing

Senecaes opinion touching the fallow of the Arch.

ſenting their ſimilitude quite contrary. Others of them are ſuch, that in beholding them, will make thee thinke thy ſelfe ſome worthy man, becauſe that both thine armes, and the other members of thy body will ſeeme to be more greater and mighty then they are. Some of them repreſent a true ſimilitude of the face; others halfe the face; ſome there are that leſſen and turne it vppwards: What is it therefore to wonder at, if the ſunne bee imperfectly repreſented in a cloud, as well as in theſe artificiall mirrors?

CHAP. VI.



Amongst other reaſons, this ſhall be one, that the Arch neuer ſheweth more greater then the halfe of a Circle, and that the leſſe it is, the higher the Sunne is.

The mighty Arch doth drinke.

As our *Virgil* faith, at ſuch time as the raine is ready to fall, but the Prognostiques of the Arch are diuers, according to his ſituations. If it appeareth in the ſouth, it bringeth with it much raine, becauſe that by their abundance they could not be ſurmounted by the ſunne. Contrariwiſe, if it appeareth in the weſt, there will follow but a dew and ſome little raine; and if it be in the eaſt, it is a ſigne of faire weather. But if the Arch bee the image of the ſunne, whence cometh it that the Arch appeareth to be more great then the ſunne? becauſe the nature of ſome mirror is ſuch, that it ſheweth things to bee more greater then they were preſented vnto it, and will make the body appeare of more prodigious biggeneſſe: contrariwiſe, there are ſome that make things ſeeme farre leſſer then they bee. Tell mee why the face ſheweth round in a ſquare mirror? happily, thou mayeſt ſay, that it is thence whence this diuers colour proceedeth; but I cannot tell thee whence this forme cometh, except in thy hand thou haſt ſome patterne whereupon it is formed: But hee hath no other then that of the ſunne, from whence thou muſt needly confeſſe that the Arch borroweth his colour, and conſequently his forme. Finally, wee are agreed, that theſe colours which wee ſee in the Heaueſs proceede from the ſunne: but our difference is, becauſe thou maintaineth that it is a colour, and I ſay that it ſeemeth to bee a colour, whether it bee the one or the other, thou canſt not tell mee why this colour vaniſheth ſodainely, whereas all other lightes are extinguished by little and little. This apparition and diſparrition of the Raine-bow maketh for mee: for it is the nature and property of a mirror not to ſhow things in partes, but wholly and at once. Euery Image is made and vnmade equally. To repreſent the ſame or not repreſent the ſame, there needeth no more to ſhew it, or to take it away. There is no proper ſubſtance or body in the cloud; it is but a fiction and reſemblance without the thing. Wilt thou know that it is thus? the Raine-bow will vaniſh if thou hide the Sunne. I tell thee if thou oppoſe (I ſay) another Cloud vnto the Sunne, the varietie of the Raine-bow will vaniſh; yet is the Sunne ſomewhat greater then the Arch. I haue already answered, that there are ſome mirrors which multiplie the whole body which is preſented vnto them: whereunto I adde that all things

The Prognostiques touching the Rainebow.

Why it appeareth greater then the Sunne.

Of the colour.

A proofe that the compariſon betweene the Raine-bow and the mirror is proper.

T t t

Examples shew-
ing how the
Rain-bow fa-
meth more great-
er then the
Sunne.

things seeme more great, if they be beheld thorow the water. Letters, although they be but small and obscure, appeare more greater and clearer, when they are read thorow a violl filled with water. Apples seeme more fairer then they be, if they swimme in a glasse. Behold the Starres thorow a cloud, and thou wilt iudge them more great, because our eye slipper in the humiditie, and cannot faithfully apprehend that which it would. This appeareth clearly, if thou fillst a glasse with water, and castest into it some ring, for although the ring remaineth in the bottome, yet the resemblance thereof appeareth in the top of the water. All that which a man seeth thorow the water, is farre greater then the thing it selfe. What wonder is it then, if in a moist cloud the image of the sunne appeareth more greater then naturall. There are two reasons hercof: because in the cloud there is somewhat that is like vnto glasse, which can shine: the other that hath somewhat of water, which although not formed, yet the nature thereof appeareth, and finally, of a cloud wee see that there cometh raine.

CHAP. VII.

Of the triangles
of glasse that re-
present the co-
lours in the
Rain-bow, and
the difference
betwixt them
and it.

BEcause (sayest thou) thou hast made mention of a glasse, euen from the same will I produce an argument against this selfe. Men are accustomed to make certain rods of glasse very narrow, wherein there are diuers angles, and knots or points. If these be shewed athwart the Sunne, they represent the same colours of the Rain-bow, so that thou seest that in it there is not the image of the Sunne, but an imitation of his colour by reuerberation. In this thine argument there are many things that make for me. First, this glasse ought to be thin, and as it were a mirror to reflect the Sunne. Afterwards it appeareth, that in stead of a right colour, it maketh a representation of a false colour, such as the necke of pigeons in turning themselves doth, and changeth diuers colours. The same is in a mirror wherein no man perceiueth any colour, but an appearance of strange colours. This onely remaineth to be resolved, why a man seeth not the Image and representation of the Sun in these rods? They are not capable to expresse the same well, the matter is polished and disposed thereunto, by means whereof they inforce themselves to represent the Sunne; but it is impossible, because both their forme and fashion repugneth the same. If they were made and fashioned with conuenient proportion, they would represent as many sunnes, as many insectures as they had: but because their diuisions are confused, they haue not so great brightnesse as a mirror, they only begin to make representations of the sunne, and finish them not, and for that they are neere, they confound all these representations and images together, whence the appearance of colour proceedeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

BUT why doth not the Rain-bow, in head of this great and halfe circle it maketh, become wholly round? Some thinke thus, that the sunne being far more higher then the clouds, beateh not, but vpon the vpper part, whence it followeth that the inferiour is not attained with light. Entertaining the sunne therefore but in one part, they likewise represent but a part of the sunne, and this part is neuer more great then the halfe. This reason hath no great weight: Why? because that although the sunne inclineth towards the higher part, yet beateh he vpon the whole cloud. He hath coloured it then: why not? since it is his custom to dart his beames, and to penetrate thorow euery thicknesse. Moreover, they contradict their owne intent; for if the sunne be aboue, and for this cause reflecteth only on the higher part of the clouds, neuer will the Arke descend vnto the earth; but wee see that it extendeth it selfe euen vnto the ground. Furthermore, the Arch is alwayes opposit against the sun, neither appertaineth it any thing to the matter, whether it be aboue or beneath the same, because that euery place that is opposit against the sunne, cannot but be beaten with the beames thereof. Againe, sometimes a Westerly sunne causeth a Rain-bow, when as he reflecteth vpon the clouds beneath; and is nearest to the earth, which at that time hath but his halfe circle, although the clouds receive the sunne, when he tendeth to his declination. The Stoicks that would haue the light appeare in the cloud, as a fire doth in the mirror, say, that the cloud is hollow, and as it were a halfe bowle, which cannot make an entire globe, because it is onely a part thereof. I approue their intention, but not their argument. For if in the cautie of a mirror, all the face of the opposit orbe is expresse, then in an halfe orbe there is no cause why the whole globe may not be beheld, and if wee haue said heretofore that a man seeth entire circles of the same colours as the Rain-bow, enuironing the Sun and the Moone: whence cometh it in the meane space, that these circles are entirely whole, and the Rain-bow is neuer but halfe a circle? Againe, why do hollow clouds, and such as are not flat and round, receive and entertaine the sunne? Aristotle saith, That after the Equinoctiall in Autumne the Rain-bow is made euery houre of the day, but that in Summer it is neuer seene, but vpon sun-rise, or sun-set. The cause is euident. First, because about noone the sun is so strong that he disperseth the clouds, by means whereof he cannot presse his image in them. But in the morning and euening he hath least force, and therefore the clouds may sustaine and repulse him. Moreover, whereas he is not accustomed to forme the Arch, except at such time as he is opposit to those clouds where he causeth the same, when the dayes are shorter, then is he alwayes oblique. Therefore in euery part of the day, yea euen at mid-day there are certaine clouds, that he may oppositely beate vpon. But in Summer time he is caried aboue our heads, by means whereof, at noone-day he beholdeth the earth so directly, that there is not any cloud that can be opposed against him, for at that time they are all vnder him.

Why the Arch
is but halfe a
circle.

T t t

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of rods that are imperfect stripes.

Now must I speake of rods or windgales, which are no less coloured and diuers then the Rain-bow, which notwithstanding ceaseth not to foretell raine, we need not stand long vpon this matter, for such rods or windgales are no other things, but vnderfect Rain-bowes. For these haue a discoloured face, yet haue they nothing crooked in them. For they appeare for the most part neere vnto the sunne in a moyst cloud, that beginneth but to spread, so that they haue the same colour that the Rain-bow hath, but not the forme, because the forme of the clouds, when they extend themselves, is different also.

CHAP. X.

The like varietie is in Crownes, but in this they differ, because Crownes are made euery where whereoeuer the sunne is, the Rain-bow is not made, but in opposition against the sun, the rods but neere vnto the sunne. I can likewise this way deliuer a difference of all; if thou diuidest a crowne, it is a Rain-bow, if thou straighten it, it is a rod? In all of them there is a multiplicitie of colours, of blew, red, and yellow. Onely the rods are neerest to the sunne, the Rain-bowes all of them are either solare, or lunare, crownes are made about all the planets.

CHAP. XI.

Of Parelies.

Here appeareth likewise another sort of rods, when as small, scattered, and long beames addresse themselves together, and streame from out some straits of the clouds. These are fore-tokens of vehement raines. But what shall I say heere? What name shall I giue vnto these rods? Are they the Images of the sunne? The Historians call them Sunnes, and write that two of them appeared, and sometimes three: the Grecians call them Parelia, because they are ordinarily seene neere vnto the sunne, or because they resemble the sunne somewhat, for they imitate not the whole, but his image and figure. Otherwise they haue no heat or vigor whatsoeuer, they are dull and imperfect. What name then shall wee giue them? Shall I doe as Virgil did, who in the beginning doubted of the name, and afterwards gaue that whereof he doubted.

*What shall I call thee Rhetica diuine,
Contend not therefore with Palernian wine.*

There is nothing that can hinder vs from calling them by the name of Parelia. These are images of the sun in a thicke and neighboring cloud, in the forme of a mirror. Some say that they are round clouds, shining, and like vnto the sunne. For they follow him, remaining alwaies with him, as long as they dure in equall distance from him: no man is afraid to behold the image of the sunne in any fontaine or still water, but the face hereof may appeare as well aboue as beneath, provided that he finde proper matter to represent the same face.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the eclipses of the Sunne, and how they are discovered.

Sometimes as we would discover whether there were an eclipse of the sunne or no: We fill certaine basons with oyle or pitch, because a thicke humour is not troubled so easily, and therefore retaineth the images that are offered vnto it. But the images and representations cannot appeare, except it be in that which is liquid and still. At that time are wee wont to marke, how the Moone opposed her selfe against the Sunne, how she hideth him, being greater then her selfe, by the opposition of her bodie, now in pitt, if it happen that their encounter be but oblique, sometimes she obscureth him, being right vnder him. This is called an entire defection and eclipse, during which we see the Stars, and the brightnes of the day is lost, that is to say, at such time as the Sunne hath the Moone right vnder him. Euen as therefore vpon the earth we may behold the image of them both; so may a man see them in the aire, when as it is so still and faire, as the face of the Sunne is imprinted therein, which other clouds receiue likewise, but let slip, if either they are too moueable, or too rare, or too fullen. For the moueable scatter him, the rare and cleere let him slip, the thicke and darksome feele him not, no more then on the earth spotted mirrors represent a perfect forme vnto vs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of double Parelies.



After the same manner likewise two Parelies are wont to be made. For what letteth it, but that there may be as many as there are clouds that are fit to represent the image of the Sunne? Some are of that opinion, that as often as they see two such representations, that they iudge the one to be of the Sunne, the other of the image of selfe. For amongst vs likewise, when as diuers mirrors are disposed so, that the one is in the sight of the other, all of them are filled, but yet there is but one image of the thing; the other are the resemblances of that image. For it is no matter what the thing is, which is shewed in a mirror, because it representeth all that which is set before it. So there likewise in the aire, if any casualtie dispose the clouds, so as they behold one another: the one cloud will represent the Sunne it selfe, and the other represent the image of the Sunne. But such clouds as these ought to be thicke, light, shining, and entirely of the nature of the Sunne; and therefore all these representations are white, and resemble the Crescent of the Moone, because their brightnesse proceedeth from an oblique reuerberation of the sunne. For if the cloud be beneath the sunne, and neerer vnto him, (he is dissipated by him, and being set farre off, of him, he cannot sufficiently entertaine his beames, to make show of an impression, as mirrors represent not our faces which are farre off from them, because the sight of our eye hath not recourse vnto vs backe againe. Furthermore, the Parelies or Sunnes betoken raine (for I will vse the Historiographers name) especially if they show towards the Southward, where the clouds are especially gathered: when such impressions as these begett the sunne on euery side, if wee beleue Aratus, it foretokeneth a Tempest.

T t t 3

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

Of other diuers
sorts of fiery
Meteors.

* Calima is
when much va-
pour is inflamed
in a watry cloud,
or mist that is
very thin.

IT is time now to consider those other fires, which haue diuers appearances. Sometimes there shineth a starre, sometimes the heauen is as it were inflamed, sometimes there are fixed and inherent fires, sometimes they stay not in one place. There are many kinds of these seene; sometimes there are fires that outwardly are begirt with a crown, and inwardly flame. Sometimes the heauens gather together, in such sort as if they seemed to be some round trench. There are some that are called *Pithys*, when as the greatnesse of a grosse and round fire, like vnto a towne runneth in the heauens, or else burneth it selfe to nothing in one place. Furthermore there are **Chasma*, when as sometimes a space of the heauens openeth it selfe, and gaping wide seemeth as it were in the secret thereof to shew a burning flame: and all these Meteors are of different colors, some of intended rednesse, some of a lighter and fainter flame, some of a clearer and whiter light, some sparkling and some equally yellow, without irruptions or radiations: we see therefore

The longe ill trail of starres growe white behinde.

These shoote and flie like starres, and seeme to shoote out long traines of fire, by reason of their immeasurable swiftnesse, when as our eye cannot discern their passing by, but wheresoeuer they ranne, beleueed that all that parte was on fire. For such is the swiftnesse of their motion, that we cannot apprehend their distances, but only see their ends. We see better the place where the bodie of a fiery starre presenteth it selfe, then the way that it holdeth. He therefore designeth all his course, as it were with a continuall fire, because the slownesse of our sight followeth not the moments of his race, but seeth at once both from what place it issued, and whether it attaineth; which falleth out in lightning; for the fire thereof seemeth long vnto vs, because he ouerslippeth his space in the twinkling of an eye, and all that circuit encountreth with our eyes, whereby it is discharged; yet is it not an extended bodie, that it may occupie all the space of the way whereby it cometh: for things so long and extended haue no force to giue a violent assault. How therefore do these fires issue? When the fire is enkindled by the collision of the ayre, it is violently pushed downward by the winde; and yet is it not alwayes caused by winde or by collision. Sometimes it is bred by reason of some opportunitie of the ayre, because that in this higher region there are diuers things that are drie, hote, and terrestrial amongst which it is bred, and the matter that feedeth it falleth very suddenly, and therefore is it violently carried and vanished away. But why is it that his color is diuers? what importeth it, what that which is enkindled, and how vehement it is, whereby it is set on fire? But this fall of this fire signifieth winde, from that part from whence it breaketh forth.

C H A P.

whence this
lightning and
daring of them
proceedeth.

Their signifi-
cation.

IT

Hou' askest me likewise how those lightnings are engendered which the Graecians call *sele*, in diuers sortes as it is reported. It may be that the force of the winde breedeth them, or the heat of the highest heauen may produce them: for when as the elementary fire is spread euery where, sometimes it embraceth inferior things if they be disposed to take fire. The motion of the starres may by his course enkindle this fire, and transmit it to inferior bodies. What then? Can it not be that the ayre repulseth that vertue which it hath from fire, as far as the æthereall region; whence afterward there followeth a lightning or enkindling of a star, or some such like darting fire? Of these lightnings, some fall directly downwards, resembling shooting stars, some remaine in a certaine place, and shoot forth so much light as may disperse darkenesse, and represent the day, vntil such time as hauing consumed their substance, they first of all become obscure, and afterwards after the manner of a flame that is extinguished in it selfe by continuall diminution they are reduced to nothing. Of these some appeare in the clouds, some about the clouds, when as the thicke ayre hath drawne that fire as high as the stars, which it had long time nourished and entertained nere vnto the earth. Some of these suffer no delay, but runne here and there, and are extinguished in that place where they first appeared. These are truly called lightnings, because their appearance is short and of small continuance. Neyther fall they without some mischief; for oftentimes they doe as much mischief as tempestuous fire-breake. By these haue we seene the tops of houses brooken, which the Graecians call *Aitropopletta*. But these continued lightnings which haue their fire more strong, and which follow the motion of the heauen, or that haue a particular tract, are called Comets, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, whereof I am to intrcate. There are diuers sorts of these; some bearded, some like Torches or Lamps, some are called *Cyparissæ*, and others whose fire is scattered and long in their breaking forth. Some doubt whether they ought to put in the ranke of these Comets those beames and tomes of fire that are seldom seene. For they haue need of much matter, and conglabation of fire, considering that sometimes their body is so great that it surpasseth the thicknesse and roundnesse of the rising funne. Amongst them thou mayest place these fires which are oftentimes mentioned in histories and wherof sometimes the brightness is so heigh that such ferie bodie seeme to be placed amongst the stars, otherwhiles it is so lowe that it seemeth to be the burning of some howse, that are far from the place where we are. In the time of the Emperor *Therius* the horse-men galloped to succour the inhabitants of *Osia*, supposing that their City was set on fire; but it was a heate of the heauens; and a brightness of fire, thick & foggy, which had shined for a great part of the night. Of these no man doubteth but that they haue a flame which they flew, and their substance is certaine. The question is of the former; I meane of the Raine-bow & crowne, whether they deceiue the sight and are but counterfeits, or whether they haue truly that in them which appeareth. Our opinion is, that neither the Raine-bow or Crowns haue any certain body: For in esteeme that there is not any thing but fallacious in mirrors, which doe but represent a body substituting without them; otherwiese it would remaine therein, and could not be hidden or defaced by any other Image, neither should a man in one instant see so many

How lightning
are made.

Continued
lightnings or
Comets, and
their diuers sorts

Whether the
Raine-bow and
Crowns be but
appearances.

infinite formes both appeare and vanish in one and the same mirrour. What is it then? They are Images and vaine representations of true bodies, nay which is more, there are some artificiall mirrors found, which may make some things appeare farre contrary to that they are; for, as I said, there are some mirrors that make their faces seeme crooked that look into the same, and some there are that make their shew infinitely more huge, and exceeding humane habite, and the measure of our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

IN this place I will tell thee a storie, to the end thou mayest understand that lust forgetteth not any instrument to prouoke his desire, but is diligent and ingenuous to excite his owne furie. There was a man called *Diogenes* vnclene and villinious, that he was not ashamed to make shew of his seculrillitie and filthinesse in the publique Theatre. This rich and couetous wretch was owner of two millions and five hundred thousand crownes; yet *Diogenes* *Cesar* after that his slaues had murdered him, iudged that hee was vnworthy that any man should reuenge his death, & yet notwithstanding would he not declare that he was iustly slain. He was not only impure in respect of one sex, but he sinned in his lust both towards men and women, & made certain mirrors of that fashion, wherof I late made mention, that shewed the images of men far greater then they were, wherein one finger exceeded the arme in measure, length, and thicknesse. These did he dispose in such sort that when he endured the company of men, he sawe in the mirrour all the execrable motions of him he had admitted, enioying by this meanes a false greatnesse of their members, as if it had bene true. In all bathes he made his choys, and chose him men by the open measure of their length, yet notwithstanding delighted he his insatiable lusts with fained appearances also. Goe now and say that Looking-glasse were invented for vnclennesse sake. It is shamefull to be spoken what this monster (worthy to be torne with his owne teeth) both spake and did; when as on euery side mirrors were opposed against him, to the end he might be a beholder of his owne hainous villinies. And those things which a secret conscience would suppress, and such as any one being accused thereof, would be ashamed to confesse: these thrust he not onely into his mouth, but into his eyes. But vndoubtedly *haynous* finnes are afraid to behold themselves. The most desperat villaines, and they that are disposed to all dishonour, feele that the tendernes of shame easily seizeth their eyes. But this man, as it were a trifle to suffer things vnheard of, and vnknowne in his owne person, hath made them come before his sight, and was not onely contented to see the greatnesse of his sinne, but thought good to plant about himselfe his mirrors, whereby he diuided, and disposed his villinies. And because he could not so diligently obserue and see, at such time as he was seized vpon, and his head hidden, and his body tyed to the shamefull part of some villinious bugger, he represented his monstrous action to himselfe by resemblances: he saw in his mirrors the surquedry of his mouth, he beheld the men whom he receiued vpon all the parts of his bodie. Sometimes diuiding himselfe betwixt a man and a woman, and abandoning his person to suffer both wayes, he beheld those villinies which a man durst not either imagine or name. What hath this impure catile left himselfe to doe in the darknesse? Hee feared not the

A monster of intemperancy, a shame of Rome, the villinious Holms.

Modelle in shylph
or chylstru cas
abhorres the ex-
lation. Shame-
lesse, vnde-
with shame, for
such like abhor-
O can this be
such a brude
caustion for
care.

the day, and durst shew himselfe those monstrous embracements, and approue them vnto himselfe. What? dost thou thinke that he would not be painted in that habit? There is some modestie in those that are profligate and harlots; and they couer in some sort those bodies of theirs, which are the objects of publike disgrace, whereby their vnhappy patience may be hidden. So that in some sort the very brothel-house hath modestie in it. But that Monster made a publike spectacle of his vnclennesse, and shewed those things to himselfe, to couer and hide which no night were darke enough. I, saith hee, confute both a man and a woman at once, and notwithstanding in that part also which is left me to some disgrace, I exercise the part of a man. All my members are exercised in publicke; it is therefore requisite that mine eyes should haue their part, and that they should be witnesses and controllers. Euen those things which by situation are hidden from the sight of our bodies, are visited by art, least any man should thinke that I know not what I doe: nature did nothing when she gaue a man so feeble instruments to execute his lusts, and when she hath learned brute beasts a more perfect contentment in their encounters. I will finde a meynes how I may deceiue and falsifie my inhirmitie; whereto should my iniquitie serue me, if I should not sinne more then nature hath taught me? I will see these kinde of mirrors about me, that may present an incredible greatnesse of formes. If I might haue libertie I would make them truly as great, and because I may not, I will feede my selfe with the similitude; my villanie shall see more then it can conceiue, and shall admire at his owne patience. O detestable wickednesse. This man perciaunce was killed quickly, and before he saw these things. He deferred to be massacred before his mirror.

CHAP. XVII.

IF those Philosophers therefore be now derided who dispute thus of the nature of mirrors, enquiring whence it cometh that our face sheweth thus, and turneth towards vs what pretended the nature of things, that after these had giuen vs true bodies, these would likewise that a man should see these images? To what end was it to prepare this matter that was fit to entertaine formes? It was not to the end we should pluck our beards by a looking glasse, or to polish a mans face, nature hath not allowed dissolution any thing to exercise her folly in: but first of all, because our eyes are to be beheld the sunne at hand, to the end that they might comprehend the forme of the same, these discouereth it in a more diller light. For although we may behold him both at his rising & his setting, yet should we not know his true forme in his resplendent brightnesse, if his face were not shewed vs more easily to be obserued in some pure & polished thing. Secondly, we should not see the eclipses, neither might we know what it is if we did not more easily vpon the earth perceiue the images both of Sun and Moon. Thirdly, mirrors haue benee inuented to the end that a man might know himselfe. Of this inuention haue followed diuers benefits, first the knowledge of our selues, afterwards the resolution of some occurrences. The faire ought to learne heretofore how to auoide infamie: the foule, to redeme by their vertuous behauiour, the imperfection of their countenance: The young, to remember themselves that being in their flourishing yeares, that it is time for them to learne, and attempts actions of value: The old, to shake off all misse-becoming actions that

Of the vse of mirrors vpon the occasion of the former comparison.

that are visiting for their white haire, and to meditate on death. For this cause nature misfired vs the meanes to see our felues. A cleare fountaine, and euery bright stone reflecteth our mindes.

*Late did I see my selfe fram of the shore,
When seas were calm'd and tempests stopt no more.*

What were these fellows, thinkest thou, that combed themselves by this glasse? That age was more simple, the men contented themselves with that which next came to hand, as yet the benefites of Nature were not wrested vnto vice, neither was her inuention employed and rauished to satisfie dissolusion and excess. At the first, as casualtie offered the oportunitie, so men discouered their faces: but afterwards, when as self-loue had insinuated it selfe amongst mortall men, and made euery man beleue that he was faire and well pleasing, they oftentimes despised those things, wherein at the first they saw and beheld themselves. But when the world became euill, and began to puzzle themselves in the earth, the vse of Iron was first found out, which had not brought with it any incommodie, had men contented themselves therewith. But other mischiefs began to burgen out of the earth, which by their lustre began to appeare, and please those which otherwise thought not thereupon, so that the one conceiued a delight in beholding a goblet, another an instrument made of brasse, and fit for seruice, and not to be beheld. Anon after some part of the earth was ordained to this seruice, although in other respects siluer shined not as yet, but some other matter more brittle and of lesse value. At that time also when as these old fathers liued temperately, yet cleanly enough, if they had washed away the sweate and dust, which they had gathered by their daily trauell in the fleeing streame; it was enough for them to stroake downe their haire, and to combe their long beards, and in this time euery one serued himselfe, and assisted others. That haire which in times past was vsually wont to be scattered by mens hands, was dressed and handled by women, but they that had a faire haire, contented themselves with the naturall growth thereof, as we see Horses and Lions doe. But afterwards, when as dissolusion had gotten the better hand of the world, men made mirrors of gold and siluer as great as the bodie, and afterwards garnished them with precious stones, in so much as one of them cost a woman more siluer, then in times past would haue sufficed to endow the daughters of great Captains, that were married vpon the common purse. Thinkest thou that those daughters had a mirror enchaisted with gold, whereas they were enforced to borrow siluer to marrie them? O happy pueritie, the cause of so worthie a renoune. Had they been rich, the Senat had not allotted them their dowrie. But whofoeuer he was that had the Senat for his father in law, vnderstood that he had receiued a dower, which it was not lawfull to restore. At this day the summe of money that was furnished by the Senat for the daughters of *Scipio*, was not sufficient to buy a glasse for the daughters of enfranchised slaues. For dissolusion inuited by litle and litle by her riches, is animated to much immodestie: and vices are growne to their full maturitie. In briefe, by such deuices all things haue beene so confuted, that that which we call a womans cabinet, is an equipage of men, nay I will say lesse, euen souldiers baggage. But now the mirror which was onely admitted for ornament sake, is made a necessarie instrument to whatsoeuer vice.

The end of the first Booke of Naturall Questions.

whence dissolusion grew.

OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS.

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.



LI that which a man may draw in question in respect of the Vniuerse, is diuided into celestiall; aceriall, or earthly things. The first part examineth the nature of the stars, and the greatnes and forme of those fires; wherein the world is included: whether the heauen be solid and of a firme and concrete matter, or compact of a subill and thin substance: whether it driueth or is driven: whether the stars are vnder it, or fixed in the contexture thereof: how the Sunne obserueth the annuall changes; or whether he obserueth an oblique course, and other such like questions. The second part intreateth of the impressions of the ayre, and such as conuerse betwixt heauen and earth. Of this sort are mists, raynes, snowes, and thunders that astonish mens mindes. In briefe, whatsoeuer the ayre doth or suffereth, these call we sublimie, because they are higher then the lowest. The third part sufficiently debateth vpon fields, land, trees, and plants, and (to vse the Lawyers phrase) all that which the earth containeth. Whence commeth it to passe (sayest thou) that thou hast purt the question of the motion of the earth in that place, wherein thou art to discourse vpon thunder and lightning? Because that the trembling of the earth is caused by the violence of the wind, which is but agitated ayre; which although it plung it selfe vnder the earth, yet ought we not to consider it there, but in that place where nature hath lodged it. I will tell thee a thing that shall be more wonderfull, I must intreat of the earth amongst celestiall things. Why, sayest thou? Because that when we discourse in this place the properties of the earth, whether she be broad and vnequall, or immeasurably extended in length, whether it be compact wholly in the forme of a bowle, or assembleth her parts into an Orbe, whether she enclose the waters, or the waters haue enclosed and couered her, whether she be a sluggish or a senselesse creature, or a body full of spirit, but coming from another place, and such other like things that properly haue a relation or dependance on the earth, and, if a man may so speake it, are placed

A diuision of Philosophy into three parts, according to Seneca.

Why he intreateth the questions of the Meteors.

in

in the ranke of those things that are most base. But in questioning what the situation of the earth is, in what part of the world it hath bene seised, how it is opposed against the heauen and the starres, this question exceedeth the precedent, and is more high.

CHAP. II.

BEcause I haue made mention of those parts, into which all the matter of things created are deuided, I must speake something in generally, and first of all presuppose, that amongst the bodies that are simple, whence proceede those that are composed; some reckon the ayre. Thou shalt vnderstand what this is, and why I must speake thereof, if I ayme my discourse more higher, and if I say, that there is something continued, and wholly one, and some thing contrariwise, consisting of diuers parts. Continuation is a continuall coniunction of partes amongst themselves. Vnity is a continuation without intermission, and a touch of two bodies vnited in themselves. Is it to bee doubted that amongst these bodies which both wee see and handle, which are eyther felt or feele, but that there are some compound? These are such by connexion or aceration, as for example, a rope, corne, or a shippe. Againe, some not compounded, as a tree or a stone. Therefore thou must needly grant, that amongst those things likewise which are separated from sense, but are apprehended by reason; there is in some of them a vnity of bodies. See how I spare thine eares, I could acquire my selfe, if I would vse the Philosphers termes, and say, vnite bodies, but since I forgive thee this, see likewise that thou giue me thanks. VVhy so? If at any time I shall say one, remember thy selfe that I referre this not vnto number, but vnto the nature of the body not composed by externall helpe, but by his owne vnity: by this note, ayre is one of the simple bodies.

CHAP. III.



The world comprehendeth all these things which can fall within our knowledge, of these some are parts, some are left in stead of matter: all nature wanteth matter, euen as euery art that is Manuel. What this is, I will make it more plaine. The hands, the bones, the nerues, the eyes are a part of vs, the sucke of that meat which wee retaine, and such as must bee distributed into partes, the matter: Againe, bloud is as it were a part of vs, which notwithstanding is a matter also: for it prepareth other things likewise, and notwithstanding it is of the number of these, by whole meanes the whole bodie is made.

CHAP.

Of the Elements
or simple body,
whereof one
is the ayre.

Of the parts, and
of the matter of
the world.

CHAP. IIII.



Yre so is a part of the world, yea add a necessary part, for this is it that vniteth both heauen and earth, that so separateth the lowest from the highest, that notwithstanding they are ioyned by it. He separateth them because hee is in the midst of them, and vniteth them, because both of them by his meanes are agreeed together. All that which is sent him from the earth, he communicateth with the heauens. Againe, hee imparteth to terrestriall things, the efficacy of celestiaall bodies, which so call I a part of the world, as I doe beaſts and plants, for both these kinds of beaſts and plants are a part of the world, because they haue bene created as things necessary to perfect the whole, and because the whole cannot consist without them, but one liuing creature and one plant is as it were a part, for although it should die, yet that which is cut off, is of the whole: but ayre as I haue said cleaueth both to heauen and earth, it is borne both and with the one and the other, but that hath vnity, whatsoever is a nature part of any thing, for nothing is borne without vnity.

CHAP. V.



The earth is both a part of the world and the matter. I thinke thou wilt not aske mee why it is a part, for as well mayest thou aske mee why the heauen is a part, for no more can the vnities bee without this, then without that; but its composed of these parts, by the meanes whereof hee maintaineth all their stars in their being and vigor, all liuing creatures and all plants. It is the heauen and earth that turneth all creatures and the world (that requireth so many things) with all their vigor, that maintaine so many celestiaall bodies in their being, turning so swiftly continually, and so greedily both in their motion, and in their nourishment. In briefe, by the meanes of heauen and earth, all the nature of things receiue that which is needfull for it for his nourishment and conseruation. From them likewise hath the world drawne all that which hee needeth, as long as hee shall endure. I will propoſe vnto thee a little example to make thee comprehend so great a thing: Egges containe as much humour as is necessarie for the being of that creature which is to be hatched.

CHAP. VI.



The ayre is so continuare with the earth, and so vnited with it, that as soon as shee departeth from her place, hee supplieth it: It is a part of the whole world, and yet the same, and receiue whatsoeuer nutriment the world sendeth him, in which respect wee must take it for matter and not for a part. Hence is all inconstancy and tumult, this doe some men compose of distant finall bodies, as of dust, and depart very much from the truth; for neuer is there an accord of a body that is framed of parts, but by vnity when as the parts ought to consent to the intention, and to adde strength thereto. But the ayre if it bee diuided into A-

V v v

TOURS,

The ayre is a
necessary part of
the world.

The earth is a
part also, and
the matter of
the world.

Whereof the ayre
is composed.
A refutation of
the error of the
Epiciure, who
composed the
ayre of Atoms.

The force of the
ayre expressed
by effluia.

Disrupt compa-
rison to confirme
this refutation.

toms, that is to say into small parts, is scattered. And such things as are so at-
tered, may not be maintained. These things that are swallowed and yeeld not to
the stroke, will shew thee the intention and force of the ayre. Thou shalt per-
ceiue it in waigthy things, which are carried away by the wind for a great space.
Thou shalt perceiue it by voyces, which are eyther more feeble or stronger, ac-
cording as the ayre is moued: for what is a voyce, but an intention of the
ayre, to the ende it may be heard, formed by the repercussion of the
tongue? What is euery course and motion, are they not the workes of agi-
tated ayre? this it is that giueth force to the nerves, and swiftnesse to those
that runne: This it is that when it is vehemently moued and troubled in it
selfe, renteth vp trees and forrests, and bearing vp whole houses on hie, at last
breaketh them in peeces. This it is that increaseth the sea when it is calme &
still. Let vs come to lesser matters; for what long is there without the inten-
tion of the spirit? Cornets and Trumpets, and those that by some pressure
yeelde a greater sound then may be deliuered by the voyce, doe they not en-
large their sounds by the intention of the ayre? Let vs consider the great effica-
cy of leedes so small, as scarcely a man may discern them, if these fall into the
clefts of stones, yet doe they push forth and waxe great in such sort, that they
riue and cleaue hugh stones in sunder, and dissolue them in a moment, and small
and tender rootes in their beginning in succession of time skorne and breake
both stones and rockes: what else is this but an intention of spirit, without
which there is nothing strong, and against which nothing may resist? And by
this, if by nothing else wee may conceiue that there is an vnity in the ayre, be-
cause our bodies are vnited in themselves, for what else is it that containeth them
but spirit? by what other thing is it that our minds are agitated? What is his
motion but an intention? What is intention, but out of vnity? what vnity
except it were in the ayre? and what other thing produceth fruites and
weake leedes, and rayseth flourishing trees, and extendeth their branches,
and stretcheth them out on high, then the intention and vnity of the spirit.

CHAP. VII.

That the ayre is
a full body, and
not void, nor
ether in whole nor
in part.



Some teare and rent the ayre into small peeces, so as they inter-
mixe voyde with it, and they thinke it to be an Argument that
the ayre is not a full body, but that it containeth much vacuity in
it, because birdes haue so easie a motion therein, because both
small and great may haue their passage thorow it: but they
are deceived; for the like facility likewise is in the waters, and yet may no
man doubt of their vnity, which so entertaine bodies, that they alwayes ioyne
themselves to them. This doe the Latines call *Circumstance*, and the Grecians
Periplus, which is as well within the ayre, as in the water: For it enuironeth e-
uery body by which it is impelled. There is no need therefore of any voyde to in-
termixe therewith. But of this in another place.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

BUT now it is to be gathered that there is a certaine vehemency in
Nature, and that of great force: for nothing is vehement but by
intention, and yet vadorbtedly nothing can be intended by any
other thing, except it be intended by it selfe, for we say after the
same manner, that nothing can be moued by another, except som-
thing were moueable of it selfe. But what is it that may be thought to haue
more intention of it selfe then spirit? And who is he that will denie that this is
intended, when he seeth the earth, the mountains, houses, and many wals, great
Cities with the people, and all the Sea-shoares shaken? The swiftnesse & great
extent of the ayre sheweth his intention. The eye presently intendeth his light
through many miles, one voyce at one time resoundeth through many Cities,
the light creepeth not on by little and little, but in an instant spreadeth it selfe
ouer all things.

Of the agitation
and power of the
ayre.

CHAP. IX.

HOW can the water be intended except it be by the ayre? Doubtest
thou but that that ouerflow of water that riseth and increaseth,
from the foundation of the lowest sands and channell, & mount-
eth to the very top of the Amphitheater, is without the inten-
tion of water? Truly there is no Crane or any other engine that
may more mount or drue the water then the spirit. She applyeth her selfe vnto
it, he is raised, and induoureth many things contrary to her nature, and being
created to flect, ascendeth vpward when the ayre possesseth or impelleth her.
Those Barks that are ouer-laden, shew they not that it is not the water but the
winds that keepeth them from sinking? For the water would giue place, ney-
ther could it sustaine any burthens, except she her selfe were sustained. A Tren-
cher being cast out from a higher place into a Fish-pool descendent not, but
leapeth backe; how, I pray you, except it were by the benefite of spirit? How
doth the voyce penetrate thick wals, but for this cause, because there is ayre in
solid & massiue things, which both receiue and sendeth back the found that
came from without, not onely intending by the spirit those things that are o-
pen, but those things likewise which are hidden, and included? which he may
easily doe, because he is no wayes diuided, but by those very meanes whereby
he seemeth separated, he gathereth vp himselfe into himselfe. Plant betwixt
him and vs thicke wals, and mightie and high mountaines, this hindereth him
from comming to vs, but not vnto himselfe, for that is onely intercluded wher-
by we may follow him. He himselfe passeth thorow that which is diuided,
and not onely spreadeth himselfe not onely thorow the middell, but begirteth
it on euery side.

The efficacy of
this agitation,
and how the ayre
is mixed amidst
the earth and
waters.

Vvv 2

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the situation
and diuers quar-
ters of the ayre.

Here passeth and spreadeth it selfe from the ætheriall & cleere region, as farre as the earth, more swift, more subtile, and higher then the earth and waters, yet more thicke and weighty then that region, being of himselfe colde and obscure; his light and heate are borrowed from another place, yet in every place he is not like himselfe, for he is changed by his neighbours. The higher part thereof is driest, hottest, and for this cause also the most thinnest, by reason of the vicinity of eternall fires, and those so many motions of flares, and the continual reuolution of the heauens. That lower part, which is nearest vnto the earth is thicke and obscure, by reason that it intertayneth the exhalations of the earth. The middle part is more temperate if thou compare it with the higher, and the lower, as much as concerneth drynesse and tenuity, but colder then eyther part; for the higher parts thereof feele the heate of the neighbouring flares: the inferiour likewise are warmed, first by the exhalations of the earth, which bring with them very much heate; againe by reuerberation of the beames of the Sunne, which redoubling their heate, as farre as they may reflect, doe warme him gently: againe, by the warme vapour of liuing creatures, hearbes and plants; for none of all these can liue without heate. Adde herunto now, not only those fires that are made by hand, and are certain, but such as are concealed by the earth, wherof some haue broken forth innumerable, are alwayes burning in obscure and secret places. We may also well say, that being the cause of fertilitie in so many places they haue some heate, for colde is barren, and heate is fit for generation. So then the middle Region of the ayre being far distant from the higher & lower, remains cold, because the nature of the ayre is such.

CHAP. XI.

Why the ayre is
mooued and
inconstant.

Because whereas it is thus deuided, in the lower part thereof it is for the most part variable, inconstant, and mutable. About the earth it doth very much, it suffereth very much, it agitateth and is agitated, yet all of it is not affected in the same sort, but diuersly in diuers places, and in his parts as both vnquiet and troubled. But the causes of this his inconstancy and change, are in some sort ministered by the earth (whose positions being diuersly changed, are of great moment in respect of the temperature of the ayre) in some sort by the course of the Planets; amongst which thou mayest impute the most to the Sunne. The yeare followeth him, according to his motions, the Winters and Summers are changed. The Moone hath the next power. The rest of the flares likewise no lesse affect the earth then that aire which hath inconstancy vpon the earth, & by their contrary and crooked risings and settings now moue colde, now thowers, and are the causes of other injuries of the earth. Hauing to speake of thunder, lightning, and fulgurations, it concerned me to make this Preface, for since such impetions are caused in the ayre, it was necessary for me to discover the nature thereof, to the end it might more easily appeare, what it might eyther doe or suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Here are three things therefore that happen, flashing, lightnings, and thunder, which are made together, and are not so soon heard the one as the other. Flashing shew the fire that lightning sendeth: the one is, if I may so speake it, as it were a threatening and a thunder without noise. The other is the effect and stroke of the threat. There are some of these wherein all men consent, some wherein mens opinions are different. They accord in this, that all these are made either in the clouds or of the clouds. They likewise confesse that they are of fire, or of a hot and drie exhalation. Let vs now descend to those things that are in controversy. Some thinke that fire is in the clouds, some hold that it is made for a time, and that it beginneth not to be, except then when it appeareth. Those that are of this opinion, are not agreed as touching this, from whence this fire proceedeth. For some gather it from the light: other some say that the beames of the Sunne, by force of their reuerberation and frequent reflection, enkindle the fire. *Anaxagoras* maintaineth that it distilleth from the ætheriall region, and that from this so great heate of the heauens many doe fall, which were long time kept and enclosed in the clouds. *Aristotle* thinketh that this fire is not gathered long time before, but that it shooteth out at that very instant that it is formed: whose opinion is thus. Two parts of the world, earth and water, lie below, and every one of these contributeth to himselfe something. The earthly vapour is drie and resembleth smoake, whence arise the windes, the thunders, and lightnings. That of the waters is moyst, and converteth it selfe into raines and snowes. But when this drie exhalation of the earth that produceth the windes, being thicke, cometh to ioyne it selfe, that are vehemently closed and locked one within another, it breaketh it selfe. And in this conflict the stroake yeeldeth a noise, such as we heare in our ouens, when the flame cracketh, if the fire be made of Greene wood. And as the wind hauing some moysture intermixed with him, when as it is assembled and shut in one, bursteth out into a flame. In the same manner, that spirit which, as I said a little before, was expressed by the collision of clouds, and being impacted with others, neither can be broken nor presse forth in silence. And different the cracke is, by reason of the different dashing together of the clouds, wherof some yeeld a greater sound, some a lesser. But that force of the expressed spirit is fire, which hath the name of flashing or fulguration enkindled easily, without any force and various; yet see we the fulguration before we heare the sound. Because the sense of the eye is more swift and exceedeth the eare by farre.

CHAP. XIII.

But that their opinion is false: that containe the fire in clouds, may be gathered by diuers reasons. If it falleth from the heauens, why falleth it not daily, whereas so much thereof burneth continually there? Again, they haue yeelded no reason why the fire which naturally mounteth vpward, should flow downwards. For the condition of our fire is otherwise, whose sparkles which haue

Vvv 3

Of three ordi-
nary meteors in
the ayre, that is,
fulgurations,
lightnings and
thunder.

Diuers opinions
as touching the
nature of them.

The flame of
driftles opini-
on. Lib. de calo-
re 3.

Whether there
be fire reposed
in the clouds, or
whether it fall-
eth from on
high.

some waight doe fall. So then the fire descendeth not, but is precipitated and drawne downwards. No such matter befalleth the elementarie fire, which is moist pure, and wherein there is nothing that may be depressed, or if any part thereof should fall, the whole is in danger, because that that which is comprehensible may wholly perish. Moreover, if that whose leuitie daily hindereth him from falling, should any thing that is waichtige secretly hidden in himselfe, how can he sublift in a place, whence of necessitie he ought to fall? What then? Are not some fires wont to be carried into the inferiour parts, as these verie lightnings the which are now in question? For they goe not, but they are carried by Fate. There is some power that depresseth them, which is not in the ethereal region. For nothing in this region is compelled by force, nothing is broken, nothing falleth out extraordinarily. All is gouerned, there is a re-pured fire that enuironeth the world, lodged in the highest extremities of this round machine, the which doth all that fittingly, which is requisite for the entertainment of himselfe: it cannot moue from thence, neither be abused by any other forren accident, because in the etheriall region there is no place for any incertaine bodie. For those things that are certaine and gouerned striue not.

CHAP. XIII.

If the aire draw fire from the ethereal region, or if it be enflamed.

Ou say (I tell you) when as you yeeld a reason why certain stars flee from one place vnto another, that some parts of the aire may draw vnto themselves the fire that falleth from the ethereal region, and that by it they are enflamed aboue. But there is a great difference in this, whether we say that fire falleth from the ethereal region (which Nature permitteth not) or that by reason of the fierie force it enkindleth those things that are beneath, or that it is enkindled heere. For the fire falleth not from thence (for that cannot be) but is bred heere. We see amongst our felues, that when as fire scattereth it self abroad, that some Islands that haue beene long times hot, conceiue flame, and take fire of themselves. It is therefore likely to be true, that in the higher region of the aire, the which hath this propertie to draw fire vnto it selfe: that fire is enkindled sometimes by the heate of the ethereal region, which couereth and embraceth it on euery side. For it must needs be, that both the lower part of the etheriall region hath somewhat in it that resembleneth the aire, and that the highest aire be not vnlike to the lower part of the ethereal region, because that one thing cannot readily passe or ioyne it selfe with that which is directly contrarie therunto. For these by their neighbourhood by little and little intermixe their force in such sort, that thou mayest doubt whether of them both it is.

CHAP. XV.

The opinions of the Stoicks, as touching the inflammations of the aire, and the agitation of it self.

Some of our Stoicks think that the aire (when as it is easily changed into fire and water) draweth not from other parts new causes of inflammations, but that in agitating himselfe, he enkindleth himselfe, and that then when he scattereth the thick and compact concauitie of the clouds, that necessarily in the enterchocke of those

those so vast bodies, there should be formed a great noise. But this conflict of clouds (which hardly giue place the one vnto the other) is of no small force to enkindle a flame, euen as in some sort the hand assiltheth the Iron to cut, although that cutting be a thing proper vnto Iron.

CHAP. XVI.



Hat difference then is there betweene fulguration and lightning? I will tell thee: Fulguration is a fire that is spread at large: Lightning is a fire that is gathered and darted with violence, wee are wont in ioyning both our hands together to take vp water, and afterwards in shutting to force it out, as it were, out of a pipe. Suppose such like things to be done there. The straightnesse of those clouds that are compressed and shut together yeeld forth the winde that is shut in them, and by this meanes are they inflamed, and then vomit out fire as it were the stroke of some engine of warre. For wee see Arcelestres and Scorpions push forth their arrowes with some noise.

The difference betweene fulguration and lightning.

CHAP. XVII.



Some thinke that the spirit passing through cold and moist maketh a noise. For neither is hot iron extinguished without some found. But euen as if a burning red hot peece thereof be put into water, it is not extinguished without much hissing: So as Anaximenes saith, when as the winde encountreth with the clouds he causeth thunders; and whilst it striueth and wandreth through the resisting and open clouds, in his very flight he enkindleth fire.

How thunders are caused after Anaximenes opinion.

CHAP. XVIII.



ANAXIMANDER referred all things to winde. Thunders, saith he, are the noise of a cloud that is strooken: Why are they vnequall? Because the shock it selfe is vnequall. Whence cometh it that it thundereth in faire weather? Because at that time also the winde breaketh through the thick and drie aire. But why sometimes doth it not lighten and thunder? because the winde that was ouerfeeble to make fire, was strong enough to make a noise: What then is fulguration? It is an agitation of the aire, that separating it selfe and falling out of the clouds discovereth a fire that is feeble and retayned. What is lightning? It is the course and out-breaking of a winde more violent and thick.

The opinion of Anaximander thereupon.

And as touching thunders and lightning.

CHAP. XIX.



The opinion of Anaximander is, that these impressions are made by some influence of the Ethereal Region into these of the aire. So fire impacted in cold clouds maketh a noise. But when it deuideth them, fulguration followeth, and the lesser force of fires, causeth fulguration; the greater, lightning.

Anaximanders opinion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The examination
of Diogenes
Apolloniates
his opinion.

DIOGENES APOLLONIATES saith, that ſom thunders proceede from fire, ſome are cauſed by winde. The fire produeth thoſe which he foregoeth and foretelleth: the winde thoſe that yeeld a clap without lightning. I confeſſe that the one is cauſed and is without the other ſometimes: notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that their power is not ſeparated, but that the one may bee produced by the other. For who would denie that the violent winde in ſtirring vp a vehement noiſe, could not likewiſe make a fire? And who likewiſe will not confeſſe this, that the fire may ſometimes breake the cloudes, and yet not enforce his paſſage, if after hee hath traueſed ſome, hee is ſtayed and extinct by a more greater aſſembly of other cloudes. It followeth then that the fire conuerteth it ſelfe into winde, and that it looſeth his light and clearneſſe when it burneth and enflameth that vpon the earth which ſhee hath followed: adde hereunto now, that it muſt needes bee, that the violence of lightning pulſeth forth the winde, and ſendeth it before him, and draweth it likewiſe after him when hee cleaueth the ayre by ſo waighy a ſtroke. And therefore it is that all things before they feele the ſtroke of the thunder, tremble being ſhaken by the aſſault of the wind which the fire driueth before him.

CHAP. XXI.

Seneca's opinion,
as touching
lightning and
thunder.

DIſmiſſing our Maſters, for the preſent, let vs beginne to ſpeake of our ſclues, & from thoſe things that are confeſſed, let vs paſſe ouer to thoſe things that are doubtfull: but what is that which is confeſſed? That lightning is a fire, and fulguration likewiſe, which is nought elſe but a flame, and ſhould bee lightning if it had more force. That it is fire, the heate thereof teſtifieth, and the effect maketh prooſe enough: for lightning oftentimes is the cauſe of mighty fires: woods & parts of Cities are burned vp by it; yea thoſe that are not ſtricken, yet are they ſcene to be blaſted, and ſome are coloured as it were with ſoote. Furthermore, all things that are ſtricken with lightning, ſmell of ſulphure. It followeth therefore that lightning and fulguration is fire, and that the one is intermixed with the other, in ſuch ſort, as fulguration that is not carried as farre as the earth, and againe, lightning is a fulguration that is carried as farre as the earth. It is not a deſire I haue to ſpeake much that lengtheneth this diſcourſe; but to the end I may proue that theſe things are of the ſame ſemblance, make and nature: Lightning is ſomewhat more then fulguration; Let vs turne this, Fulguration is almoſt as much as lightning.

CHAP. XXII.

A compariſon
taken from ma-
teriall fire, and
that which is
terreſtriall, that
tendeth to ex-
preſſe how light-
ning and tem-
peſt grow.

T being manifeſt that both of them are fires, let vs examine how fire is made amongſt vs: for it is made in the ſame ſort, as it is abroad vs, and that in two ſorts: the one is when it is enforced out of aſh or ſtone, the other is, if it be found out by attrition, as when as two woods are long times rubbed the one againſt the other: e-

uery

uery matter will not yeelde thee fire, but onely that which is proper to produce it, as the leaues of Lawrell, Iule, and which the ſhepheards (perfectly ex-criced therein) well know. It may therefore be that in the ſame ſort the cloudes are ſtricken, or beaten one againſt another, and thereby yeelde fire. Let vs conſider with what force ſtormes run in vpon vs, with what violence whar-windes are raiſed, what beſtiall this ſtorme meeteth withall, ſcattered, ſpied and raiſed, and call ſure from the place where it was: what wonder is it therefore if ſo great a force drine forth the fire, eyther from an other thing or from himſelfe? for thou ſeeſt what heate thoſe bodies may feele that are blaſted, burned and ſlaine by their paſſing: by them yet ought wee not to eſteeme that theſe impreſſions haue as much heat as there is in the ſtars, whole power is both inuincible and confeſſed.

CHAP. XXIII.

BY happily thoſe cloudes alſo that are enforced and driven a-
gainſt other cloudes by an agitation of a mutining wind, and that is not overſtrong, will engender a fire that will ſhine with-
out ſaling; for there needeth a leſſe fire in fulguration then in lightning. By thoſe things that are aboueſaid, wee haue gar-
thered to what heate they attaine which are rubbed one againſt another. Since then the ayre which of his nature is eaſily changed into fire, by the violence of his forces being conuerted into fire is broken. It is both credible and likely that the fire which is fraile, and will ſodainely periſh, iſſueth from a matter that is not ſolide, wherein it may continue long time. It paſſeth therefore and ſtandeth no longer then his way endureth, for it is pulſed forth without any mat-
ter to maintaine and feed it ſelfe.

If lightning and
thunder arise by
means of the
interſperce of
cloudes.

CHAP. XXIIII.

NOW commeth it then to paſſe (ſaith thou) that where thou ſay-
eſt, that this is the nature of fire to moue vpwards, yet that the
lightning falleth downwards; what is that ſaie which thou
haſt ſpoken of fire for he as well mounteth vpwards as he falleth
downwards: both of theſe may be true; for fire by nature moun-
teth like a Pyramis, and if nothing hindreth it, it aſcendeth as water by nature
is carried downwards; but if ſome force bee added therunto to impell it to
the contrary, yet returneth ſhee to the place from whence ſhee fell by meanes
of the hower; but the lightning falleth by the ſame neceſſity whereby it is
driven out. In theſe fires that falleth, which doth amongſt trees; whoſe toppes
if they bee tender, may bee ſo drawne down that they may touch the earth, but
when thou ſtaleſt let them goe, they will returne vnto their owne place. Thou
art not therefore to reſpect the habite of every thing as it is enforced. If thou
wilt permit fire to goe whether it will, it will mount to heauen, that is, to the
place where every light thing ſhould bee: but when hee meeteth with any
thing that may repulſe him, or alter his aſcent, this is not naturall vnto him,
but ſeruitude.

Why the light-
ning falleth
downwards;
when as it is
proper to it to
mount vpwards.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How fire may
issue from water,
that is to say,
from the clouds.



YOU maintaine (sayest thou) that cloudes encountering vehemently one with an other engender fire, but if they bee moitt and wet, how then can they engender fire, which in all likelyhoods is vaine to haue his beginning from a cloude, as from water.

CHAP. XXVI.

An answer to
this question.



THAT fire that is bred, is not water at the first in the cloudes, but thicke aire, prepared to turne into water, and yet not changed into the same, but now ready and inclined to bee changed. Thou art not to thinke that it is gathered then, but onely poured out. It is made and falleth at once: besides, if I should grant, that a cloud is moitt, and full of entertained waters, yet is there nothing that hindereth, but that fire may be drawne out of moysture, nay, which thou wilt more wonder at out of humor it selle. Some haue denied that any thing may be changed into fire, before it were turned into water. A cloud therefore notwithstanding, the water that it containeth, in some part may render fire, as oftentimes one part of the wood burneth, the other sweateth. Neither doe I say that these are not contrarie amongst themselves, and that the one destroyeth not the other, but where the fire is more forcible then the water is, the water he obtaineth the mastery. Againe, whereas the abundance of humor exceedeth, then is fire without any effect. And therefore greene wood burneth not. It importeth therefore how much water there is. For a little resisteth not, neither hindereth the fire. Why not? In the memorie of our ancestors, as *Posidonius* testifieth, when as in the *Egean* sea there appeared an Island the sea fomed by day, and from the depth thereof there arose a smoake. Afterwards there issued a fire not continuall, but shining and sparkling at certaine times, after the manner of lightnings, as often as the heate that was beneath ouercame the waight that was aboue. After this, stones turned out of their places; and rockes partly whole which the winde had driuen forth before they were wholly burned, partly eaten and turned into the lightnesse of a Pumice stone. At last there appeared the top of a mountaine, blacke and almost burned: afterwards there was somewhat added to the height thereof, and that rocke grew to the bignes of an Island. The same happened againe in our memorie, when *Valerius Aflaticus* was Consul. Why haue I related these things? to the end it might appeare, that neither the fire is extinguished when the sea ouerfloweth it, nor the force thereof is prohibited to issue by the waight of mightie waues. *Aclepiodotus*, the schollar of *Posidonius*, reported that the Island was of two hundred miles, where thorow the fire appeared where the waters were broken. And if the immeasurable force of waters ascending from the depth, could not restrain the force of the flames: how much lesse can it extinguish fire in the aire, where the humor is thinne, and but like a dew? So that this reason hath no difficultie in it, that may hinder the causes of these fires, which we see neuer sparkle, except at such time as there is an inclination to raie, for in faire weather commonly we see no lightnings. A faire and cleare day feareth none of these, neither the night also, except it be obscured by darke cloudes. What then? Doth it not

lighten

lighten sometimes when as the starres are cleere, and the night is calme? Yet art thou to know that cloudes are there whence the brightnesse appeareth; although the mountaines hide them from our sight. Adde hereunto (which may be) that the moyst and low cloudes yeelde fire, by beating one against another, which mounting into the higher parts, are scetted in the cleereft and purest part of heauen, although they are bred in a blacke and obscure cloud.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the diuersitie
of thunders.



SOME haue so distinguished Thunders, that they haue said that there is one kinde of them that make a grieuous murmur, such as is wont to forerun an earth-quake, when as the windes that are enclosed vnder the earth do roare and make a noyse. I will tell you how these men suppose that this may be done. When as the cloudes haue locked the winde within themselves, the ayre that is tossed in the hollow parts thereof, yeeldeth a sound like vnto roaring, hoarse, vnequall, and continuat; and therefore also where the Region of the ayre is moyst, it shurrerth vp the Thunder from issuing forth; and therefore these kinde of thunders are the fore-tokeners of a shower that is at hand. There is another sort that a man may rather call crackes then Thunder, such as which wee are wont to heare when as a bladder is broken ouer a mans head. Such thunders breake forth when as a cloude that is gathered together is dissolued, and sendeth forth that winde wherewith it is distended. This sudden and vehement noyse is properly called a cracke, which where it bursteth forth, causeth men to fall and sound, and some liuing to waxe stupid and astonished, and wholly beside themselves, whom we call strooken or *Apoplectique*, whose mindes that celestiall sound hath driuen out of their place. This cracke likewise may be caused by this meanes, that is, when as the ayre that is inclosed in a hollow cloud, and being extenuated by his motion is scattered abroad, and afterwards struing to haue a more larger place, and retained by the cloude that incloseth him, he maketh a noyse. What therefore? May it not be likewise, that as in striking one hand vpon another we make a loud sound, so the cloudes that are thick by beating one against another, should make a great noyse, because they are great things that concur?

CHAP. XXVIII.



WE see (saith he) cloudes that hemme in the mountaine tops, and yet no sound is made; first of all they thunder not at euery time they encounter, but then when they are fully composed to yeelde a sound: when the backe of our hands be beaten together they yeeld no clap, but one palme being strooken against another, there followeth a sound; yea, and it appertaineth much to the matter whether the hands that are clapped one against another hollow, or flat and extended. Furthermore, the cloudes must not onely goe, but be driuen forward by a great and tempestuous force. The mountaine likewise doth not cut the cloud, but directeth it, and scattereth that which first commeth to meete with it. Neyther doth a bladder likewise, how foueuer it let out the winde, alwayes cracke: if it be

cut

Why the cloudes
thicken aboue
the mountaine
tops, and yet no
thunder followeth.

cut in two; it issueth forth without any sense of the care: if you will haue it found it must be broken and not cut. The same say I of the cloudes, except they shooke together with great violence they cannot make a noise. Adde hereto now that the clouds which are gathered together vpon a mountain break not, but are spread abroad into some parts of the mountain, as on the boughs of trees, on bushes, sharp stones, & eminent rocks. Behold how they are dissolued, and if they haue any breath in them they let it out in diuers sorts, which except it breake forth all at once, maketh no noyse, whereupon note that the winde that whisteth about a tree thundreth not, but singeth. To make thunder there needeth a great clap that may at one time disperse the whole globe of winde.

CHAP. XXIX.

Moreouer, the ayre is apt of it selfe to entertaine voyces: why not, when as a voyce is nought else but a repercussion of the ayre? The cloudes therefore ought to be seuered hollow, and extended. For thou seest that emptic vessels send more then those that are full, and those strings that are wound vp more then they that are let slip; so Drummes and Cymballs yeeld a sound, because such instruments repell the ayre that resisteth them outwardly, and could not found in the ayre, except they were hollow.

CHAP. XXX.

Here are some of the opinion, amongst whom *Alepiodotus* is one, that lightning and thundring may breake forth, by reason of the encounterie of some bodies. *Etna* in times past abounded with much fire, poured forth a mighty multitude of burning sand. The day was covered with dust, and sudden night terrified the people. At that time it is reported that there was much thunder and lightning, which were caused by the concourse of drie bodies, and not of clouds; for it is very likely, that in so great an inflammation of the ayre there were none. *Cambyses* in times past sent an Armie to the Temple of *Ammon*, which the sand being scattered by the Southerne winde, covered them like flakes of snow, and at length ouerwhelmed them. And then also it is very likely that there were thunders and lightnings, by the attrition of sands rubbing one against another. This opinion is not repugnant to our purpose; for we haue said that the earth breatheth forth bodies of both natures, and that thorow all the Regions of the ayre there wandereth some drinnesse and humiditie: if therefore any such thing happen, it maketh a cloud more solid and thicke, then if it had bene covered by a simple winde; and this cloud may be broken, and yeeld forth a sound. As touching the aboue named accidents, whether it be that the ayre hath bene filled by such streaming fires, or whether it be by the winds ouerturning the sands, it must needs be that a cloude must be first formed, whence afterward there may issue thunder. But drie things engender cloudes as well as moist, and as we haue said a cloud is but the thickenesse of grosse and assembled ayre.

CHAP.

How effectual
the ayre is in
Thunders, and
how.

Alepiodotus
opinion confir-
med by two rare
examplis.

CHAP. XXXI.

If thou wilt obserue the same, thou shalt finde that the effects of Thunder are maruailous; neyther is it to be doubted but that there is some extraordinary and diuine power intermixed with it. Siluer melteth in purser, and yet are they neyther rent nor spoyled. The sword is moulten and scabberd vntouched. The Iron runneth down from the lauelin top, and yet the scecle vnscarred: The wine thickeneth and remaineth three daies as if it were yce, when the Tunne is broken. This likewise mayest thou put amongst those things that are worthy note; That men and other creatures that are stroken with lightning, haue their heads turned towards that place from whence it parteth, and that all the tops of those trees that are blasted bend towards the lightning. Furthermore, Serpents and all other venomous beasts loose all their venome if they be touched with lightning. Whence, saith he, know you this? In envenomed bodies no worme breedeth; but those bodies that are strooken with lightning are filled with worms within a few dayes.

Of the mar-
uailous effects of
lightning.

CHAP. XXXII.

Moreouer I say that lightnings preface things that are to come, not ministring onely a signe of one or two things, but oftentimes they foretell the whole order of succeeding Fates, yea, and that by euident decrees, and farre more manifest then if they were written. But this is the difference betwixt vs and the Tuscans, who exactly vnderstand this diuination by lightning. We holde opinion, that because the clouds enter shock and scatter one another, therefore the lightning bursteth forth. They thinke that the clouds are rudely driuen the one against the other, to this end, that lightning should issue, and be darted on the earth. For whereas they referre all things vnto God, they are of this opinion that they signifie not because they are made, but that they are made, to the end they should signifie; yet are they ingendered by one and the same reason, be it that either they ought to signifie by a deliberate purpose, or by a consequence: how then signifie they except they be sent from God? How? In such sort as birds who take not their flight to meet vs, yet in flying cyther on the right or on the left hand they haue prefigured somewhat. And these, sayest thou, God moueth. Thou makest him too idle, and a minister of small matters, if in some men he dispose their dreames, in beasts their entrailes, yet are these things ordered by diuine assistance. But the feathers of birds are not governed by God, neyther formeth he the entrailes of beasts vnder the axe. The order of the definitions is exprest vnto vs by other more certaine means, who euery where publisheth signes of that which shall come to passe long before they happen, whereof some are familiar vnto vs, the rest are vnknewne. All whatsoeuer is done is a signe of something that is to come. Those things that are casual, and incertaine without reason, admit not diuination. The thing that hath order hath prediction also. Why therefore is this honour giuen vnto the Eagle, that the should preface the matters of greatest importance, or to the Crow, or to a few other birds, and that the chattering of all others hath neyther signification or preface? Because

Lightnings are
foretokenes of
that which is to
come.

Whether euery
thing that is
done, and con-
sidered hath a
signification.

Xxx

cause

cause there are many things that are not as yet reduced into Art, and other things which a man cannot reduce, because they are too farre estranged from our acquaintance. But there is no living creature that foretellet not somewhat, either by his motion or encounter. All things are not obserued, but some things are noted. Diuination serueth him that will obserue the same. It therefore appertaineth vnto him that hath addited his mind thereunto. Those things which a man respecteth not, may notwithstanding containe some certitude. The Chaldeans in their obseruations respected nothing else but the influence of those Planets. What thinkest thou? Iudgeth thou that so many thousand starrs shine to no purpose? And what is that which deceiue the Calculators of Natiuities, but they subiect themselves I know not how to some small number of starrs, whereas all they that shine ouer our heads, haue some influence and power ouer vs? It may be that the more neerer Planets doe dart their beames more effectually vpon vs, and that they which haue a more swift motion touch vs in one sort, and other living creatures in another. But the fixed starrs, and those that for their swift course haue an answerable motion to that of the first mouer, and seeme not to stirre, are yet without force and effect in our respects. To speake of these things orderly, we must regard both the one and the other, and know that which is proper both to the one and to the other. But there is no lesse difficultie to know that which they can, as to doubt whether they haue any power or no.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Et vs now returne vnto lightnings, the power whereof is diuided into three considerations, namely, into their signification, their interpretation, and their remedie: the first part respecteth forme, the second diuination, the third expiation. For we must appeale the gods, beseeching them to giue vs goods, to auert all euils, to maintaine their promises, and to remit their threatnings.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Tuscans thinke that lightnings haue a soueraigne power; for whatsoever other things doe portend, are taken away by the intercourse of lightnings. Whatsoeuer lightning presageth is fixed; neyther is it changed by the signification of any other presage. A flash of lightning that portendeth some good, abolisheth all the sinister predictions of the entrailles of beasts, and whatsoever the sight of birds shall threaten. All that which lightning denounceth cannot be crossed by the presages of the entrailles of beasts or by birds: wherein men thinke they are much deceived. Why? Because there is nothing truer then truth. If birds haue foretold that which ought to come to passe, this augurie cannot be disannulled by lightning: If it may be; the birds haue foretold nothing that shall come to passe. I doe not now make a comparison betwixt the bird and lightning, but of two true presages. If both of them foretell that which is to come to passe, they are alike. If therefore the lightning that commeth after abolisheth the iudgement of the entrailles, and of the augures, the entrailles were badly looked into, and

The knowledge of
lightnings hath
relation to three
considerations.

What power the
Tuscans attribute
to light-
ninges in respect
of diuination.

and the motion and cry of birds worse obserued: for it importeth nothing to know whether of these two are more strong and puissant in their nature, or whether of both hath proposed more signes of truth, for the signe in this respect is equall, if thou say that the force of the flame is greater then that of the smoake, thou liest not; but to deuoure the fire, the flame and smoake are of the same value. Therefore if they say thus, that as often as the entrailles of beasts shall presage one thing, and the lightning another, the authority of the lightning shall bee more great, happily I shall bee of their opinion: But if they maintaine that a flash of lightning disannulleth the truth which those other signes haue foretold, and that wee ought not to build on any thing but on this flash of lightning: I say they abuse themselves; and the reason is, because it importeth not how many passages there be; It is but one thing that shall come to passe, which if it hath bene well comprised in the first prediction and diuination, the second will bee no preiudice vnto it. All comes to one: I therefore say, that it killeth not, if one thing by means whereof wee would informe our selues be the same, or another thing, because that whereof wee enquire is one and the same.

CHAP. XXXV.

Destiny cannot bee changed by lightning; Why not? because that lightning is a part of Destiny: Where to then serue so many expiations and ceremonies; to what purpose is all this, if the Destinies bee immutable? Permit mee to follow the austere opinion of those who entreat of these things, and maintaine that Destinies are no other thing but the solace of a peasiue thought. The Destinies maintaine their right precisely, there is neyther prayer that moueth them, nor misery or fauour that altereth them: They obserue their irrevocable course, they passe onward in an assured and vnaltercd order. Euen as the water of violent streames neither turneth backe, nor stayeth, but every waue is forcibly driuen one by another that beateth at his backe: so the order of Destiny is governed by an eternall succession, the decree whereof is, not to change that which hath bene ordained and destinat.

CHAP. XXXVI.

But what meanest thou by this word Destiny, I thinke it to be an inuincible and immutable necessity of all things and actions: If thou thinkest that this necessity may bee pacified by sacrifices or by oblations of the head of a white Lambe, thou knowest not what diuine things are: you likewise say that the resolution of a wise man cannot be changed: how much lesse that of gods; considering that a wiseman onely discouereth for the present that which is good; but all things are present to the diuine Essence; yet notwithstanding in this place will I plead their cause, who are of the opinion that a man may remedy lightnings, and affirme that expiations are auailable sometimes to remoue dangers, and sometimes to lessen them, or at least wile to disferre them.

What Destiny is
according to the
Stoicks.

CHAP. XXXVII.

To what intent
serve these
meanes, if the
doctrine of desti-
ny be received.



Will prosecute hereafter that which remaineth to bee intre-
d upon as concerning this matter; meane while wee all of
vs are agreede in this point, that we suppose that vowes are
profitable, (the force and power of the Fates alwayes refer-
ued;) for some things are in such sort left in suspence by the
immortall gods, that they turne vnto good, if vowes and prayers bee made
vnto the immortall gods, This therefore repugneth not against destiny, but
is inclosed in the same. Thou wilt say vnto mee, this thing shall happen, or
shall not happen; if it must come to passe, if you vow and make your re-
quest, yet shall it take effect; if it shall not come to passe, vow and prayas
much as you list, it shall not fall out, the consequence of this argument is
false, because you haue forgot the exception that I haue put betweene both,
that is to say: This shall happen, provided that a man make vowes and pray-
ers. It must necessarily follow that to vow, or not to vow are comprehen-
ded within Destiny.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The meanes are
inclosed in desti-
ny, and are the
meanes to obtaine
vnto the end
that Destiny or-
daineth.



Hou presupposeth that I confesse my selfe vanquished, and that I
auow that this is comprehended also in Destiny, that a man
should make vowes: so thus they shall bee made; it is destina-
ted that such a one shall bee an eloquent man, but vnder this
condition, it is destinated that hee bee instructed in good let-
ters: the same Destiny therefore that addicth him to study, will cause that
hee shall become wise. An other man shall bee rich, but so as he traffique vpon
the seas: but in that order of fate which promisseth him to great a patrimo-
ny, this destiny likewise is inclosed, that hee shall set sayle to the wind, and
that by reason thereof without any feare or exception, he shall embarque and
sayle. The same (say I) of expiations. Hee shall escape dangers, if hee hath
appealed the fore-threatned wrath of the gods by sacrifice. And this likewise
is in Destiny, that he must expiate, and therefore he shall doe it. These things
haue bene oftentimes opposed against vs, to approue that nothing hath been
left in our will, but that all power hath bene committed to Destiny. When as
this matter shall bee handled, I will tell you how there remaineth somewhat
in mans will, although the Destiny continueth. But now haue I explicated,
that which was in question; how if the order of Fate be certaine, the expia-
tions and remedies of prodigies preuent the dangers, because these remedies
impugne not Destinies, but are comprehended in the law of the same. What
then saiest thou, doth the Southfayer profite mee? for although hee coun-
sell me nothing, yet must I necessarily make this expiation. It sufficeth, because
he is a Minister of Destiny: so when as health seemeth to proceed from Fate,
yet ought wee to thanke the Physician, because the benefite of Fate, came
vnto vs by his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.



ÆCINNA saith, that there are three sorts of lightning, the
one of counsell, the other of authority, the third of estate.
The first precedeth the act, and cometh after the thought;
that is, when the flash of lightning counselleth or discou-
ereth that which the thought deuileth: The second, when as
alighting commeth after a thing is executed, to signifie that eyther good or
euill fortune shall succeed. The third, when as lightning happeneth, when
men are at rest, without thinking or doing any thing. This sort of lightning
menasth, or promisseth, or admoniseth, by reason whereof *Cæcina* nameth
it momentary: but I know not why it should not be the same with that of coun-
sell. for hee that admoniseth giueth counsell, yet hath it some distinction,
and therefore is it separated from that of counsell, because this first perswa-
deth and disswadeth, but the third containeth but a simple aduice, to flee an im-
minent perill, as when wee feare that our neighbours will deceiue vs, or set
fire on our houses, or that our slaues conspire against vs. Besides this I see an
other distinction: The first concerneth him that thinketh, the other, him that
thinketh nothing. Euery thing hath his property, wee counsell those that
deliberate, wee admonish those that be thinke not themselves.

Diuerse sorts of
lightnings in
regard of their
signification, ac-
cording to the
Tuscan and
Stoiques.

CHAP. XL.



Ist of all the three sorts concerne not all lightnings, but are the
significations thereof. For the sorts of lightning are that the one
pierceth, the other scattereth, and the other burneth. The light-
ning that pierceth is suble and flaming, taking his flight thregh
narrow passages, by reason that his flame is so suble and thinne,
as nothing more: That which dissipateth is gathered together as it were into a
ball, hauing intermixed in it selfe the force of a coated and stormy winde, by
meanes whereof this lightning enureth and smecth ordinarily by one and the
same habite: his force that is spread at large pierceth not, but breaketh that
which it toucheth: that which burneth hath very much terrestriall vapour in
it, and is more fiery then flaming: by meanes whereof hee leaueh great marks
of fire behinde him, that remaine on those things it hath stricken. No light-
ning falleth without fire, but wee properly call that a fire lightning, that lea-
ueth manifest markes of fire behinde it: but this lightning that burneth or black-
keth burneth in three sorts; for either it assaileth and blazeth slightly, or it
burneth, or causeth the thing that is stricken to fall on fire: the fire is in all this,
but there is a difference in the sort and in the meanes: for all that which is
burned was blazed or scorched likewise; but all that which is blazed and scor-
ched is not alwayes burned. It may bee that the fire hath giuen but some light
attaint; wee know that there are many things that are consumed in the fire
without making any flame: for nothing can burne except it be burned. I will
adde this word more. One thing may bee burned, and yet not kindled, and
something kindled which is not burned.

Diuerse names of
lightnings ac-
cording to their di-
uers effects.

X x x 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XLI.

The effects of
those lightnings
that blacke those
things which they
touch.
The Tuscans opi-
nions as touch-
ing the falling of
lightnings.

Now passe I ouer to that kinde of lightning that blacketh those things it beateh vpon, this eyther discoloureth or coloureth. I will discouer the difference of them both. That is discoloured, whose colour is vitiated, not changed: that thing is coloured, whose appearance is otherwise then it was at the first, as blew, or blacke, or pale: The Tuscians and Stoikes accord herein, but they differ in this, that the Tuscians say, that *Iupiter* darteth his lightnings, and they giue him three different handfuls to cast. The first, say they, admoniseth and is peaceable, and is darted by the good will of *Iupiter* himselfe. The second likewise is darted from his hand, but by the aduice of counsell, whereunto hee calleth twelue other gods. This kind of lightning sometimes doth seem good, but not without harming those vpon whom it is sent. The third also is darted by the same *Iupiter*, but after hee hath consulted with the gods, whom they call superiours and infolded. This spoyleth and includeth, and ouerturneth all that which it meeteth withall in publike, and in particular; for fire consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth with.

CHAP. XLII.

The explication
of the Tuscians
opinions accord-
ing to Seneca's
mind.

If you obserue this well, you shall perceiue at the first sight that antiquity erreth herein. What a folly is it to believe that *Iupiter* darteth lightnings out of the cloudes, that sometimes catch hold of statues, pillars and trees, blasting sheepe, and other innocent beasts, burning vp the altars, and yet sparing sacrilegious persons, and as if hee had not sufficient counsell in himselfe, but that hee must call other Gods to assist him? Likewise that these lightnings which hee of himselfe darteth, are prefaces of ioy and peace; and that these lightnings which are darted by the plurality of voyces of many of the gods are dangerous: if you aske mee my opinion, I thinke that the Tuscians are besotted to believe that *Iupiter* hath beene in suspence, or ill addressed to execute. For I pray you when hee hath darted those fires which should fall on innocent beasts, and leaue the wicked unpunished: shall wee say that hee would not vouch his greatest iustice, or that it hath not succeeded according to his minde? what was their intention when they saide this? These Wisemen pretending to bridle in the mindes of the ignorant, made them believe, that there was an inuitable feare, to the end wee should dread a diuinity, that is about vs. It was necessary in so great intemperance and corruption of manners, that there should be some power, against which no man should thinke himselfe able to preuaile. To the end therefore that they who addid not themselves to doe well, but for feare of strokes should bee affrighted; they established a iust iudge ouer their heads with conuenient instruments in his hand to chastise them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

But why is that lightning, which *Iupiter* himselfe darteth, onely peaceable, and the other pernicious? Because a prince (which is signified by the name of *Iupiter*) ought of himselfe to doe good vnto his subiects without euer harming them, except his counsell be of a contrary opinion. They that are mounted in authoritie about other men, learne heere, that the lightning is not darted out of heaven vpon the earth but by counsell, let them therefore call vnto themselves diuers, let them weigh their aduice, moderate their decrees, and haue this thought when they haue occasion to smite any thing: *Iupiter* contents not himselfe with his owne priuate counsaile.

CHAP. XLIIII.

In this place neither haue they beene so vnadvised, as to thinke that *Iupiter* changed his lightnings. These are the trickes of Poeticall libertie.

*There is another lightning farre more slight,
Forg'd by the Cyclops hands, wherein lesse fright,
Lesse flame or wrath is put when they are framed,
And this the gods their second lightnings named.*

Such an error entered not into the heads of so great learned men, as to thinke that *Iupiter* had sometimes more slighter and trifling lightnings. But they intended this to teach Princes that haue the charge to dart their lightnings against mens sinnes, that all crimes deserue not the same punishment, but that some are to be punished with extreame rigour, others suppressed by more sufferable chastisements, others by censures and aduertisements.

CHAP. XLV.

Either beleueed they this likewise, that *Iupiter* is such a one, as wee see in the Capitoll, and in other Temples, darting lightnings out of his hand, but they imagine such a *Iupiter* as the Stoikes doe, who is the keeper and protector of the world, a spirit and minde, which is the work-maister and Lord of this world, to whom all names are agreeable. Wilt thou call him Destinie? Thou shalt not erre. On him depend all things, and all the Causes of causes are of him. Wilt thou name him providence? Thou sayest well. For his wisdom it is that provideth for this world, to the end it might be firme and immutable for euer; and that hee should continue his course and his effects. Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou shalt not sinne; for all things haue had their beginning by him, and we liue by his spirit. Wilt thou call him the World? Thou shalt not be deceived, because he is all that which thou seest, wholly infused into his parts, and sustaining himselfe by his vertue. The *Hetrurians* haue beene of the same opinion, and there-fore

The continuati-
on of Senecaes
opinion, whereby
he laboureth to
excuse the opi-
on of the Tus-
cians touching
lightning.

Why the Anci-
ents attributed
to Iupiter cer-
taine lightnings
of different ef-
fects, their opi-
nion likewise
as touching Iupi-
ter, setting
downe diuers
names according
to his different
effects.

fore said they that *Jupiter* darted his lightnings, by reason that nothing is done without him.

CHAP. XLVI.

Why doth *Jupiter* passe by those things that are to bee stroken, or strike those which he should not strike? Thou drawest me into a higher discourse, to which I will assigne a better place, and a fitter time. In the meane while I say this, that *Jupiter* lendeth not down lightning: but that all things are so disposed, that euen those things which are not done by him, yet are not done without reason, which is onely his: Their force is his permission. For although now *Jupiter* doth them not, yet is he the cause that they were done. He assilteeth not all things one after another, but he hath giuen all things their marke, their efficacy, and their cause.

CHAP. XLVII.

Either allow I their diuision, for they say that all lightnings are perpetual or finite, or prolonged. The perpetual are those whose signification appertaineth to the whole life, comprehending not only one thing, but a succession of all that should happen from the beginning of life vntill the end. Such are the lightnings which are made at such time as a man entereth into the possession of his patrimonie, or into some new condition of life; or when as a Citie ganeth her government. The finite haue a certaine day and terme assigned. The prolonged are those whose threats may bee deferred, but not wholly preuented or extinguished.

CHAP. XLVIII.

What the cause is (I will tell you) why I consent not in this diuision. For that lightning which we call perpetual is finite, for it hath a certaine day prefixed as well as the rest. Neither therefore are they finite, because they signifie a long time. And that which is prolonged is limited also, for by their owne confession, such a menace is certaine vntill such time as a man hath obtained delay. For they auerre that priuate lightnings extend not aboue ten yeares, and that publike cannot be deferred aboue thirtie: and by this reckoning these likewise are finite, because there is a prefixed time, beyond which they may not be proroged. The terme then of all lightnings and their effects is certaine and determinate: for a man cannot comprehend in a certaine time a thing that is vncertaine. And as touching that which wee ought to consider most neerely in lightnings, they speake both generally and confusedly, and they will haue vs to distribute the effects in sort, as after them the Philosopher *Aulus* and their scholler hath done, which is that wee should regard where, when, to whom, and in what thing the lightning hath falne, what, and how great it hath bene: if I would distribute

Whether *Jupiter* darteth his lightnings him selfe.

The Philo-
sopher di-
uision as touch-
ing lightnings,
is faulty.

The reason why
this diuision is
rejected.

distribute all these things by parts, what should I doe but enter into an infinite number of distinctions.

CHAP. XLIX.

IWill now set downe the names of lightnings, according as *Cicero* hath described them, and will discouer what my opinion is in these. Some (saith he) are postulatorie, whereby those sacrifices that either are intermitted, or not rightly performed are repeated. Some monitorie, whereby wee are taught what wee are to take heed of. Some pestiferous, which portend death or banishment. Some fallacious, which vnder an appearance of good, doe vs harme. They giue an vnhappie consulate to those that shall vnder take the charge, and an heritage, the purchase whereof will breed more losse then profit. Some threatening, that offer euill but in appearance only. Some murthering, which abolish the threats of precedent lightnings. Some *Attestata*, that accord with the precedent. Some vnder earthly, which are done in secret. Some overwhelmed, which beat vpon those things which before time were attained and left. Some royall, that show their effects vpon a whole assemblie of people, or vpon the principall places of a free Citie, and whose signification threaten some tyrannicall inuasions into a Common-weale. The Lower, when the earth vomitteth flames of fire. The *Hospitalis*, that by sacrifices draw, or (as they speake it in a more milder terme) inuite *Jupiter* vnto vs. But if he be displeased, if then he be inuited, he commeth to the great hazard of those that haue inuited him. The *Auxiliarie* which are likewise called *Summoned*, but that cometh for their good, that haue caused it to come.

CHAP. L.

Now farre more simple was that diuision, which *Attalus*, a man of great note, and a Philosopher of our sort, vsed, who had intermixed the discipline of the Tuscan with Grecian subtilties. Amongst lightnings, saith he, some there are that concerne vs, other some that signifie nothing, or if they signifie any thing, we know not what it is. As touching those that signifie, some of them are ioifull, some are aduerser, and some neither aduerser nor ioifull. Of those that are aduerser and contrarie, these are the kinds: either they portend some vnauoidable euils, or such as may be auoided, or such as may be lessened or prolonged. The ioifull signifie either such as are permanent, or such as haue small continuance. Those that are mixed, either haue a part of good, or euill, or conuert the euill into good, or the good into euill. Those are neither fatal nor ioifull, which signifie vnto vs some action, whereat wee ought neither to be terrified, nor reioiced: as for example, some long voyage, wherein there is neither feare, nor any thing to be hoped for.

CHAP.

Plinius attrib-
utes of light-
ning, as *Attalus*
has as their
prophane *Au-*
thors, exceeding
the bounds of Na-
turall Philoso-
phy.

A more moderate
diuision of the
Philosopher *At-*
talus.

CHAP. LI.

Of those light-
nings which
haue signifi-
cation, and concern
vs.



Nto those lightnings I will return which haue some signification, which notwithstanding concerneth vs nothing, as if in the same yeare the same lightning that fell before falleth once more. There are lightnings likewise that haue no signification in our respect, as those wherof we know nothing, witnesse the lightnings that fall in the spacious extent of the Ocean, or in the deserts: for they haue no signification, and if they haue, it commeth not to our knowledge.

CHAP. LII.

Of the diuers ef-
fects of light-
ning according
to the nat-
ure it meeteth
with.



Et thereremaineth somewhat for me to declare as touching the force of lightnings, which effect not euery matter according to the same manner. She breaketh and dissipath those things most vehemently which are hardest, and sometime passeth by those things that are yielding without any iniurie: She consisteth more rudely with stones and Iron, and those things that are hardest, because she is constrained to make her passage thorow them with violence. So then she openeth the passage, sparing that which is tender and hollow, although it seem to be more proper to take fire, because that in finding a passage she sheweth her selfe lesse violent. Therefore is it, as I haue said, that a man findeth silver melted in his purse because that fire that is the purest and thinnest passeth lightly thorow the pores of the leather: but whatsoeuer it findeth solid in building she breaketh in pieces as rebellious and resisting against her. But, as I said, it rageth not after one manner, but by the kinde of euill that happeneth you may see what it is, and by the effects you shall know what lightning is. Oftentimes in the same matter one and the same flash of lightning causeth different effects, as in falling vpon a tree it burneth that which is drie in it, pierceth and breaketh that which is hardest, dissipath the barke, cleaueth the trunk, pulleth vp the roots, smoldereth and parcheth the leaues. It congealeth wine and melteth Iron and brasie.

CHAP. LIII.

Of the particular
efficacy of light-
ning to wine.



Marueilous thing this is, that the wine which is congealed by lightning, and afterwards returneth into his former estate, killeth or maketh those men mad that drinke thereof. Beshinking my selfe of the cause herof, I say that there is a mortall efficacy in this fire, wherof it is very likely that some spirit remaineth in the wine which hath bene congealed and frozen. For this liquid substance could not be congealed without some meanes. Moreover, if lightning toucheth oyle or any fat liquor, it thinketh euer afterwards, whereby it appeareth, that in this fire, so subtle and infused against the order of nature, there is so powerful an efficacy, that it not only killeth that which it toucheth rudely, but also that which it attaineth with the breath thereof. Furthermore, in what place soeuer the lightning falleth men vndoubtedly smell a sent of brimstone, which being

waighy

waightie by nature, astonisheth those that smell it often. But hereafter we will intreate of this at leisure, and will haue (it may be) the meanes to show how all things haue bene deriu'd from Philosophie, the mother of Arts, which hath first of all sought out the causes of things, and hath observed the effects, conferring the ends with their beginnings, what principally we ought to obserue in the inspection of lightnings.

CHAP. LIIII.



Will now returne to *Possidonius* opinion. The moister part of the earth and terrestiall things being on one side, the drier and lighter part lieth on the other. This serueth for a nutriment to lightnings, that vnto raines. All hot and drie exhalations ascending and attaining into the aire, cannot keepe themselves inclosed in clouds, but breake their prisons; whence followeth that which we call thunder. All that likewise which refineth it selfe in the aire, is dried and warmed by the same meanes. And this likewise, if it be enclosed, seeketh nothing else, but how to escape and breake thorow with noise. Sometime it escapeth all at once, whence proceedeth a very great thunder, sometimes by parts, and by little and little. This spirit therefore expresth these thunders, whilst either it breaketh the clouds, or lieth by it. But this violent tumbling which the exhalation maketh in a cloud, is a most powerful force to enkindle the flame.

From the confi-
dation of
lightnings, we re-
turneth to these
of thunder.

CHAP. LV.



Hunders are nothing else but a sound of the drie aire, which cannot be done, but when it is either broken, or breaketh. And if the clouds, saith he, be beaten one against another, that noise is made which is now in question, but not vniuersally, because there is no generall conflict, but in certain places only. Soft things yeeld no sound, except they be stricken against those things that are hard. As a waue of the sea maketh no noise, except it meet with some hard thing that stayeth it. The fire being cast into the water maketh a noise in the quenching. Be it so: All this maketh for me, for the fire at that time maketh not the noise, but the aire that lieth a thwart, that which extinguisheth the fire: and if I should grant thee that fire doth it, and is extinguished in the cloud, I say that it groweth from the exhalation and the shock. What then (saith he) may not one of these flitting starres fall into a cloud, and be extinguished therein? Let vs presuppose that it may, and that it happeneth sometimes. For the present we seeke for a naturall and continuall cause, not for a rare and casual euent. Put case that I acknowledge all that to be true which thou speakest, that sometimes fires doe shine after it hath thundered, resembling shooting and falling starres, yet is not this the cause of thunder, but this hapneth, because it hath thundered. What is fulguration? *Cicero* denieth that it is a fire, maintaining this that it is but an apparance: euen as by night, after the stroke of the oare we see some brightnesse. This example is not answerable, for this shining appeareth in the water, that which is made in the aire flasheth and issueth forth.

What thunder
is, and how it is
confid.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

The definition of
thunder, and
whence it is
caused.

THE RACITVS thinketh that fulguration is but an effect of fire, that beginneth to enkindle it selfe, and a first flame as yet vnertaine, that now is extinguished, and then lighted againe: these did the Ancients call *Fulgetra*, that is to say, Fulgurations, but wee call them thunders in the plurall number, but the Ancients called it thunder, or a sound. This haue I found in *Cicynna*, a man very eloquent, who had had some reputation for his eloquence, except *Cicero*s shadow had obscured him. The Ancients haue vsed this word, making it shorter by a syllable in the midst, which now we make long. For as we say, *Splendere*, that is, to shine, we say likewise *Fulgere*, that is, to lighten: but they were accustomed to pronounce the second syllable short, and to say, *Fulgere*, to signifie the sudden breaking out of light from the clouds.

CHAP. LVII.

Senecaes opinion
in this
point.

ASKEST thou me what mine opinion is? for vntill this present I haue done nothing but discouer other mens opinions: I will tell thee. Fulguration is made, when as a sudden brightnesse spreadeth it selfe at large, which happeneth at such time as the aire by subtiliation of the clouds is conuerted into fire, finding no fodder to raise it more higher. I thinke thou wilt not wonder, if either motion extenuate the aire, or extenuation enkindle it. In this sort a bullet of leade violently shot out of a peece, mollifieth and melteth it selfe, and the shock of the aire serueth it in stead of fire. And therefore it is for the most part that lightnings are made during the Summer time, because the season is ordinarily hot, and fire is caused more easily by the attrition of hot things. Fulguration and lightning are caused after the same manner, the one shineth, the other is darted. But that hath a lighter force, and lesse nutriment. And to let you know mine opinion in a word, lightning is but an intended fulguration. What, as therefore a hot and smoake vapour mounteth from the earth into the aire, and hath sometimes whirled it selfe amongst the clouds, it finally issueth forth with violence; if it be feeble, then followeth fulguration. But when as fulgurations haue more matter, and burne more violently, they are conuerted into lightnings, and fall vnto the earth.

CHAP. LVIII.

Why the lightning
appeareth
at once, and is
not extended
from high to low,
in the forme of a
column of fire.

SOME there are that thinke that the lightning mounteth againe, some others say that it flaieth after it hath consumed that which nourisheth it, and that the stroke is enserbled. But why doth lightning appeare all at once, and extendeth not it selfe from high to low, in the forme of a pillar of fire? Because she is wonderful light, and of a swift motion, so that at one time she breaketh thorow the clouds, enflameth the aire, and then when her motion ceaseth, the flame is extinguished. For the course of the exhalation is not continuall, so as the fire may extend it selfe,

selfe, but when as by violence he is enkindled the more, hee taketh his carer to escape. Being at libertie, and the combat finished: for the same cause sometimes it extendeth it selfe as farre as the earth: sometimes it is dissolued, if any the least resistance doe presse it. Why falleth this fire obliquely? By reason that it is composed of the aire, which is oblique and crooked, and because that nature draweth the fire on high, and violence forceth it downward, it beginneth to be crooked. Sometimes nature and force encounter, as it were, equally, in so much as the fire mounteth and is drawne downwards. Why for the most part are the tops of mountaines stricken? Because they are opposed against the clouds, and the fire falling from the heauens, must needs passe by them.

CHAP. LIX.

UNDERSTAND now what long since thou hast desired, and what thou demandest. I had rather (sayest thou) not know lightnings, then feare them. Learne therefore, of whom thou wilt, how they are made. For mine owne part, I take more pleasure to know how I may not feare them, then how I may define them. I will follow thee whither thou callest me. For in all things, and in all speeches, we ought to intermix somewhat that is hole some and profitable. When as we sound into the secrets of Nature, when as we entreate of diuine things the mind must be freed from all passions, and settled likewise in some sort. The most learned men, (and they that are continually exercised in this studie) haue great need to doe: not onely to saue our heads from those strokes which are on euery side aimed against vs. But to the end we may suffer them constantly and patiently. Inuincible we may be; vnassaulted we cannot be; although that in the meane while there is some hope that we may be vnshaken. How sayest thou? Contemne thou death, and all those things that lead vnto death, whether they be warres, or shipwracks, or biting of wilde beasts, or waight of raines, tumbling downe with a sudden fall: Can they doe any more then diuide the bodie and soule? no diligence can preuaile against these things, no felicitie tame them, no power auoid them. Fortune disposeth diuers things diuerly, but death adiouerneth all persons indifferently; whether the gods be either pleased or displeased, we must die. And since there is no hope to escape, let vs gather the greater courage. Those creatures that are most cowardly, whom Nature hath framed vnto flight, endeavour with their weak bodies to worke forth a passage, when as none appeareth. There is no enimie more dangerous then he, who hemmed in on euery side, growes desperate and resolute: for necessitie maketh vs alwayes more violent then valour doth. He that despaireth of his life, performeth the noblest exploits, or at least wile such as may equal the actions of the most resolute. I thinke that we haue bin (for indeed so we are) betrayed and deliuered vnto death. This is true (my *Lucillius*) we are all of vs referred to death. For how long time, thinkest thou, shall all this people, that thou seest, endure? Nature will adorne and burie this in a little time: we need not to dispute of the thing, but of the day; onely we must come thither, either sooner or later. What then! thinkest thou not that he is more fearefull then feare, more foolish then folly it selfe, that maketh long pursuits, and entreateth some delay of his death? Wouldest thou not iudge him a recreant (that being condemned to lose his head amongst diuers others, and already within the executioners hands, that would

Of the true use
of this part
of naturall philo-
sophie which in-
terteacheth light-
ning, consisting
on the contempt
of death, wherof
he entreateth
amply, and shew-
eth that wee
ought as little to
feare lightning,
as any other ac-
cidents that en-
danger life.
Constantia man-
ket worldly ca-
sualtie nothing.

O that this Pa-
gans thought
were our holier
Christians medi-
tation, they
would not then
so proudly over-
look the poore,
who are one with
them in the
grave, and like
to be greater
then they in
heauen.

Y y

only

only entreate this fauour, that he might be beheaded the last? Thus doe we account it a great matter to die late. All of vs are condemned, and most iustly condemned to a capital punishment. For (which is greatest comfort to those that are to suffer the most extremities) all mens cause is one. If the Magistrate had pronounced a sentence against vs, euery one should see vs march forward and submit our selues vnto the Hang-man. What matter is it, whether by commandment, or of our owne accord we march vnto death? O how little sense hath thou, and how small consideration of thy frailetie, if thou fearest death when it thundereth? Dost thou life returne againe by thy feare? Shalt thou liue if the lightning touch thee not? The sword will hit thee, the stone will strike thee, the feurour will shake thee. Lightning is not the greatest, but the fairest of thy dangers. But truly thou should be badly dealt withall, if that infinite celeritie should preuent the fence of thy death, if thy death should afterwards be expiated with sacrifice. If thou also at such time as thou yeldest vp the ghost, art a signe not of a vaine, but of some great thing. Truly it is a great iniurie for thee to be burned with lightning. But thou fearest when the heauen chundreth, thou quakest when the clouds break, and expirest as often as brightnesse appeareth. What then? Thinkest thou it to be a matter more honest, to die for feare, then vpon lightning? Lift vp thy head, then I pray thee, more boldly against the menaces of heauen, and when the world shall be all on fire, thinke thou that thou hast nothing to lose in so generall and famous a death. If thou thinkest that this confusion of clouds, this discord of tempests, this conflict in the aire is prepared against thee, and that this great collection of fires conspireth thy ruine: comfort thy selfe likewise by this thought, that thy death is of some great importance. But thou shalt not haue time or place to berinke thee of this, the very casualtie it selfe causeth feare. And amongst the rest, this is one commoditie thereof, that it preuenteth thine expectation. For neuer did any man feare lightning, except he that hath escaped it.

The End of the second Booke of the Naturall Questions.



OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS.

By LVCIVS ANNEVS SENECÆ.

DEDICATED TO LVCILLVS.

The third Booke.

Which intreateth vpon the waters.



AS I am not ignorant, most vertuous *Lucillus*, that in myretyrred yeares I lay the foundations of mighty matters, to haue I resolved with my selfe to circuit the world, and to discover the causes and secrets of the same, and afterwards to publish them, and to instruct others in them. When shall I attaine so much? When shall I gather together things so disseuered? When shall I soberely consider those things that are hidden? Olde age hangs vpon my backe, and reproacheth me with my lost time that was spent in vaine occupations; so much the more therefore let vs presse forward, and let labour recompence the losses of little so ill employed. Let vs ioyne night with day. Let vs cut off our occupations in worldly affaires, and let the matter taken no more care of them, let the minde be wholly awakened in it selfe, and at leastwise in this later time, lette himselfe in contemplation and knowledge of himselfe: which he shall doe if he draw himselfe to account, and measure euery day, the shortnesse of time, he shall recompence by diligent vsc of the remainder of life, all that which is lost of former time. It is a great contentment to the minde, when as being displeased and ashamed of the time that is past, he addicth himselfe to the exercises of vertue. It pleaseth me to crie out, and publish this verse of the famous *Poet*:
*Let our haughty minde more brauer wile,
And in vaine glory, and in things
Thus would I say were I a child, and thus would I say to a young man: for there is no*

time that is not scant enough for so mightie things. But now we have retired our selues to a matter both ferious, grate, and almost infinite, and we debate therein on the afternoones. Let vs therefore doe as they are wont, who let forward on long iournies, who recompence their late rising with speedy footing. Let vs make haste, & without excusing our selues by age, let vs manage this price of busines, which though I know not whether I may compass, yet am I assured that it is great; my mind increaseth as often as he intendeth and thinks on the greatnes of my attempt, and busieth not himselfe about the time, but vpon his deliberation. Som men haue spent themselves in dissembling & setting down the acts of forraigne Kings, and what the people eyther suffered or attempted together. How much better is it to reforme our owne infirmities; then to discouer other mens vnto posterity? How far better is it, to celebrate the workes of the gods, then the thefts of Philip, Alexander, & som others; who renowned for overthrowing diuers nations, were no lesse plagues amongst mortall men, then inundations that drown vp euery plaine, or fires which should confound and burn vp the greater part of men and beafts? They write how *Haniball* passed the Alpes, in what manner he brought the war into Italie, that was fortified by the victories he had obtained in Spaine; how after the ruine of Carthage (his affaires and fortunes growing desperate) he oblatenly solicited Kings, offering himselfe to make warre against the Romans, yea, though it were without an army: how he ceased not, being strooken with age, to seeke out warre in euery angle of the world, so well could he be without his country, and so little could he endure to be without an enemy. How farre better is it to enquire what is to be done, then what is done, and to teach those that haue submitted themselves to fortune, that they giue nothing but incertainties, and that all, whatsoeuer they hath scieteth away like the winde? For he cannot stay in one place, she taketh pleasure to substitute sorrow in stead of ioy, and to confound them together. Let no man therefore be confident in prosperity, nor diffident in aduersitie. The affaires of the world haue their changes, why art thou proude? Thou knowest not where the things that lift thee thus aloft intend to loane thee: they shall haue theirs, but not thine end; why I yest thou on the ground; thou art false to the lowest, it is now time for thee to stand vpright: aduersities are changed to the best, desires to the worst. In thinking vpon the resolution of things, it is good to cast our eye, not only on particular houses (which a little winde ouerthroweth) but also on publique estates. There are Kingdoms that haue raised themselves from very slight beginnings, above those that were their commanders. The ancient Monarchies decayed when they were at their highest: innumerable haue those gouernements been that haue been broken by others. At this day as much as euer, God raiseth vp some estate, and humbleth others: neither doth he in a milder sort, but in such manner he disperseth them, that there remaineth no appearance of their re-establishment. We beleue these things to be great, because we our selues are small. Many things haue their greatnesse not according to their nature, but according to our humilitie: what thinke we to be the principall thing in humane life? It is not to haue couered the back of the Ocean with our ships, nor to haue settled our confines on the shoares of the red sea, neither for want of finding out land to haue sought the vnkown Iles, in foraging and spoiling the whole world: But it is to haue beheld all these things in thought, to haue conquered our vices (which is the greatest victorie of all others). Innumerable are those men that haue had Cities and Nations vnder their gouernment; but few there are that haue bene

Lords

For the one teacheth prouidence, the other a-mongst good men reuenge.

Lords of themselves: what is the principall matter? To raise a mans minde above the threats and promises of fortune; to thinke nothing worthy to be hoped for: for what is there that is worth the willing for? As oftentimes as thou shalt giue ouer the contemplation of diuine things, and haue recourse vnto humane, thou shalt see as little as they doe, who forsake the brightnesse of a cleere sunne, and enter into a thicke shadow and darkenesse. What is the chiefest matter? To be able to endure aduersities with a constant minde, to suffer whatsoever it be that happeneth, as if thou wert willing it should happen. For thou shouldst doe no lesse if thou thoughtest that all things were done by Gods ordinance. To weepe, to complaine, and lament, is a kinde of reuolt. What is the chiefest? A minde that is confirmed and confident against calamities, not onely an aduersary but a mortall enemy of dissolution, a minde neyther greedy of anger, neither flying it, that knoweth how, not to expect but to make fortune, and to march forth against both of these both dreadlesse and vnconquered; a minde that is neyther shaken by her tumult, nor blasted with her brightnesse. What is the chiefest? Not to entertaine euill counsailes into our mindes, to lift cleane hands vnto heauen, to require no good that should be deriued vnto thee eyther by one mans gift, or another mans losse. To wish that which a man may do without any other mans preiudice, namely for a good conscience. And as touching those other things (which the children of this world prize so much) to respect them (although some misfortune should beare away both house and substance) as things that must issue by that place where they enteted. What is the chiefest? To raise the minde farre above all casualties, to remember that thou art a man, that whether thou be happy, thou must know that this will not continue long, or vnhappy, thou mayest know that thou art not so, except thou thinke thy selfe so. What is the chiefest? About all things to haue a free minde: it is not the lawe of the Quirites, but the libertie of nature that giueeth this. But that man is free, that hath discharged himselfe from himselfe. To be subiect to a mans passions is a continuall seruitude, from which it is impossible to escape, a slaueerie that presseth with an equall waight, as well by day as by night, without intermission and without reliefe. To be slave vnto a mans selfe is the seruitude of seruitudes, which is easily dismissed if thou desist from importuning thy selfe in many things, if thou cease to haue a wil to bribe thy selfe, if thou set before thy eyes thy weakenesse and age, and say vnto thy selfe, Why am I mad? Why weepe I? Why sweat I? Why change I places? Why haunt I the courts and places of conference? I haue neyther neede of much, nor of long time. Moreover, it shall be good to consider the nature of things: this will first of all cause vs to retire our selues from shamefull matters, and afterwards will separate the bodie very far from the minde, which should be great and sublime. Furthermore those subtille discourses which we haue made in our selues, shall not make vs worse in open assemblies. But there is nothing more open then these wholsome counsailes, by which we may learne to bridle our vices and furies, which we daily beleue, but giue ouer neerer.

How true this is the greatest with men haue to himselfe, the wisest Philosophers, the greatest Kings haue confirmed to their dayes.

Worthy contemplation, O had the light of grace accompanied these lights of nature.

Yyy 3

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the originall
of waters, and
their causes.



Now let vs enter into the consideration of waters,
and examine after what means they are made,
eyther as Ouid sayth,

*Cleare was the fountaine bubbling from the sand,
Daining with siluer streamer the fruitfull land.
Or as Virgil sayth,
where by nine channels with a roaring noise,
The wrathfull sea breakes through the mountain side
And drownes the fruitfull pastures that are nice.*

Or as I finde in my dearest Iunior.

*And from Sicilian springs,
Elevs drawes his wings.*

How the sea
furnisheth them.

If any reason can discouer their course, how so many huge floudes fleete along
both day and night; why the one swell and waxe proud through winter wa-
ters, other when as the rest are at the lowest, are at their highest. In the meane
space let vs separate *Nilus* from the rest, that hath a peculiar & singular nature;
wee will referre a day for him, but now wee will onely intreat of common wa-
ters both cold and hote. In which wee are to enquire whether they spring fo of
their owne natures, or whether they haue other causes. Of the rest like *Nile* wee
will discoure, which are eyther famous for their fauour, or for any other parti-
cular profite: for some helpe the eyes, some the nerues, some heale desperate
and inueterate sicknesses that are giuen ouer by the Physicians. Some there are
that heale vicers, some being drunke, fortifie the internall parts, and remedy
the infirmities of the lungs and other inward vessels. Some restrayne and stop
bloud: in briefe, they are no lesse different in their vse, then in their fauour.

CHAP. II.

What their
diuersity and
tastes.



ALL waters are eyther standing, or flow, or are collected, or haue
diuers veins, some are sweete, some are various in taste, other
some harsh or salt, or fitt for medicine: of which, wee say, some
are of brimstone, some of yron, and some of allome. Their fauour
sheweth what their property is. They haue besides these many
other differences, first in respect of touch, being eyther colde or hote, then in
regard of weight, being all either light or heavy. Again, in respect of colour,
some there are that are pure, some troubled, blew and shining. Likewise in re-
gard of their effect and whole someness, for some are healthsome and profitable,
others are deadly, and some there are that conuert into stone. Some are subill
and thin, others, thicke, fatte, and oyley; some nourish, some passe by without
helping him any wayes that drinketh of them, some being drunke cause fecun-
dity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of their situat-
ion.



He position of the place is the cause why eyther the water stand-
eth or floweth; it runneth when it passeth by steepe and bend-
ing places, in the plaine it is still and standing: sometimes by a
contrary wind it is driuen and cauled to mount. Sometimes it
is gathered together, and runneth not: It is engrossed by the
meanes of showres, and is natural in respect of her course, yet is there no cause
to the contrary but that the water may spring and bee multiplied in one
place. Which we obserue in the lake *Eucine* into which all those waters are de-
riued that fall from the neighbouring mountaines: Besides this, great and many
hidden waters it containeth, which obserue their colour, although the win-
ter floudes flow into them.

CHAP. IIII.

Whence issue so
many waters at
weeils.



If of all therefore let vs enquire, how the earth bee sufficient to
continue the course of rivers, from whence there issueth so
much water: wee wonder that the seas receiue no any encrease,
by reason of so many rivers that discharge themselves into her.
And no lesse wonderfull is it, that the earth feelde no alteration
and damage by those so many waters that issue from it. What is it that hath
so filled it, that there can discharge so much out of his secret, to furnish at all
times? what reason fouer wee haue deliuered of Rivers, the same will we pro-
pose as touching brookes and fountaines.

CHAP. V.

If the earth gi-
ueth and recei-
ueth the waters.



Rivers thinke that the earth receiue againe into her whatsoeuer
waters shee hath sent out, and that the seas encrease not hereby,
because they conuert not that which floweth into them to their
vse, but deliuer it out incontinently: for the sea-water by an
vnknowne way passeth thorow the earth, and discouereth it selfe
again, and then secretly returneth, and is strained, and depurated in his pa-
sages, & being beaten by the diuers ingates, and qualities of the earth, takes
her saltnesse, and changeth the prauity of her fauour by passage through so ma-
ny different channels, and at last becometh sweet water.



Some thinke that whatsoeuer raine waters the earth enteraineth
do afterwards fall againe into the seas. And in doing thus, in their
opinion, they say, that there are very few rivers in those countries
where it seldome rayneth. And therefore say they, the defects of
Ethiopia are drie, and that there are few fountaines to bee found
within the heart of *Africa*, because the nature of the ayre is extremely hote, and
for

If raine be the
efficient cause of
waters.

for the most part it is alwayes Summer. These places then that haue neither herbes nor trees, but are sandy are very little, or neuer watered with raines, which if they fall they sodainly drinke vp. But contrariwise it is well knowen that *Germany* and *France* and *Italie* their neighbour abound in springs and riuers, because they haue a moist aire, and a summer, that is not without raine.

CHAP. VII.

The resolution
of the former
opinion.



Hou seest that many things may bee vrged against this opinion: First, I who am a very diligent digger of vineyards, as-
sume this vnto thee, that there is no raine so great that wettest the earth about tenne foot deepe. All the humidity consumeth it selfe in the vpper crust thereof, and descendeth not to the lower parts: how then can the raine furnish the riuers with water when as it doth but wette the vpper part of the earth. The greater part hereof is carried into the sea by the channels of riuers. The earth drinketh vp a very little, and keepeth it not, for eyther shee is drie and consumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refusing that which the heauen too lauishly powreth vpon her. And therefore riuers increase not vpon the first raines, by reason that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreover, are there not riuers that issue out of rocks and mountaines? What increase should the raynes giue them that streame along the rocks, and find not any earth to stay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in those pits which are digged two or three hundred foot deepe, there are found sources of liuing waters in a depth, whether the water cannot penetrate; so that you may know that there is no celestiall or referued humour there but onely pure and springing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of those that alleadge that some fountaines are scene to cast out water on the toppes of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, considering that all raine-water falleth downwards.

CHAP. VIII.

That the waters
flow from some
hidden places
under the earth.



Riuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vast marshes extend themselves, besides great and nauigable lakes; and as the seas are stretched out thorow the huge spaces of earth, and are infused into the vallies, so the interior parts of the earth abound in sweet waters, and that they flow no lesse then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather so much the larger, the more the earth stretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the riuers proceede and are deriued, which why wondrest thou that the earth seeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no lesse of them when they are added to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.



Some like of this cause: They say that the earth hath some secret cauides in her, and much spirits which necessarily wake cold, being oppressed with a waightie obfcuritie, at length becoming flow and without motion, and finally changeth it selfe into water. Euen as the change of aire is the cause of shadow amongst vs, so in the earth the aire produceth the water: It cannot long time continue aboue vs, because it is waightie and still. Sometimes it is attenuated by the Sunne, sometimes it is dissipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we see, that there are great spaces betweene raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwayes the same, perpetuall obfcuritie, continuall cold, vnexercised thicknesse, alwayes therefore will these yeld causes to fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable; yet all that the earth thrust forth is thickened, because it is not conuoluted by a pure and free aire, and consequently is sodainly conuerted into water.

If aire being
conuoluted to wa-
ter, vnder earth
be the efficient
cause of waters.

CHAP. X.



On see now the first causes, how waters are bred vnder the earth: Adde hereunto also if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore should not earth bee made of water, and water of earth? which if it bee changeable into anything, may bee changed into water, nay most of all into it. Both of them resemble one another, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why should not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers: But when thou seest how great they are, consider againe, from how great a thing they come. Again, thou wondrest that although some float incessantly, and others fle with a maruailous swiftnesse, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou say, that whereas the windes impell the aire, yet notwithstanding it falleth in no part being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turning by a sodaine and spacious motion through this vast extent of the heauens? Art thou not amazed to see that there is not one drop of water left, after so many billowes that haue beaten against the rocks and shores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it selfe. The elements doe nothing els but turne and returne. That which the one losseth, the other getteth. And nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare lest if there were too little on the one side, and too much on the other, the world should fall into ruine. All things are in all things; not only the aire passeth into the element of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it; it will freeze, it will grow thick, and hard: The aire is changed into water; yet in such sort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is shee neuer lesse without water then without aire. And therefore the passage through both the one and the other is more easie, because shee is already intermixed with those elements through which shee must passe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this shee expresseth. Shee hath the aire like wife, which is thickened by the shadow of winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: Shee is changeable into humour, and vseth her owne nature.

Whether water
proceede from
the earth.

Of the trans-
mutation of one ele-
ment into an-
other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Why Rivers and
fountains are
dried up some-
times.

WHat, therefore, saiest thou, if the causes be perpetual, whereby Ri-
uers and fountains rise, why are they sometimes dried and some-
times issue from those places where they were not? Of times
their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of
the earth; and ruines cut of these issues, and by restraining the
waters enforce them to seek new passages, yea and to enforce their way or else
to break forth their way in another place by reason of some earthquake. It
saileth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Rivers that haue lost their
bed first spread themselves, and afterwards hauing lost their way do that which
Theophrastus saith, hapned in the Mountaine called *Corycus*, in which, after an
earthquake there brake forth diuers fountains that were not discovered be-
fore. But some thinke that by diuers other interuent accidents the waters are
deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when
there was no water to bee found in the mountayne *Hemus*, but when as the
French men being besieged by *Cassander* had retired themselves into those
parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water
which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that
humour that was wont to be consumed in nourishing them beganne to spread
it selfe. The like, saith he, hapned also about *Magnesia*. But if I may speake
without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is unlikely. For the most part
those places that are shadowed are fullest of water, which would not come to
passe if the trees dried vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neare:
but the force of Rivers springeth from beneath and hath farre more extent and
humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped
deferue more humour, not only to maintayne their being, but also for their in-
crease. The same man saith that about *Arcadia*, which was a Citie in *Greece*,
the Fountaines and Lakes dried vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land
ceased to be manured: but after it beganne to be husbanded, the waters return-
ed againe. By reason of this drynesse they thinke that the earth is hardened,
and that remanyn vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence com-
meth it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Desarts and those places
that are no wayes put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in
diuers Countries which haue bene tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue
become found in them; and that other some haue not begunne to make stee of
sources, because they haue not bene husbanded. For by this shalst thou vnder-
stand that it is not raine-water that presently deriuech from a fountain those
vast floods, that are fit to beare great ships of burthen, because that both in win-
ter and sommer these floods haue their equall course from the beginning vnto
the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a Riuer, that streamech and
stoteth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and banks. The raines make
not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP. XII.

WHAT vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more neer-
ly, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning if thou
consider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abun-
dance of perpetuall water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the
cause of a Riuer. If therefore you aske mee how water is made,
I will intreat you also to answer me how aire or earth is made: if there be foure
elements a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part
of nature: why therefore wondrest thou that so great a portion of Nature may al-
waies spread something out of it selfe? Euen as the aire which is the fourth part
of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the
winde be a flowing aire, euery Riuer is a flowing water. I haue giuen him suf-
ficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest
that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

What is the true
cause of Rivers.

CHAP. XIII.

After, as *Thales* saith, is the strongest of all the Elements, and in his
opinion it is the first, because that all things haue bene created of
water. For welikewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe
in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the
world, and conuerteth all things into himselfe; which vanishing
and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth
nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the fu-
ture world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the
ending. Dost thou wonder that Rivers may alwaies issue from this Element,
which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in
the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth; and so placed, that it
might suffer both to produce floods, riuers, and fountaines. That which fol-
loweth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for hee saith that the globe of the earth is
sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and flutted with in
his mobilitie, and such time as he is said to tremble, it is not therefore to be wondered
at: that there is sufficient water to make Rivers, considering that all the world
is water. But hisse away and contemne this old opinion. For thou art not
to thinke that water entereth by certaine creuises into this world, and worketh
out a pompe.

The opinion of
Thales as touch-
ing water.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Egyptians made foure elements; and then of euery one of
them two male and female: They suppose the male to be the
male because it is winde; female because it is obiscure and still.
They call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flurie; femi-
nine, because it is kineth without hurting by touching: The stron-
ger earth they call male, as for example, stones and rocks: they assigne the name
of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

The opinion of
the Egyptians as
touching the
number of the
elements.

CHAP.

for the most part it is alwayes Summer. These places then that haue neither herbes nor trees, but are sandy are very little, or neuer watered with raines, which if they fall they sodainly drinke vp. But contrariwise it is well knowne that *Germany* and *France* and *Italie* their neighbour abound in springs and riuers, because they haue a moist aire, and a summer, that is not without rain.

CHAP. VII.

The refutation
of the former
opinion.

Hou seest that many things may bee vrged against this opinion: First, I who am a very diligent digger of vineyards, affirmeth this vnto thee, that there is no rain so great that wetted the earth about tenn foot deepe. All the humidity consumeth it selfe in the vpper crust thereof, and descendeth not to the lower parts: how then can the rain furnish the riuers with water when as it doth but wet the vpper part of the earth. The greater part thereof is carried into the sea by the channels of riuers. The earth drinketh vp a very little, and keepeth it not, for eyther shee is drie and consumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refusing that which the heauen too lausihly poureth vpon her. And therefore riuers increase not vpon the first raines, by reason that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreover, are there not riuers that issue out of rocks and mountaines? What increase should the raynes giue them that streame along the rocks, and find not any earth to stay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in those pits which are digged two or three hundred foot deepe, there are found sources of liuing waters in a depth, whether the water cannot penetrate; so that you may know that there is no celestiall or referued humour there but onely pure and springing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of those that alleadge that some fountaines are scene to cast out water on the toppes of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, considering that all rain-water falleth downewards.

CHAP. VIII.

That the waters
flow from some
hidden places
under the earth.

Riuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vast marshes extend themselves, besides great and nauigable lakes; and as the seas are stretched out thorow the huge spaces of earth, and are infused into the vallies, so the interior parts of the earth abound in sweet waters, and that they flow no lesse then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather so much the larger, the more the earth stretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the riuers proceede and are deriued, which why wondrest thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no sense of them when they are added to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Some like of this cause: They say that the earth hath some secret caules in her, and much spirits which necessarily waite cold, being oppressed with a waightie obcuritie, at length becoming flow and without motion, and finally changeth it selfe into water. Euen as the change of aire is the cause of shadow amongst vs, so in the earth the aire produceth the water. It cannot long time continue about vs, because it is waightie and still. Sometimes it is attracted by the Sunne, sometimes it is dissipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we see, that there are great spaces betweene raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwayes the same, perpetuall obcuritie, continually cold, vnexcessed thickenesse, alwayes therefore will these yeeld causes to fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable; yet all that shall thus forth is thickied, because it is not conuenced by a pure and free aire, and consequently is sodainly conuerted into water.

If aire being
conuenced to wa-
ter vnder earth
be the efficient
cause of moisture.

CHAP. X.

Ou see now the first causes, how waters are bred vnder the earth. Adde hereunto also if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore should not earth bee made of water, and water of earth? which if it bee changeable into anything, may bee changed into water, nay most of all into it. Both of them resemble one another, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why should not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers; But when thou seest how great they are, consider againe from how great a thing they come. Againe, thou wondrest that although some float incessantly, and others file with a maruailous swiftnesse, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou say, that whereas the windes impell the aire, yet notwithstanding it faileth in no part being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turning by a sodaine and spacious motion through this vast extent of the heuens? Art thou not amased to see that there is not one drop of water left, after so many billowes that haue beaten against the rocks, and shores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it selfe. The elements doe nothing elsse but turne and returne. That which the one loseth, the other getteth. And nature examineth her parts as it were in a balance, for feare lest if there were too little on the one side, and too much on the other, the world should fall into ruine: All things are in all things, not only the aire passeth into the element of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will grow thick, and hard. The aire is changed into water, yet in such sort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is shee neuer lesse without water then without aire. And therefore the passage through both the one and the other is more easie, because shee is already intermixed with those elements through which they must passe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this shee expresseth. Shee hath the aire likewise, which is thickied by the shadow of winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: Shee is changeable into humour, and vseth her owne nature.

Whether water
proceede from
the earth.

Of the trans-
mutation of an ele-
ment into an-
other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Why Rivers and
fountains are
dried up some-
times.



That, therefore, saith thou, if the causes be perpetual, why are Rivers and fountains rise, why are they sometimes dried and sometimes issue from those places where they were not? Oftentimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut of these issues, and by restraining the waters enforce them to seek new passages, yea and to enforce their way or else to breake forth their way in another place, by reason of some earthquake. If falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Rivers that haue lost their bed first spread themselves, and afterwards hauing lost their way do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called *Corycus*, in which, after an earthquake there brake forth diuers fountains that were not discovered before. But some thinke that by diuers other interuenient accidents the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to bee found in the mountayne *Hemus*, but when as the French men being besieged by *Cassander* had retired themselves into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to bee consumed in nourishing them beggan to spread it selfe. The like, saith he, hapned also about *Magna*. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed are fullest of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dried vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neare: but the force of Rivers springeth from beneath and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are elopped deferue more humour, not only to maintayne their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith that about *Acadia*, which was a Citie in *Greece*, the Fountaines and Lakes dried vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceased to be manured; but after it beggan to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this drynesse they thinke that the earth is hardened, and that remaining vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence cometh it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Desarts and those places that are no wayes put in vse? In briefe, we finde that there are many places in diuers Countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue bene found in them; and that other some haue not begonne to make skew of sources, because they haue not bene husbanded. For by this shalt thou understand that it is not raine-water that presently deriuech from a fountayne those vast floods, that are fit to beare great ships of burthen, because that both in winter and sommer these floods haue their equal course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a River, that streamech and floweth with an equal tide both with his brincks and bancks. The raine maketh not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.



he vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more narrowly, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning. If thou consider the true original of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abundance of perpetual water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the cause of a River. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you also to answer me how aire or earth is made: if there be foure elements a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wondrest thou that so great a portion of Nature may alwaies spread something out of it selfe. Euen as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: If the winde be a flowing aire, euery River is a flowing water. I haue giuen him sufficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

What is the true
cause of Rivers.

CHAP. XIII.



After, as *Thales* saith, is the Strongest of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the first, because that all things haue bene created of water. For we likewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into himselfe; which vanishing and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Dost thou wonder that Rivers may alwaies issue from this Element, which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and so placed, that it might suffer both to produce floods, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for hee saith that the globe of the earth is sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctueth in his mobilitie, and such time as he is said to tremble, it is not therefore to be wondered at: that there is sufficient water to make Rivers, considering that all the world is in water. But hiss away and contemne this old opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine creuises into this world, and worketh out a pompe.

The opinion of
Thales as touch-
ing water.

CHAP. XIII.



The Egyptians made foure elements, and then of euery one of them two male and female. They suppose the aire to bee the male because it is winde; female because it is obscure and still. If they call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flutte; feminine, because it shineth without hurting by touching. The strongest earth they call male, as for example, stones, and rocks: they assigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

The opinion of
the Egyptians as
touching the
number of the
elements.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Flow and from
whence the wa-
ters proceed.

Hence is the Sea? From the beginning it was so made, hee hath vaines whereby he is impelled, and floweth. As the way of the sea is vast and hidden, so is that of the milder waters, which no course of any river whatsoever may drie vp. The reason of the forces of the same is hidden. There is nothing more from it then there is superfluities; we approve some of these opinions, but consider besides these, that which ensueth. I consent that the earth is governed by Nature, and that it hath some resemblance with our bodies, wherein there are vaines and arteries, the one to containe the blood, the other the spirit. In the earth likewise there are such waies, whereby the water runneth, and others, whereby the winde whirleth, which Nature hath so formed according to the resemblance of our bodies, that our Ancestors haue called them vaines, which are the sources of waters. But as in vs, besides the vaines, there are diuers sorts of humors, either necessarie, or superfluous and stinking. The braines for the head, the marrow for the bones, the muskles, the excrements of the eyes, the nerves in the ioynts to procure a more easie motion: so are there diuers sorts of humiditie found in the earth. Some being ripened, are hardened as mettals, amongst which aurifer haue digged vp gold and siluer. There are others likewise which are changed into stone. In some places the earth and water melt themselves, as we see in *Bitumen*, a clammy, limie, and pitchie substance, and in others. This is the cause of waters that are bred according to the ordinance of Nature. But as in our bodies, so oftentimes in the earth the humours are corrupted, either a stroake, or some shaking, or the age of the place, or cold, or heate offends Nature: so a sulphurous earth will draw a certaine humour, which sometimes will continue long, sometimes little. Euen as therefore in our bodies when a vaine is opened, the blood floweth so long, vntill there be no more, or vntill the orifice of the prike be shut, and hath a cicatrice; or in any other sort the blood be stopped: in such sort in the earth; when the vaines of the same, are open, the brooks or rivers spread themselves. That only is to be considered how great the orifice is, and how the water is consumed: sometimes it is dried vp by some impediment, sometimes it vnitheth it selfe, as it were, in a cicatrice, and followeth that way which the hath made: sometimes this masse of earth, which, as wee said, is immutable, ceaseth to conuert the humiditie into nutriment: sometimes the conduits that are dried are filled againe, either in assembling their owne forces, or gathering it from others. For oftentimes those things that are void, being set neere vnto those things that are full, draw the humor from them, which passeth easily into another thing. Oftentimes the earth drieth it selfe, and afterwards becommeth moist. The same falleth out vnder earth, which happeneth in the clouds, that the earth thickeneth her selfe, and engendereth an humiditie so waightie, that she can no longer containe it. Oftentimes she gathereth a thin and dispersed liquor like vnto dew, which is gathered from diuers places into one. Those Masters that make fountaines, call it the sweat of the earth, because that certaine droppes are expressed thorow the straitnesse of the place, or are drawne by cunning. In this place there needeth much humiditie for a little source. But as touching the greater rivers, they proceed from very great causes and conceptions, sometimes they flow mildly, if the water hath onely carried her selfe by her owne waight: sometimes with vehemencie and great noise, if the aire be intermixed and push it forth.

CHAP.

Diuers humidities
in the earth,
as in our bodies.

But why are some fountaines for sixe houres space full, and sixe houres drie. It were but labour lost to name all those rivers which swell for diuers monthes, and are small for certaine other. It is not now needfull to seeke out a reason for every one in particular: since I may yeeld the same reason for all rivers in general. Euen as the quarter an age cometh at an houre, the yout hath a certaine terme, and purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth his critique day, and female produceth her fruit in a prefixed time: so the waters haue their pauses both to ebbe and flow. But some spaces are lesse, and therefore more notable, some greater and no lesse certaine. Why should a man wonder heret, when as thou seest the order of things disposed by degrees, according to assignations? The Winter hath alwaies kept his course. The Summer is warmed in due time. The changes of Autumne and Spring obserue their vsual customes: both the Solstice and Equinoctium haue reference to their dayes. Vnder earth the Lawes of Nature are lesse knowne vnto vs, yet are they not lesse certaine. Below, thou seest as much vnder earth as above. For there are there, most spacious dens, infinite and great retreates, and large spaces betwix the mountains that are hanged here and there. There are a number of hollowes and bottomlesse pits that haue swallowed vp whole Cities, and haue hidden strange ruines in their depths. These caues are full of aire, (for there is nothing void in the vniers) and in spacious and obscure pooles, likewise, there breed certaine creatures (although confused and deformed) as if engendred in a blind and darke, and in waters ouergrowne with mud, diuers of which are blinde as Moales, and Rats, that are bred vnder ground, who want light, because they haue no need thereof. From thence likewise, as *Theophrastus* thinketh, fishes are drawne forth in some places.

CHAP. XVII.

Here are many things in this place which come vnto thy minde, which a man may terme after a merrie sort, both incredulous and fabulous, that a man should goe and fish with his pickaxe, and not with nets and hookes. I expect that some one should goe a fishing in the sea. But why may not fishes as well haunt vpon the earth, as we trauersse the seas? In the end wee will change our abode. Dost thou wonder at that which I haue spoken? How farre more incredible are the workes of exesse and dissolution, as often as the list to falsifie and surmount Nature? Fishes swimme in the chamber, and vnder the very table the fish is taken, that is dressed and serued in presently to the table. A Barbell newly taken is not delicate enough, if it dieth not in their hands that are invited to dinne. They are shut vp, serued in, and shewed in pots of glasse, at which time men take pleasure in their colour, when they are ready to die, which is changed directly, when as the fish beginneth to waxe weake, and beateh her selfe to death by little and little. Some they kill in *Garnes*, or pickle, and dresse them liuing. Whence are those then that thinke it impossible that a fish should liue vnder the earth, and be digged out, and not taken? How incredible would this seeme

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Of the flux and
reflux of foun-
taines, and
the increase and
decrease of some
rivers in certain
seasons.

After some dis-
cription he touch-
eth the contri-
ved vanitie of
disolute men of
his time in re-
spect of their
life.

vnto them, that a fish swimmes in pickle, and that it was not killed for supper, but in the middle of supper, and made much sport, and fed the eyes before it satisfied the belly.

CHAP. XVIII.

Et vs giue ouer this dispute, and suffer me to perswade this exesse. There is nothing more faire, sayest thou, than to see a Barbel die. At such time as the struggleth for life, first there appeareth a rednesse, and afterwards the is covered all with palenesse, which are equally varied, and the face of the colour is vncertaine betwixt life and death. O long idlenesse of sleepe and sluggish dissolution; too late hath the beene awakened, too late hath the knowne, that she was deprived and defrauded of so great a good. Yet fisher-men enioyed this so great and goodly spectacle, having the meanes to see such a fish dead and foddren for their table. We wondered to see them so daintie, that they would not touch the fish, except it were taken the same day, which as they said, should taste of the fish itselfe. Therefore were they carried in poise, and in euery streete whole companies made way for rippers, that puffing and crying out as they ranne, to make way. But to what height is exesse growne vnto? That fish that is caught and killed to day is reputed rotten. I will not trust thee with a matter of so great importance, I will haue it brought me aliue, and I will see it die. The stomackes of the belly-gods are seazed with this loathing, that they cannot taste a fish, except they haue seene it swimming, and dying at their banquets. The more that exesse and furious desires of superfluities made them ingenious, the more also did their furie contemning all vsuall matters, inuent daily some new subtiltie and magnificence. We haue heard it spoken, that in times past, that the Barbel that was taken amongst rocks, and in stony places, was a daintie dish. But now we heare them say that there is nothing more pleasing, then to see a Barbel die. Giue mee the glasse-bodie into my hands, that I may see it leape and quiver. When it hath been much and long time praised, it is suddenly taken out of that cleere fish-pool, then euery one as he is cunninger shewes his opinion. See how this rednes appeareth more tinctured then Vermilion. Behold what vaine he discouereth on his sides, you would say his belly were of bloud? What cleare and blew colour hath he discouered at one time. Now he stretched out himselfe, and becommeth pale and of one colour. But amongst all these deuisers, you shall finde none of them that will sit by his friend that lies a dying, no man will haue the heart to see his father yeeld vp the ghost, although he hath wished his death heartily. Who is he amongst all these gourmands, that followeth a dead man of his family to the fire. He will abandon his parents and friends at the last houre, yet notwithstanding they assemble themselves together to see a dying fish? For in their opinion there is nothing more faire. I cannot chuse, but giue at them sometimes, and vs some tart and rude termes in respect of these men, who when there is any question of kitchin-works, are not content with their teeth, throats, and bellies to feed their exesse, except they fustet with their eyes.

CHAP.

He continueth
his repulse as
gauntt more ex-
cesse.

CHAP. XIX.

BUt to returne vnto my purpose, take this for a certaine argument, that in the hollow places of the earth, there is a great abundance of hidden waters that breed much corrupt and muddy fish, which if at any time they breake forth, bring with them an immeasurable troope of fishes horrible to sight, and filthy and vnwholesome in taste; truly at such time as a great quantity of this water is sued out of the earth in the country of *Caria*, neere to the City of *Lorina*: all they died whosoeuer did eate of those fishes that were drawne out of that River which before time was vnkowne. Neither is this to bee wondered at; for such fishes is: these, because they had beene long time shut vp, were become great, fat and long, but slimy and seured in the darkenesse, and had neuer seen the light, whence commeth the wholesomenes of all victuals. That fishes may breed in the hollow of the earth, it appeareth because that Eeles are taken in hidden places, in troubled waters and pits which yeeld a meate of hard digestion, by reason of their sluggishnesse, especially when they are taken in those places where there is so much mudd, as they may wholly bury themselves therein: so then the earth hath not onely vaines of water, which by their current may make riuers, but also foudles of great extent, whereof some runne alwayes vnderneath the earth, vntill such time as they discharge themselves in some gulfe, some appeare vnder some lake. And who knoweth not that there are certaine pooles which appeare without bottome: whereto tendeth this? to show that the great riuers haue a continuall matter to maintain them, whose extremities are not to be touched as they may be in springs & fountains.

The difference
of waters vnder
the earth.

Pestilent fishes
and why.

CHAP. XX.

And why haue waters diuers tastes? for foure causes. The first is of the earth thorow which the waters are carried. The second, by reason of the agreement and conueniency of the same. The third, of ayre which is transformed into water. The fourth of corruption which hapneth vpon diuers occasions. These causes giue diuers fauors and properties vnto waters. These giue the vertue to heale infirmities, these yeelde a sinking dampe and a pestilent vapour, the lightnes or heauinesse, or too much heate or colde. It importeth also to know whether they passe by the vaines of sulphure, nitre or bitume: If they bee corrupted by some dangerous minerals, a man cannot drinke of them without the hazard of his life. Therefore it is that *Ouid* sayth:

The causes of
the diuers fa-
uors of waters.

*The Cicones haue such a flood that being drunke doth change,
Their bowle that do drinke to stone, all este marble strange.*

Examples of
mortalis water.

This is a medicine, and hath a mud of that nature, that it both agglutineth and hardneth that whereupon it is applied. Euen as the dust of the territory of *Prus* if it toucheth this water is turned into stone; so contrariwise this water if it toucheth any thing that is solide, it cleaueth, and is affixed thereunto. Thence is it that such things as are cast into this lake, are forthwith drawn

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out

out as hard as stone. The like whereof falleth out in some places of *Italy*, whether you cast a reed or the leaues of trees into the same, thou shalt draw them out in few dayes in the forme of stone: for the winde incloseth the body on every side, and by little and little taketh hold and hardeneth it. This will seeme lesse wonderfull and strange vnto thee, if thou obserue how these white and sulphurous waters are hardened and congealed about their channels and pipes. Some such cause haue these lakes: whereof whosoever drinketh as the Poet saith;

Growes furious, or else falls to Lethargie.

It hath the like force that wine hath, but more vehement: for euen as drunkenesse vntill it bee dried is madnesse, and by the weight thereof driueth him that is drunke into sleepe: so the sulphurous vertue of this water hath some more powerfull venome in it by means of the corrupted ayre, whence followeth eyther fury or lethargie, the like euill hath the river *Lyncestius*.

*Which whose drinks although his draught be small,
Stumbles as if pure wine had made him fall.*

CHAP. XXI.

They that haue lookt downe into some deepe gulfes, doe die, so sodaine is the venome which killeth those birdes that doe but flie ouer it, such is the ayre, and such the place from whence this deadly water distilleth. But if the venome of that ayre and place be lesse vehement, the euill also is in some sort lenised, it onely debilitateh the nerves, and stupifieth them, as it were with drunkenesse. Neither doe I wonder, that the place and ayre doe infect the waters, and maketh them like vnto those regions, by which, and from which they come: The fauor of the pasture appeareth in the milke, and the force of the wine is extant in the vineger; there is nothing that hath not some taste of that from whence it was taken and bred.

CHAP. XXII.

No other kind there is of water also, that as we thinke had his beginning with the world, which if it be eternall, so is this likewise, and if it hath any beginning, it likewise hath a beginning with him. Aske you me what this is? It is the Ocean with all those other seas, that eyther flow from it, or wash the borders of it. Some are of opinion that certaine rivers, (whose nature cannot bee expressed) haue had their beginnings with the world, as *Sper* and *Nilus*, and other spacious floudes, and such as a man cannot reckon in the ranke of others, nor driue them from the same source.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

This is therefore the diuision of waters, according to some mens opinions. After these there are celestiall waters, which the clouds powre downe from aboue. Amongst the terrestriall waters, there are some (if I may so speake it) that swim and flow about the earth, other some there bee that are hidden, whereof wee haue yeilded a reason.

Diversity of terrestriall waters.

CHAP. XXIII.

Some there are that yeeld diuers reasons why certaine watets are hote, and others so boyling, that they can bee of no use, except they be cooled by the ayre, or tempered by the mixture of colde water. *Empedocles* thinketh that the water is hote by those fires which the earth couereth and concealeth in diuers places, especially if they runne vnder that soyle by which they take their passage. Wee are wont to make certaine Dragons and Serpentes, and diuers other fashions of vessels, in which we fasten diuers little pyres of thin brasse bending downwards, to the end that the water distilling and turning oftentimes before the fire, may get issue in such space of time wherein it may take heate. It therefore entrencheth colde, and sheweth out hote. *Empedocles* is of this opinion, that the same is done vnder the earth, to whose opinion they consend that whole bathes are warmed without fire. A warme ayre is infused thereunto, which serueth in steade of fire. This running through the pypes warmeth the walles and vessels of the bath, as if fire had bene let neere vnto it. In briefe, the colde water is by this meanes changed into hote, neither doth the euaporation draw any fauour, because it passeth thorow closed and couered places. Some thinke that these waters that eyther passe by or enter these places that are full of sulphure, draw their heate by the benefite of the matter thorow which they passe, which appeareth by their smell and taste; for they yeeld the quality of the matter which hath warmed them; and least thou shouldest wonder at this accident, powre mee but water vpon quicklime, and it will burne.

Why these are hote waters.

CHAP. XXV.

Diuers waters are deadly which neither offend in odour nor in taste. About *Nauacris* in *Arcadia* there is a riuer which the inhabitants of the place call *Syx* which deceiueh strangers, because both in sight, and in smell, it resembleth others, such as are the poysons of most cunning poysoners, which cannot bee discovered but by death: but this water whereof I haue spoken a little before corrupteth with incredible swiftnesse, neither is there any remedy for it, because that as soone as it is drunken, it thickeneth and hardeneth as plaster doth in the water, and closeth vp the bowels. There is likewise a certaine venomous water in *Thessaly* about *Tempe*, which both wilde beastes and all kind of cattell doe flie from, which pierceth both yron and brasse, such force it hath to mollifie those

Of venomous & deadly waters.

Notable examples.

Z z z 3

Whence proceedeth these diuers effects in waters.

Of the Ocean created in the beginning of the world.

Pliny calleth it
ceron in his se-
cond booke.

The cause of such
effects.

Of stones and
trees in things
that float above
the water.

The reason of
the marvellous
eff. of cutillas.

those things that are heard. There are no trees that grow about it, nor any hearbes but it killeth them. In some Riuer there is a wonderfull propertie. For some of these there are, which being drunke doe tincture and die the flocks of sheepe, and within a very short space those that were blacke carrie white wools; and those that came with white fleeces returne with blacke. The like effects likewise haue two Riuer in Beotia, whereof the one is called Melus, that is to say, blacke by reason of this operation, yet both of these issue from the same lake, though they haue different effects. In Macedonia likewise, as *Theophrastus* saith, there is a floud, whitherto they that desire to haue white sheepe driue their flocks, which the longer they haue drunke, the more deeply are they dyed and turned into white: but if they haue neede of a browne colour, they haue a ready and free Dier, for they driue the same flocke to the floud Ceron. I haue moderne authors that write that there is a Riuer in Galatia, that blacketh all that which is steeped in it, that in Capadocia there is another that changeth the colour of horses onely (and not other beaſts) causing their haire to be spotted with white. It is well knowne that there some lakes that beare them vp, who cannot swim. There was in Sicily, and at this day there is in Siria a pond, on the top whereof whole bricks doe swim, and although heauie things be cast into the same, yet can they not sinke vnto the bottome. And the cause hereof is very manifest. Weigh me a thing whatsoeuer it be, and counterpoise it with water, if the water be more waighte it will beare vp the thing that is lighter then it selfe, and will raise the same about her the more lighter it is, and that which is more waighte will descend. But if the waight of the water, and the thing thou counterpoisest with it be equal, the shall not draw it to the bottome, neyther shall it wholly swim about the water, but it shall be carried on euē with the water, but shall swim as it were halfe drowned, and eminent in no part. Thence commeth it that some pieces of tumber sometimes float wholly about the water, other some are halfe within the water, and others sinke to the bottome. For when as the waight of the wood and water are equal, and that the one thing yeeldeth in no fort to the other that which is more waigthy descendeth, and that which is lighter is carried on the top of the water. But we esteeme the heauie and light, not according to our owne estimate, but in comparison of the thing that should carrie and beare vp the same. When as therefore the water is heauier then the body of a man or a stone, the suffereth not that which is more lighter to sinke vnto the bottome. Whence it commeth to passe that the stones themselves float vpon the water, yea, euē those that are hardest & most solid. For there are many Pumice stones & such as are light, whereof certain Islands in Lydia are composed, the which for this cause swimme in the Sea, if a man will beleuee *Theophrastus*. For mine owne part I my selfe haue seene an Island in the lake of Cutillas that floated, another in the lake of Vadimona, another in the lake of Station, swimming vpon the water: The Island of Cutillas hath trees and hearbes growing on it, although the water beareth it vp, and is driuen hither and thither, not onely by a strong winde, but by euery gentle gale whatsoeuer. Neyer remaineth it eyther by day or night in one place, so moueable is it vpon euery breath of winde. There are two causes hereof: the waight of the medicinable water, & consequently more heatie; and the matter of the Ille which is apt to be carried, which hath no solid bodie, although it nourish trees. For happily the fat humors taketh hold of, and bindeth together the lighter trunks, and those leaues that are scattered in the lake. Therefore although there be some stones in the same, yet shall thou finde

finde them spongie and hollow, such as those are which a thicke water collecteth and breedeth about the brinks of some medicinable fountaines, which are engendered of the fume that is made by the excrements of the water, that gather themselves together. That thing of necessity must be light, which is made of another thing that is windie and voyde. There are some secrets whereof a man can yeeld no reason; as why the water of Nilus maketh women fruitful, in such fort that it hath opened and disposed to conception the matrice of some women, that hath been closed by long sterilitie; why likewise some waters in Lycia retaine the seede conceived by women, who had their matrice euē open. For mine own part, I number these things amongst those that are vndersecretly and rashly published. Some beleuee that there are certaine waters that breed the scab in mens bodies, or that poured on the skin or drunken, the leprosie, and other white and deformed spots, which vice they ascribe to that water that is gathered of dew. Who would not thinke that those waters that are turned into crytall are most waighte; yet it is farre otherwise, for this filtheth out in the lightest waters, which the colde very easily congealeth, by reason that they are no wayes thicke. But whence this stone is made, it appeareth very plainly by the name which the Grecians gae the same, for they call it *apudanas*, as well the transparent stone as the Ice, whereof it is supposed that the crytall is made. For the celestiall water, hauing very little earthly substance in it, when it is grown hard by the continencie and vehemency of the longer cold is thickened more and more, vntill such time as (all aire being excluded) it shutteth in it selfe, and that humour which was is made a stone.

There are infinite secrets in nature, whereof a man cannot gae a reason.

How crytall is made.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN summer some flouds are increased, as Nilus (whereof we will render another reason, in a more convenient place) *Theophrastus* writeth, that in Pontus there are certaine riuers that increase in the summer time, whereof he iudgeth that there are three causes, first, because at that time most of all the earth is apt to be changed into winter; next, because there are some huge showers that fall in a more remote place, whose waters streaming along by secret passages, are silently discharged into the same; thirdly, if the entrie be beaten with continuall windes, and the floud be beaten, and the water mounteth backe againe, which seemeth to increase because it is not poured out into the Sea; the fourth reason is from the Planets, for those in some months vige more then in other some, and dry vp the flouds; in other places being farther off, they draw and consume lesse, in such sort, that that which is lessened in one season is increased in another. There are some flouds that manifestly fall into some bottomelesse pit, and so are swallowed vp from our sight: some are consumed by little and little, and after some intermission return againe and reassume both their name and course: the cause is manifest, there is some vacuities under the earth. But all water by nature descendeth downward, and is carried into a voyde place. The Riuer therefore that are receiued thither make their secret course, but as soone as any thing that is solid meeteth with them, and stayeth them, by working a passage that resisteth them, lest they renewe and pursue their former course.

Why some Riuer increase in Summer.

Other diuers accidents in Riuer and Fountaines.

*So when as Lions is drunke vp and drayned
By yawning earth, at last he mounts againe,
Far from the place where first it was contayned,
And springs and floats within another maine,
And now drunke vp, straight with a silent course
Sliding along, he spends his floods vntamed
Amidst the Greeks Ocean, and his source
Is in that place proude Erasmus named.*

The flood Tygris doth the like in the East; it is swallowed vp, and after hauing made a long journey vnderneath the earth, at last in a farre remote place it riseth againe vndoubtedly the same. Some fountaines at a certaine time cast out their excrement, as Arethusa in Sicilia doth from five to five yeares, in Summer during the Olympian games: from thence springs that common report, that the riuier Alphæus passeth from Achaia thither, and running vnder the sea, without discouering her selfe, or breaking forth vntill such time as she hath attained the Sicilian shore. Therefore in those dayes when the Olympique games are solemnized, the excrements of those beasts that are sacrificed, being cast downe the streame, found their issue and appeare there. This, my dearest *Lucilius*, hast thou expressed in thy Poeme: the like hath *Virgil* done, speaking to the fountaine Arethusa;

*So grant the gods, that whilst thy milder waue
The swift Sicilian streame doth vndermine,
That bitter tasted Doris neuer haue
The meanes to intermix his waue with thine.*

There is a fountaine in Cheroneſe of Rhodes, that after a great space of time poureth out from her bottome certaine ordures, vntill such time as it is wholly and intirely purified. The like to this doe diuers other fountaines in other places, which vomit out not onely their mud and the leaues of trees, but also all other things that are cast thereinto. The like doth the Sea in euery place, whose nature is this; to discharge whatsoever carkasses or vnclauepelle it hath in it vpon the shores. Some parts of the Sea doe the like in some seasons of the yeare, as about Melina and Milas, at which time the callest vp vpon the sands, I know not what excrement, like vnto dung, and boyleth and ripeleth, exhaling a stinking odor; whence the fable riseth, That the horses of the Sun are stabled there. But there are some things whereof it is a hard matter to yeld a reason: and as touching this, which is now in question, although some haue diligently obserued when this purgation is made, yet is there no certainty thereof; so that the necesse cause can hardly be found out but onely the general, which is, that all still and inclosed waters purge themselves ordinarily, for excrements cannot stay in those which haue a current, that carrieth and rauisheth all things with it. Those that pulle not to their shores that which is false into them, haue a streame that is lesse or more violent. But the Sea draweth from her bottome, and casteth vpon her shores the bodies of the dead, the wrecks of ships, and those small things that she receiueth, purging her selfe as well in faire weather as in stormie.

CHAP.

*The causes of
the purgation of
these Riuers.*

CHAP. XXVII.

BVt this place moueth me to demand when the destined day for the deluge shall come, how the greater part of the earth shall be couered with waters? whether it shall be done by the vertue of the Ocean? whether the water that appeareth shall raise her selfe against vs? whether the violent raises shall fall without intermission, or if the winter hauing driuen away the former shall breake the clouds, and power downe abundant waters; or if the earth shall more largely extend all her waters, and shall discouer new fountaines, or whether there shall be diuers concurrent causes to one so great a desolation, so as the raines shall fall in great abundance, the Riuers shall exceede their bounds, the Seas forsaking their ordinary limits shall couer the earth, and all waters gathered together, shall run in one company, with a deliberation to extingwish mankind. Thus it is; nothing is difficult vnto nature, especially when the baldest to her end: in the creation and beginning of things she vseth her forces sparingly, and dispendeth her selfe by fallacious increas; but when the ententeth ruine, she suddenly employeth all her forces. How long time is there required from the day of the conception of a childe, vntill the time he forsaketh his mothers wombe? with how great labours is he brought vp from his cradle? and what care must there be had in breeding and bringing vp this little bodie? But how suddenly and without labour is he brought to nothing? An age buildeth Cities, but an hower destroyeth them. The wood that hath flourished long is made ashes in a moment. All things stand and flourish vnder a prouident care, and are dissolved quickly and suddenly. All that which nature would alter in the estate of things that are created, sufficeth to ruinate mankind. When as therefore this necessity of time shall come, the destinies moue many causes at once, and without a great concussion of the world so great a change cannot be made, as some think, amongst whom is *Fabianus*. First of all the immeasurable raines fall, and the heauen is wholly couered, without any appearance of the Sunne: a thick, moynt, darke and continuall fogge inuironeth the earth, and ceaseth not to distill, neither Vines or corne attaine vnto their maturitie: all seeds are lost in the earth, the fields are couered with such hearbes as grow in Marishes and Plathes, expecting as yet some greater desolation; for the roots are loosened, the trees fall, the Vine and euery other plant hath no more holde of the earth that is soft and fluid. It sustaineth no more by the meanes of the waters, cyther hearbe or grasse: famine presseth all men, and they enforced to seeke their sustentance after the manner of the auncients beate downe and shake downe the Burgens and Acornes of the Holme and Oake, and all such that in such necessities a tree may furnish, being shaken or beaten with stones. The rotten houses fall vnto the ground, the foundations sinke being mouldred and loosened by moysture, the whole earth is glutted with water, and in vaine doe men labour to vnderprop that which falleth to ruine. For euery foundation is in a slippery place, and in a muddie ground there is nothing stable. After that the flowers increas more and more, and those snowes that were gathered in ages begin to melt. A headlong torrent, falling from the highest mountaines carrieth and hurleth away whole woods that haue no stiled roote, and tumbleth these stones that are washed away from the earth with the rest. It drowneth villages, carrieth away troops of beasts, and those little cabbans that it meeteth withall; and then as

*The description
of a deluge that
ruineth the
whole world.*

faultereth

faulteth the greater houses. Afterwards it overturneth Cities and draweth away with it the inhabitants, inclosed in their owne walls, who know whether they shall sinke under their houses, or perish in the water; so sudden is the accident that eyther should oppresse or drowne them. Afterwards, being increased by some other torments that ioyned themselves with her, they overflow all the Champaine. Finally, being swolne and overcharged by the ruine of diuers nations, it layeth holde on all things. As touching the Riuers that are spacious in themselves, and are rauished by the torrents, they forsake their channels, what think you will become of Danubius, the Rhine, and Rhosne, who in their channels haue a torrent that runneth marueilous swiftly? What can they doe, when after they haue overflowed their bounds they are made new Riuers, and hauing broken the earth haue got themselves a new passage? With what violence floweth the Riuer of Rhine when it falleth into the Champaine countries, and finding an extent sufficient to weaken his waues, filleth himselfe euery way with water, as if he were inclosed in some straight channell? And Danubius likewise at such time as he not onely beateh the foote, but also the midle of the mountaines, yea, approacheth the very tops of the same, bearing with it not onely the moistened sides of the mountaines, but the rocks that are hurried downe, and the Promontories of great Regions, which by reason of the weakness of their foundation are separated from the continent. At length, finding no passage because it hath included it selfe it swelth on euery side, and swalloweth vp at once a whole extent of countries and Cities. Meane while the raines continue, the heauen thickeneth more and more; and thus by course of time the euill is augmented. The precedent obscuritie becometh blacke, fearefull and terrible, night incessantly beaten with dreadfull lightnings, which the heauen darteth one after another: the Sea seemeth to be enraged being increased by the access of so many floods, and too much restrained at such time as she was within her bounds. The shores stand no longer, they exceed their limits, the torrents permit them not to enlarge themselves, and push backe the floods, wherof the most part yet were arreied by a barre that is not sufficiently large, get passage from the one side vnto the other, and make a new Sea, and make the Champains resemble a standing poole. At that time as farre as the eye may aime there is nothing that can be discouered but water. All the noise cometh from the bottom, and the waters are the highest aboue all things, onely in the tops of mountaines there are certaine shallow places, where men saw themselves, with their wiues and children, driuing their cattell before them: all traffique and entercourse betweene Nations ceaseth because the water hath filled all the vallies. In some the highest place, the remainder of mankind maintained themselves, who being reduced to this extremitie had this solace, that their feare was translated into stupiditie, being so astonied that feare could not hurt them. In briefe, they were touched with no sense of griefe which looseth his force in him that is miserable aboue the sense of euill. So then the mountaines resemble Isles, and increase the number of the Cyclades, as the most ingenious Poet most wittily specifieth, saying as the greatnesse of the thing required him,

All things were Sea, nor had the Sea a shore.

Except he had reduced so much vigour of wit and plentie of matter to triuall toys, saying,

The

*The Wolfe his head amongst the sheepe did reare,
And waltering waues did furious Lions beare.*

This is to exceed measure to jest and wanton it, in the ruine of the world. He spake mightie things, and began to set downe the image of so great a confusion, when he said,

*The vnderdilled floods run through the Champaine plaines,
And mightie Towers lie buried vnder floods.*

It was magnificently spoken if he had taken no care what sheepe and wolues did. But can any one swim in such a deluge and overflow? And were not the beasts drowned as soone as the waters had layde holde of them and carried them away? Thou hast conceiued the image and description of this disorder, as great as it should be: if the heauen it selfe fall, endure it. Thou shalt know that, which becometh thee, if thou set before thine eyes the whole world floating in water. Let vs now returne vnto our purpose.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THERE are some that thinke that the earth may well be beaten with excessive raines, but not drowned. Those things that are the greatest must be violently strooken: the raie will spoyle the corne, the haile will beate downe the fruit, the Riuers will overflow their bounds, and yet will not forsake their channells. Some there are that attribute this ruine to the overflow of the Sea. It cannot be that a deluge should proceede from the violence of torrents, or raines, or riuers. When the end of the earth is neere, and that it pleaseth nature that all mankind should perish, I grant that continuall and immeasureable raines fall from the heuens: that the Northerly winds are suppressed, that the Southerly blow: that the clouds, the tempests, and riuers increafe:

*If the earth may
be drowned with
waters.*

*Whence proceedeth
a deluge,
according to Seneca
and the Stoicks opinion.*

*Yet harmes doe more increafe,
The corne is waist away vpon the plaine;
The plowman spends his vowe, and toyles in vaine;
All what the yeare could yeelde for paine or cost;
Is drowned in water, and the labour lost.*

It was not necessary that the earth should be offended, but only hidden. After these beginnings the Seas increafe, but beyond measure, they spread their waues more largely then euer the greatest tempest did. The windes themselves that raise them at their backs, entangle themselves with the waues of the Sea, which breake themselves vpon the shores that are farre estranged from sight. Afterwards when they had enlarged themselves, made a new Sea, from the depth of the greatest Sea there ariseth a new flood; which bringeth with it a mischief farre greater then the former; for euen as the matter of the ayre and the ætherial Region is very ample, so is that of the water, which aboundeth marueilously in her secret places, these being sufficiently moued (for the floods are the ministers of destinie) makes the waues swell

won-

wonderously, and animateth her selfe violently. Then riseth she to an incredible highnesse, and mounteth aboue the highest and most assured retreats of men. It is no difficult matter for the element of water to raise it selfe aboue the highest toppes and Promontories of the earth. For if a man measure by the eye the crest of the highest mountaines, hee shall finde that the sea is equalled there in height; for the globe of the earth is equally round. These caueties and plaines are such, that on euery part they make an orbe, wherein are comprehended the seas which make a part thereof, and fulfill the round. But euen as hee that casteth his eyes a long way, deceiueh himselfe and cannot comprehend the places, which by little and litle bow downward, so can we not comprehend the bowings of the sea, and all that which we see seemeth to be a plain, yet is it round and like vnto the land. Therefore also is it that the sea swelleth not much, but incontinently flieth away, because it is enough for her to rise a little, eyther to equall or surmount the rest, neyther slippeth shee away from the banks where shee is lowest, but from the middle, where the great assembly of Waters is. But euen as the flux and reflux of the sea is accustomed to bee the greatest, during the Equinoctiall in the time of the coniunction of the Sunne and Moone; so the deluge that is sent to couer all the earth, and which shall be the greatest and most violent that men are accustomed to see, draweth a more infinite abundance of water with it, and neuer abateth vntill it hath surpassed and couered the toppes of the highest mountaines. The fluxe and reflux of the sea increaseth and decreaseth in some place more then a hundred miles, and neuer fayleth but keepeth alwayes the same order; for it increaseth and decreaseth by measure. But in the time of deluge, it neyther keepeth measure nor rule. How cometh this to passe sayest thou? in such sort as the end of the world shall bee by an vniuersall fire. Both the one and the other shall come to passe at such time as it shall please God to giue a beginning to better things, and giue an end to the olde. Fire and water haue the dominion ouer terrestriall things, from them proceede the beginning and end of all things, as oft then, as it pleaseth the heauens that things shall be renewed, the sea shall open flow vs, in such sort as the fire from aboue shall lay hold on all things, when by an other end he would bring all things to nothing.

In what fashion
the flux and
reflux of the sea
is greatest.

God speaketh of
this times by the
gums mouthes
that which is
affirmed in this
fian belief.

CHAP. XXIX.

Some thinke that the earth is shaken also, and that the ground being broken open, there appeare new heads of fiers, which cast forth more abundance of waters, as from a place that is as yet full. *Berosus* that hath interpreted *Belus* faith, that this is caused by the motion of the starres, and maintaineth it so assuredly, that hee sticketh not to set downe the time of the end of the world, as well by fire as by water, affirming that the earth shall be burned at such time as all the stars which now holde diuers courses shall meete in the signe of *Cancer*, so settled and placed in the same point, that a man may draw a direct line thorow all their centres and circles, that the deluge shall couer the earth, when as the same stars shall assemble and meete together in *Capricorne*. In order, the one is the longest day in Summer, and the shortest day of the winter vnder the other. The signes are of great efficacy and power, which vpon the changes of the year cause such moments: for mine owne part I reiect not any of the causes (for one alone cannot

He continueth
his peace of the
cause by deluge
in his selfe, and
according to o-
ther mens opini-
ons, but by the
light of nature
the transcendent
knowledge is ying
in the volume of
true Christians.

cannot cause so much mischief) annexing vnto them that which the Stoikes thinke. Whether it be that the world be a spirit or body, by the disposition of of nature, it containeth in it trees, plants, and all that which it ought to doe and suffer, from the beginning of the world vnto the end thereof, no otherwise then in the feed are inclosed all the parts of the body of a man which should be formed. The Infant that is borne in his mothers wombe, hath the rootes of the beard and haire hee shall weare one day. In this little Masse likewise are all the lineaments of the body, and all that which austerity shall discouer in him. So the originall of the world hath no lesse contained the Sunne, the Moone, the revolutions of the Starres, the birth of liuing creatures, as the causes of the change of terrestriall things. In them hath beene the deluge which cometh by the order of heauen, euen as Winter and Summer doe. It shall not therefore be done by raine, neyther by inundation of the sea; neither by quaking of the earth, but with all these accidents which shall assist Nature, to the end that her determinations should be accomplished and executed: yet as touching the principall cause, it shall proceede from the earth it selfe, which as we haue said is changeable, and must resolue her selfe into water. Whereas therefore the end of all things shall bee come: at such times as the parts of the world must perish and bee disanulled, in such sort as they may be moulded a new, and made better then before, there shall more water bee made then erer there was: for now the aliments are distributed to euery one according as it is behouefull. There must something at that time ioynce it selfe with an other, to the end that such things that subsist in counterweight should be troubled and confused by the inequality that should happen. The most shall bee found in the water, that hath nothing more for the present, then that which is necessarie to enuiron the earth, and not to drowne it: if you will adde any thing therunto, it must needly discharge the same in an other place. How shall it then be, that the earth as being least powerfull, shall sinke vnder that which is more strong? Shee shall beginne at that time to rot her selfe, and afterwarde being moistned to melt it selfe into humour, and to fall to mudd. At that time the riuers shall mount aboue the mountaines, and shall shake them with a mighty force, and afterwards shall swallow them without noyse. All the earth shall vomit out waters, the toppes of the mountaines shall breake forth in fountaines. Euen as the whole-some parts of the body become sicke, and these that are necesse to an vicer vlceraed: so the mightiest regions of the earth conuerted into water shall melt themselves likewise, and shall distill from all parts. The rocks shall cleaue in funder to giue passage to the waters that shall assemble themselves to make a sea. The Straights of Venerian and Scilian seas shall bee no more *Charibdis* and *Scilla* shall not bee spoken of. The new Sea shall swallow vp all these situtions, and the Ocean that at this day beguirteth the remotest partes of the earth, shall then bee in the midst of the waters. What shall then bee? The Winter shall domineere ouer all other seasons, the Summer shall bee no more, and euery starre that before time dried vp the earth shall haue no more heate or effect. All the names of particuler seas, as that of *Cyprius*, *Eritrea* the red, The Mediterranean, the greater seas, and others shall perish being all of them intermixed together, and all that which nature had disposed in parts, confused in one: neyther Rampiers nor high Towers shall warrant any man. The temples shall no wayes profite the suppliants, nor the high places of Cities; because the water shall ouertake those that flie, and beare them away out of their strongest Towers. It shall from East to West, and one day shall bury all mankind, ouerturning

The Paradox
of the Stoikes
as touching the
vniuersall delu-
ge, and the
end of the world,
referred by the
christian writers
contained in
Moses, where a
promise was
made to the
Patriarch Noe,
that there should
be no more any
vniuersall delu-
ge.

This prediction
is vniuersally
fulfilled.

turning all that which fortunes fauour hath cherished so long time, all that which is so much rayed about the common, the great palaces, riches, magnificence, and mighty Monarchies.

CHAP. XXX.



Things as I haue said are easie vnto nature especially, those things which shee hath resolu'd to doe from the beginning, whereunto the commeth not sodainly but determinately. But from the first day of the world, as from his informed vnty, shee came to take this habitude which wee see shee hath, shee prefixed the day wherein the earth should bee drowned, and to the end it might not be an enterprise of difficult execution as if it were a new worke: the seas long since haue exercis'd and fashioned themselves thereunto. Seest thou not how the floudes of the Ocean runne towards their bankes, as if they sought liberty: Hast thou not obseru'd how the floud hath aduanced it selfe, and put the sea in possession of the earth? Doe'st thou not perceiue how the sea doth nothing but some, and tempests against the bounds which restraine her? What danger is there in that part where thou hearest such a tumult, and from whence issue so many riuers with so great noyse, where Nature hath lodged so much water to assaile vs on euery side, when shee thinketh fite? Is it not true, that in digging the earth wee finde water, and when as eyther vndermined by a uarice, or pushed forward by an other cause, wee haue digged and searched a little deeper, sometimes a bloody death ensueth. Furthermore, there are certaine Lakes vnder the earth that are maruailous great, and much hidden sea; besides a great number of riuers that streames thorow certaine passages vnder earth. There shall bee therefore on euery side certaine courses of this deluge, some part of the waters floating thorow the earth, others about the same; these being long times bridle'd and restrained shall finally gette the vpper hand, and shall ioyne their floudes with the riuers, and the pooles with the marishes. The seas shall fill the brims and mouthes of all fountaines, and shall enlarge them. Euen as the belly in emptying it selfe wasteth our bodies as the forces are dissipated by sweate; in like sort, the earth shall melt it selfe, and other causes ceasing shall finde a meane to plunge and drown it selfe in it selfe, so thinke I that so many great things shall confound themselves together, neyther shall there bee any long delay in the ruine. When as once the world shall remitte any thing of his course and diligence, and the accord which is betwixt the partes thereof shall bee shaken, incontinently the cloudes shall breake forth, the waters beneath shall issue from their bottomlesse caues to couer the earth. There is nothing more violent, more hard to bee stayed, more rebellious, or more pernicious to those that would restrain the same then a violent water: Shee shall vie the liberty which was granted her, and by the commandement of nature shee shall fill all that which shee trauesereth and enuironeth. Euen as the fire issuing from diuers places sodainly setteth all on fire, the flames conspiring and assembling together to make one body: so in a moment the seas that are vented and pow'd forth, shall come and ioyne in one; but the waves shall not rage alwayes thus: but after that, mankind shall bee ruined, and beasts likewise be brought to confusion, whose natures men had taken vpon them; the earth

Another error that the earth is made to bee drowned because in an vniuersall deluge, where as God by Moses speaketh expressly to the contrary.

Understanding this of time to come, as in a meter fable, it was once in Noahs time, and shall bee no more.

earth shall sucke vp the waters, and constraîne the sea to returne within his bounds, and to tempest in her channell. The ocean being driven farre from our limits, shall be chased into her gâues, and the ancient order shall bee reestablished. Euery liuing Creature shall be engendered anew, and the earth shall bee inhabited with innocent men, and borne to better hap. But mankind shall not perseuer long in this integrity: it shall only bee for as long time, as men shall bee, new wickedness shall incontinently slide into the midst of them. Vertue is hard to bee found, shee requireth a guide and gouernour: but as touching vices, men learne them without a Master.

The End of the third Booke of the Naturall Questions.





OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
DEDICATED TO LVCILLIUS

The fourth Booke.

THE PREFACE.



How art much delighted (my *Lucillus*, the best of me) in Sicily and in the government of the same: because as thou writest vnto me, it is full of repose and without trouble. But it will please thee farre more, if thou wilt containe thy selfe within thy limits, and makest not that an Empire, which is but a Procuracion and Gouernment. I doubt not but thou wilt carry thy selfe in this sort: I know how farre thou art estranged from ambition, and how familiarly thou art addicted and delighted in honest retirement and the studie of good letters. These things cannot support and containe themselves, haue need of the conversation of men, and multiplicitie of affaires. But thou accordest very well with thy selfe: neither wonder I that few men are partakers of this so great good: wee are all of vs too imperious and trouble some to our selues. Sometimes we cherish our selues too much, otherwhiles too little. To day our hearts are puffed vp with pride, to morrow couetousnesse to morteth vs: now are we profited by vaine pleasures, anon after burned with cares and traualle, and that which is worst of all, we are neuer alone and retired to our selues. We must needs therefore be in continuall debate, being accompanied by so many enormous vices. Doe therefore, my *Lucillus*, that which thou wert accustomed to doe: separte thy selfe as much as thou canst from the communie, neither permit thy selfe to be accolted by flatterers, for these are their crafty matters in bewitching the greater and richer sort. Thou shalt hardly escape them, although thou take heed of them. Beleeue me, they will entrap thee, if thou betray thy selfe to their treasons. Flatteries haue naturally this force, that they are pleasing, although they be reiected; and being oftentimes excluded, at last they are entertained. Repulse

What contentment a vertuous man receiueth by himselfe.

The popen of flattery a tolle for great men.

pulse maketh them encrease, neither is there any disgrace or outrage that can come thom: That which I shall speake is incredible, and yet very true. A man is hit most of all in that place where he is most open, and happily he is therefore hit because he lieth open. Dispose thy selfe therefore in such sort, that thou mayest be assured that thou canst not be touched, that thou mayest be impotent to be touched: when thou hast caried the sharpest eye, he will like thee thorow those armes that thou seest the most assured. Some one will vse his flatterie secretly and sparingly, another openly counteruising the fool in all mens sight, as if that his simplicity were no cunning. *Plancius*, who had beene one of the cunningest Sycophants before *Pellius* time, said that we ought not to flatter secretly, nor with dissimulation. In vaine, saith he, is flattery, if it be obfuscated. The flatterer getteth very much when he is discovered, and more likewise if he blush after he hath bene taunted. Thinke that thou shalt meete with a great number of such as *Plancius* was, and that it is not a sufficient remedie against flatterie, to refuse to be praised. *Crispus Passenus*, whose equall I neuer know in subtill discouerie of all things; especially in distinguishing and curing vices, oftentimes said that wee onely put too the dore against flatteries, but shut them not out, in such sort as we are wont to put it too against our friend, which if she thrust it backe it contenteth vs, and more gratefull is it, if she breake it open: I remember that I haue heard the great Philosopher *Demetrius* say, to a certaine slave that was enfranchised, and was become very rich, that the shortest way for him to heape up great wealth, was that day wherein he had repented himselfe that he had a good conscience. I will neuer, saith he, enuie your practises, but will teach them, that haue need, the meanes how to escape shipwrack, how to flie from those contentions that happen betweene buyers and sellers, not to trust to the incertaintie of a countrie life, to retire themselves from the exercise of lesse certaine pleading; lesse, in what manner likewise they may not only easily, but joyfully enrich themselves, and impouerish those that are at their ease and quiet. I will sweare (saith he) that thou art higher then *Fidus Annæus*, and *Apollonius Piza*, although thou hast but a meane and crooked stature, as *Fracas* had. If I say that thou art the most liberall man amongst all others, I shall not lie: when as it may seeme that thou hast giuen all men that which thou hast left. So is it, my *Iunior*, the more that flatterie discouereth it selfe, the more wicked, impudent, and outrageous it is; the sooner deceiueth it. For we are now growne vnto that madnesse, that he that flattereth vs little, seemeth to be a man of no honestie. I was wont to tell thee that my brother *Gallio* (whom no man loued but heartily, neither loued he any man but entirely) knew not other vices, and likewise hated this. Thou hast tied him euery wayes. Thou hast begun to admire his great and excellent spirit aboue all others, which rather wished to be cursed, then to doe any thing worthy shame. But he suddenly retired his foot. Thou beganst to praise his frugalitie, he cut thee off in the beginning. Thou beganst to admire his humanitie, and vnaffected affabilitie which rauisheth those that heare them in passing by, and greatly oblige those to whom they are addressed. For there is no man liuing more agreeable vnto another man, then this man vnto all men, whilst in the meane space the power of a naturall goodnesse is such, that it saoureth no wayes of art or simulation. There is no man but will suffer that a publike good should be imputed to him. And in this place likewise he resisted thy flatteries, in such sort as thou exclaimedst that thou hadst found a man that was armed against all attempts, whom euery man would entertaine into his bosome. Thou didst confesse that thou didst so much the more admire

A a a a

his

A goodly touch against a foolish rich man, and a comedie against auarice.

The praise of Gallio, Seneca's brother.

How we ought
to entertaine a
flatterer.

How a man
ought to prize
himselfe.

The manner to
reproue hypocri-
sie, and to forti-
fy vertue.

his prudence and pertinacie in auoiding ineuitable euile, because thou wert in hope that thy words should be entertained with an open eare, although thou flatteredst, because thou spakest the truth. But so much the rather learned he to resist them the more. For the truth is alwayes assailed by those things that haue a resemblance of truth. Yet will I not haue thee displeased with thy selfe, as if thou haddest done amisse, or as if my brother presumed that thou pretendedst to iest with him, or to circumuent him. He discouered thee not, but repulld thee. Conforme thy selfe to this example: when as any flatterer cometh vnto thee; say vnto him, Go I pray thee, and carie these flatterer speeces (which are accustomed to leape from one Magistrate to another, that haue these Apes and Sargeants marching before them) to some one that will pay thee with the like, and taketh pleasure to heare all that which thou wouldest speake vnto him. I will deceiue no man, neither can I be deceived. I would be praised by you, if you were not accustomed to praise the wicked. But what needst thou to bring thy selfe into that strait, that flatterers should touch thee so neerly? Let them be farre estranged from thee, when thou desirest to be praised well. Why shouldst thou be indebted to any for it? Prayse thy selfe, and say: I haue addicted my selfe to the studie of the Liberal Sciences, although iouetic perswaded me to the contrarie, and withdrew my thoughts thither; where my studie might returne me present gaine. I aimed my thoughts at little profit breeding poesie, and addicted my selfe to the holesome studie of Philosophy. I haue shewed that euery man is capable of vertue, and struggling thorow the obscuritie of my birth, and measuring my selfe not by my condition; but by my minde; I haue equalled my selfe with the greatest. The enmitie of barbarous Caius could not driue me from my sincere intention, Messallus and Narcissus vn-happie conspirators against euery man, enemies a long time of the publike weale, before they were foes to their priuate fortune, could not crosse my resolution. I haue hazarded my necke to maintaine mine honor, I haue not spoken that word, that was against my conscience. The care I alwayes had, was for my friends and not for my selfe, and the feare, that I was not so true a friend as I should be. I neuer wept womanish teares, neither after the manner of a suppliant haue I lifted vp my hands to any man. I haue done nothing that either was vnworthy a man, or a good mat. Being greater then mine owne perils, and ready to encounter with those that threatned me, I gaue thanks vnto Fortune that would found me, how highly I prized faith. So great a thing should not cost me so little. She kept me not long in suspence, for the things that were in ballance were not equal, that is, whether it were better that faith should perish for me, or I should perish for it. I haue not violently thrust my selfe into a desperate resolution of death, whereby I might discharge my selfe from the furie of mightie men, I saw with Caius torments, I saw fires. I knew in times past, vnder him, that humane affaires were brought to that estate, that it was recounted amongst the workes of mercie to be simply slaine. Yet thrust I not my selfe thorow with my sword, neither cast I my selfe head-long into the sea, to the end that the world might see that I would not die, except it were to remaine faithfull. Consider moreover my courage, that could not be corrupted with bribes, and that in this rude conflict of auarice, I haue neuer soyled my hands with foule lucre: Moreouer, my sobrietic, my modestie in words, my affabilitie towards my inferiours, the reuerence I haue borne my superiours. Having said all this, aske counsell of thy selfe if thou hast spoken truth, or told a lie: if truth, Then art thou praised before a great witnesse: if a lie, without witnesse thou hast exposed thy

thy selfe to laughter. But some one might thinke, that either I would surprise thee or proue thee: beleeue which thou wilt; and beginne by me to feare all others. Cast by that verse in Virgil.

Faith is scur'd in no place.

And that which *ould* faith.

Throughout the world BRYNNIS chaungeth round,

As if adrest and sworne with frowning,

To leaue no sinne vnsoyght for in this age.

Or that of Menanders (for who hath not whetted the greatnesse of his wit against this, detesting the conceit of manking that, rendeth vnto vice?) All, faith he, liue otherwise then they should, and the Poet hath leaped into the Sceane as if he were a Clowne: he excepteth neither old nor young, nor woman, nor man, and addeth that euery one without exception doth euill, and that wickednes is growne to the full. We ought therefore to flie, and to returne into our selues, may more, we are to depart from our selues. Although the sea separateth vs, I will assay to make thee partner of this good, that is, in lending thee my hand at such time as thou knowest not what way to take, and making thee to attaine too place more secured: and lest thou shouldst haue a sense of thy solitude, I will deuile with thee from this place as often as I may. We will be one in that part wherein we are best: we will counsaile one another, not depending vpon the presence of him that heareth. I will lead thee farre from Sicily, to the end thou shalt not yeeld too much credit to Histories, beginning to please thy selfe as often as thou shalt say in thy selfe, I haue this prouince vnder my gouernment, which hath sustained and broken the armies of the mightiest Commonwealths of the world, when the honor of a long war hath remained for many yeares in suspence, at such time as she saw the forces of foure Princes gathered together in one place, namely, of all the Empire, hauing taken away the prosperity of Pompey, wearied that of Caesars, translated that of Lepidus, and surprised all the rest, that was present at the strangest spectacle that may possibly be thought, whereby all mortall men may learne how sudden the fall is from high to low, and by how many diuers wayes Fortune causeth the power of this world to decline. For at one time she hath scene Pompey and Lepidus cast from their high degree to a lower, but by different meanes, considering that Pompey fled before Caesars armie, and Lepidus his owne.

The sincere loue
betwixt Seneca
and Lucilius.

CHAP. I.



Ve to the end I may wholly draw thee from thy selfe, although Sicily hath in it and about it many wonders, yet will I not for the present entermiddle with any questions concerning thy Prouince, but will draw thy thoughts another way. For wee will now deuise together vpon that which we haue touched in the former Booke, whence it is that Nilus floweth and encreaseth in the Summer monethes. The Philosophers haue left in writing, that Nilus and Danubius resemble one another, alledging that the source

of Danubius is vnknowne, and that it is more great in Summer then in Winter.

Both

He entereth into
discourse of the
course of Ni-
lus in Summer.

Both the one and the other appeared to be false: for wee finde that the head-spring thereof is in Germany, and it beginneth likewise to increase in Summer, (yet Nilus alwayes remaineth in his accustomed measure) that is to say, about the first heates, at such time as the Sunne growing more hot about the end of the spring time, causeth the snowes to melt, which Danubius hath consumed, before that Nilus beginneth to increase: Danubius decreaseth during the rest of the Summer, and returneth to his greatnesse in Winter, according to which it is measured.

CHAP. II.

BUt Nilus increaseth in the heart of the Summer time after the Equinoctiall, before the rising of the Dog-starre. Nature hath set this famous flood before the eyes of all mankind, and hath disposed it in such sort that it should overflow Egypt, especially at such time as the earth, being parched by the most burning heats, should draine out the water from the depth, and should draw as much as the drinesse of the whole year required. For in that part which inclineth towards Ethiopia, it raineth not, or if sometimes certaine raines doe fall, yet recomfort they not the earth which is vnaccustomed to raine water. Thou knowest that Egypt hath no other hope but in the water of Nilus, by means whereof the year is either fruitfull or barren, according as Nilus hath exceeded her bounds cyther more or lesse. There is no labourer in that country that listeth vpon his eyes vnto heauen; wherefore then may I not sport my selfe with my Poet, and allége vnto him his *Ouid*, saying,

*The herbs to IVPITER make no request
To send them raine from heauen to wet their creft.*

If a man could comprehend from whence Nilus beginneth to increase, hee should finde likewise the causes of the increase thereof: but hauing run thorow the great deserts, it spreadeth it selfe into Marishes, whence comming to disgorge himselfe into diuers currents that run here and there; first he beginneth to assemble them all together about Philus, which is a stony Island, full of mountaines and hard to be landed at in any part, begit with two Riuer, which mixe themselves in one, and fall into Nilus, whence they take their name. Nilus more large then violent, round about this place being discharged from Ethiopia, and running thorow the sands, that make a way vnto those which traffique in the Indian Seas, is receiued into Cataractes a famous place, by reason of the maruailes that are seene therein. In this place Nilus rayseth it selfe amidst high rockes and such as are hollowed and diuided in diuers parts, employing in this place all her forces. For the stones he meeteth withall breake him, in such sort as he attempteth to escape by the straights. In euery place where it findeth any breach or resistance it floatheth and gathereth together his waters, which he had carried along without any noyse, and passeth with violence and vehement overflow thorow the most difficult passages, being no more like vnto himselfe, because in these straights it rouleteth wholly troubled and muddie. But comming to beate vpon the rockes, it someth, and at that time the iniurie of the place, and not his nature, maketh him change colour. Afterwards, hauing fir-

mounted

In what time of the Summer this increase is made.

The passages and courses of Nilus.

The Cataracts of Nilus.

mounted all that which hindereth him, he falleth suddenly and plainly into a marvellous depth, with such a noyse as astonisheth the inhabitants of the country round about, who hauing been planted in those places by the Persians, and being vnable to endure the continuall thunder that deafened their eares, went and encamped themselves in places more remote, and better for their rest. Amongst the wonders of this riuer, I haue heard more tall of the incredible boldnesse of those who abide in those quarters. Two men shipp themselves in a little boate, which the one of them guideth, and the other emptieth. Hauing long times balanced amidst the troubled waues of violent Nilus, they goe and retire themselves into some narrow channels, by which they escape the dangerous passages of the rockes, where leaping into the middelt of the streame, they gouerne the boate that is turned ouer them with their hand, and diuing their heads downward to the great amaze of all the inhabitants that behold and bewaile them with bitter teares, thinking that they are swallowed vp in this gulfe of waters, they shew themselves againe, and appeare very farre off from the place where they diuided to swiftly, as if they had bene pushed forward by some engines, receiuing no other harme by the violent fall of this furious streame, but that it bringeth them to still water. The first increase of Nilus is obscured about the Isle aboue mentioned. A little farther off it is separated by the meanes of a rocke, which the Grecians call *Abatos*, on which no men set foot except it bee the Priests of that place. These stones first of all feele the increase of Nilus. Farre off from this there appeare two rockes, which those of the Country name the veines of Nilus, from whence there issueth a great abundance of water, but not sufficient to couer Egypt. When any seasonall day commeth, the Priests cast in their mony, and the gouernours their iewels of gold in that part of Nilus. The which becoming more mighty in all mens sight, runneth by a deepe and large channell, yet not so great as hee might well haue, if it were not restrained by the mountaines that hem it in on euery side. Finally he getteth liberty about *Atemphis*, and hauing the Champion at his command, hee maketh diuers riuers, and entrench into channels made by hand running thorow all Egypt, in such measure as they could wish, who diuert the streame. From the beginning hee deuident himselfe into two armes, and then reioyning his waters, hee issueth forth after the manner of a Lake or troubled sea. His violent course relenteth by reason of the extent of the prouinces, ouer which hee is spred, embracing both on the right and the left hand all Egypt. As much as Nilus increaseth, so much is there hope of fertility, neither doth the computation deceiue the husbandman, it is so answerable to the measure of the flood, which seemeth to fatten the sandy and altered earth, vpon which hee powreth his streame, and dischargeeth his mud al at once: for hauing his waters troubled, hee leaueth the thickest in drie places, and such as are exposed to heate, afterwards hee manureth all the desert field with all the fat which hee hath brought with him, aiding the territorie by his inundation, & by this glewing and clammy farnesse, in such sort as all that which is not watered, remaineth barren and deserte. Encreasing beyond measure hee hurteeth. By this reckoning behold a matuallous flood, which whereas many other small riuers doe but wash and waste the lands, diminisheth them nothing, but contrariwise fortifieth them: for by the meanes of his muddie hee fatteneth and bindeth the sands: so that Egypt ascribeth not onely her fertility, but her good territory also to the same. It is a goodly thing to behold Nilus when it hath conquered the champion. The fields are hidden, the vallies are couered, or appeare

not

A rocke whence first increase of Nilus is perceived.

In what place hee getteth his freedom.

The mouths or
channels of Nilus.

The Monstres
contained in the
same.

A combate be-
tweene the Dol-
phins of the sea,
and Crocodiles
of Nilus.

The properties of
the crocodiles.

The causes of
the encrease of
Nilus in summer
according to the
opinion of the
Ancients, which
is false.

not but in forme of Isles. There is no traffique in the Midland places, except by boats, and the lesse the people see of these fields, the more reioyce they. But when as Nilus containeth himselfe within his bounds, hee floweth by seuen mouthes or chanelis into the Mediterranean seas, and which of these mouthes thou wilt consider it is but a sea. True it is that it spreadeth some other little armes in other shores which haue no name. Besides there are found in this river diuers monstres as huge & cruel as those in the sea, which may suffice to make it knowne that it is Nilus. Since he containeth such creatures and feedeth them abundantly, and hath place large enough to containe, *Babillus* an excellent man, and one of the learnedest in this world, writeth, that at such time as he gouerned Egypt, with the greatest mouth of Nilus, called Hereacleotrea, hee had this pastime to behold a great troope of Dolphins comming from the sea, and another troope of Crocodiles comming out of Nilus, as if arranged in battell to encounter one another, and that the Crocodiles were overcome by the Dolphins, which are peaceable fish and bite not. The Crocodiles haue a marvellous hard and impenetrable backe, so that other creatures that are more great and dreadfull cannot hurt them, but their bellies are soft and tender. It was in this place that the Dolphins pierced them with the fins, and bristles they had on their backs, in such sort as they cut out their bowels, and made them sink: many were dispatched in this sort, the rest as being put to flight, returned themselves swiftly against the streame of Nilus. The Crocodile hath this property, that hee lieth before these that run after him, and runneth after those that flee him. The Tontentes get the better of them, not for any priuiledge of generositie they haue above the other Egyptians, but for their contempt and temeritie. For they willingly hunt the Crocodile, and cast a snare ouer them as they flee, by means whereof they draw them to them: but diuers of these Tontentes that haue not sufficient courage to pursue the Crocodile, resolutely are deuoured by them. *Theophrastus* saith, that the water of Nilus was somewhat salt. For the space of two yeares vnder the raigne of *Cleopatra*, that is to say, in the tenth and the eleuenth yeare Nilus flowed not, which signified according to the report of the Diuines, the change of the State vnder the gouernment of two, vvhich were *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*, vnder vvhom the Kingdome was reduced into the forme of a Prouince. *Climachus* is the Author that in times past the Nile was nine yeares without watering Egypt. But now let vs consider the causes of the encrease of Nilus in Summer, and let vs beginne with the most ancient. *Anaxagorus* saith, That the snowes that are moulted vpon the mountaines of Ethiopia, runne and discharge themselves in Nilus. All antiquitie followeth the same opinion. *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* haue taught no lesse. But that this is false it appeareth by many arguments. First of all, That Ethiopia is a countrey extremely hot, it appeareth by the tawne colour of the inhabitants, and by the testimonie of the Trogolites, who haue their houses vnder earth: the rocks and stones are as they were on fire, not only at mid-day, but also in the evening: the sand is so hot, that a man cannot walke vpon it, the silver waxeth lead, the soder or ioyning of the images diffoules, there is no couerture of any enriched matter that can endure. The Southerly wind that cometh from that countrey is extremely hot. Those beastes that hide themselves in the winter, lye continually abroad. In the time of least heat, the Serpents creepe abroad. In Alexandria likewise, farre distant from these excessive heats, it snoweth not, neither falleth there any raine on the highest places. How can it then be, that a countrey that is exposed to so great heats

heats of the Sunne, there should any snowes fall all the Winter time? Truly there should some other mountaines be couered therewith, and namely those of Thrace and Caucasus. But those Rivers that streame along from the mountaines, swell about the spring time, and vpon the beginning of Summer, and afterwards decrease in Winter. For in the Spring time the snowes are melted, and about the first dayes of the summer the Sunne dispatcheth the rest. The Rhine, the Rhois, Danubius and Cayltre, are small in winter, but great in summer: The Northerne mountaines are charged with very much snow. The River Phasis that runneth in those quarters should encrease then, if towards the summertime the snowes could make the Rivers swell. Furthermore, if such were the cause of the encrease of Nile, it should be very great in the beginning of summer, because at that time, the snowes are at that time entire in great heapes. But Nilus floweth as proudly for foure monthes space, alwayes in the same estate, if thou wilt beleue *Thales*, the Etesian windes resist Nilus in his descent, and bridle his courses, thrusting the sea against the entrances of his chanelis, by means of which repulse he floweth backe againe and encreaseh not, but because he cannot haue further passage, he swelleth and ouerfloweth in euery place where he may make his way. *Enthymenes* of *Marsillum* accordeth hereunto, saying, I haue sailed in the Atlantique sea, thence floweth Nilus more greater, as long as the Etesians blow, for then the sea being pressed by these winds repulseth them against their streame. When such windes cease the sea waxeth calme, and Nilus that returneth backe hath lesse force. Then is the sea-water sweeter, and the monstres in the same resemble those of Nilus. Why therefore? If the Etesians make Nilus to swell, why doth the encrease thereof begin, before these winds rise, and continue after they are laid? Whence likewise cometh it to passe, that it is not more great at such time as they blow more rudely. For he neither riseth nor falleth, whether they blow more or lesse, which would come to passe if he encreased by their forces. Furthermore, the Etesian windes beat vpon the shoares of Egypt, and Nilus streameth against them, contrariwise he would issue from the places whence they came, if he tooke his originall from them. Besides, he would flow from the sea pure and blew, not troubled and dirtie, as he doth at that present. Besides infinite testimonies speake wholly to the contrarie of this opinion. Then was there place for falsehood to preuaile, when the coasts were vnkowne. It was lawfull for them that spake to publish their fables. But at this day all the coast of the sea is frequented by their ships who traffique: none of which say, that the water of Nilus is blew, or that the sea hath any other taste then it hath usually, which likewise Nature forbiddeth to be beleued. For the Sunne draweth that which is moist light, and sweet. Besides, why encreaseh it not in winter? Since at that time the windes being more violent then they were accustomed might moue the sea? For the Etesians are moderate. Furthermore, if he were deriued from the Atlantique sea, hee would at one time fill all Egypt. But he encreaseh by degrees. The Philosopher *Oenopides* of Chios saith, that in winter the heate is hidden vnder earth, by means whereof the dens are hot, and the fountaine water is warme, by means whereof the vaines of the earth are dried by internall heate. But in other countreies the fouds encrease by the means of raine. But the Nile, because he is not assisted by any other raine he waxeth the lesse, and then encreaseh in summer: at such time as the inward parts of the earth are cold, and the fountaines are fresh and coole. But if this were true, the rivers should encrease; and all the fountaines should be full in summer. I say likewise that in summer time the heate is

The opinion of
Thales, as touching
the cause of
Nilus.

Enthymenes
opinion.

The examinati-
on of these opi-
nions.

An answer to
Oenopides opi-
nion.

not

The examination of Diogenes Apolloniates his opinion.

not greater vnder earth. The water, the lower caues, and the fountaines are warme, because they receive not the aire that is cold without, so then they have no heate, but they drie out cold. From the same cause proceedeth this, that they are fresh in summer, because the aire being remote and seuered from the same, and afterwards warmed, attaineth not so farre. *Diogenes Apolloniatis* is of that opinion, that the Sunne draweth humiditie vnto him, which is sucked vp from the sea, and other waters by the drie land, that it cannot be that one earth should be drie, and another moist, because all is perforated and full of passages. Those things that are drie doe sometimes borrow from the moister, and if the earth receiued not from other parts, long since had it fallen to dust. So when the Sunne draweth the waues, but the meridianall regions are those that have most need: when the earth is dried, the draweth more humiditie vnto her. Euen as in lamps, the oyle runneth thither where it consumeth, so the water runneth into that part, where the vehemencie of heat and of the parched earth calleth it. Whence then is the drawne? From those parts that are alwayes cold, that is, from the Northerne parts whence the floweth. For this cause the Pontique sea powreth her streame continually into that which is the lower, not by ebbs and flouds after the manner of other seas, but tending and running alwayes violently towards that part. If this were not, if that which euery one wanteth were not supplied, and that which were excessive were not sent backe againe by the same wayes, the earth should peece-meale be brought to dust, or drowned in the water. I would willingly demand of *Diogenes*, since that this sea and the riuers ioyn them selues together: Whence it commeth to passe, that the riuers in all countries are not more big in summer time: The Sunne scorseth Egypt more then all other regions, and therefore Nilus encreaseth the more: But in other countries likewise there is some encrease of riuers? Furthermore, how commeth it to passe that some places are wholly drie, since that all the earth draweth vnto her the humiditie of other countries, and so the more the drie earth shall be exposed to the Sunne. Finally, whence commeth it that Nilus is sweete, if his water floweth from the sea? For there is no riuier more sweet in taste then Nilus is.

An instance that wrappeth Diogenes in new absurdities.

How the haile is made.

Poſidonius opinion.

CHAP. III.

AL I should maintaine that haile is made as yce is, the whole cloud being frozen, I should vndertake a thing that were ouer-headie. Therefore number me amongst those witnessers of the second note, who deny that they haue seene, but auow that they haue heard it. Or at leastwise I will doe that which the Historians doe. For they when they haue fained many things according to their owne fancie, will not maintaine any one thing of consequence, but adde these words, I refer my selfe to the credit of the Authors. *Poſidonius* will answer for me, as wel in that which I haue already entreated of, as in that which followeth. For he will affirme that the haile is made of a rainy cloud conuerted into water, as boldly as if he had bene present at the making. But why haile is round, thou thy selfe mayest know without a master, when as thou shalt obserue, that euery thing that droppeth gathereth it selfe into a round, which likewise appeareth in glasses, which gather a kind of dew from our breath, and in pots that are powred oſt, and in euery other light thing, as in the leaues of herbes and trees, if any drop cleaue vnto them, they are alwayes round.

What

What is more hard then stone? more soft then water,
Yet hardest stones by softest drops are pierced.

Or as another Poet saith:

The drops that fall doe pierce the stone.

And this hollownesse is round also, whence it appeareth that the water hath some resemblance with the stone that it holloweth, for it maketh a hole in the same, that is answerable to her forme and habitude. Furthermore, although the haile were not such, yet in falling it might grow round, and tumbling so long thorow a thicke aite, take an equall forme on euery side, which the snow cannot do, because it is not so solide, but is rather spread abroad, and falleth not from any great height, but taketh his originall from the lower region of the aire, so that it commeth not from an aire farre distant, but falleth from a place neere at hand. Why may not I giue my selfe as much libertie as *Amaxagoras* did, whereas free libertie should be amongst no men more then amongst Philosphers? Haile is nought else but suspended yce. The snow is a sort of congelation hanging in the frost. There is such a difference betwixt frost and yce, and snow and yce, as betwene water and dew.

The difference between snow and haile.

CHAP. IIII.



And having resolved this question, I might dismisse and repose my selfe, but I will giue thee full measure, since I haue begun to be troublesome vnto thee, I will relate what soeuer it be, that may grow in question vpon this matter. The question is then why it snoweth in winter, and haileth not, and after that the cold hath bene broken by a milder weather, the haile falleth? Although thou thinkest that I am deceived, yet account I it for true, which I apprehend in my minde, which permitteth it selfe to beleue these trifling tales, wherein men are accustomed to nip our tongues, and not to pull out our eyes. In winter the aire freezeth, by means whereof it resoluth not him selfe into water, but into snow, to which the aire is more neerer. In the beginning of the Spring there followeth a great change of weather, and the aire being become more warme, there succeed more greater raine. Vpon which occasion our Poet *Virgil* saith,

Why it snoweth, but haileth not in winter.

When as shovre-bearing spring,

Discovereth it selfe, the change of the ayre being opened, and resolved euery wayes by the assistance of the season, is farre more vehement. For this cause the raynes fall more waightie and thicke, but they continue not. The Winter hath lent, and thick showers, which we see oftentimes happen when the snow falleth amidst a rare and thin raine. We say that it is a snowie day, when it is colde and the heauen is covered: contrariwise, when the North-east winde bloweth and gouerneth in the ayre, the raynes are more small; but when the Southern winde rayneth the raine is more strong, and the drops greater.

B b b

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The opinion of
the Poet upon
this point.

WHat which is resolu'd by our Stoiques, neyther dare I speake because it is but weakly grounded, neyther must I let it passe. For what euill is it to write any thing that is presented vnto vs? For if we will exactly examine, and make a diligent scrutiny of all things, it were better to be silent, since there is scarcely any thing that is maintayned by the one, that is not impugned by the other. For there are very few things without contradiction. They say therefore that all that which is frozen about Scythia and Pontus, and to the Northward, dissolueth in the spring time: that at that time the Riuers thaw, and that the snowes wherewith the mountaines are couered, melt; by meanes wherof it is very like, that the colder windes engender such a change, and intermixe themselues with the ayre of the spring time. They further adde that which I haue not yet tryed, nor haue the will to do the same; and I counsaile thee that if thou wilt know the truth thereof, not to make trial in this sort if the snow be colde. Mark what they say, that they that treade vpon the firme and hard snow haue not so much colde in their feet, as those that treade vpon the snow that is newly false. If they speake true, all that which commeth from the Northerly places (when as the snow is distributed, and the yce is broken) tieth and constraineth the warm and moyst ayre of the Sontherne parts: and therefore when it should raine the vehemencie of the colde will make it fall into haile.

CHAP. VI.

Of those that
saue it that it
shall haile.

Cannot temper my selfe, but that I must needs discouer all the follies of our Stoiques, who affirme that there are some men so well experienced in the obseruations of clouds, that they can foretell when it shall haile, hauing the meanes to comprehend the same, by long vse, by obseruing the colour of the clouds, after which haile hath followed so many times. It is an incredible matter that in the Citie of Cleone there were certaine men chosen to this end vpon the common purse, which were named *χαλεροβλάταις*, that is to say, obseruers of the haile. When these had giuen the signe that haile would suddenly follow, what expectest thou that men should run to their clothes, or their letherne pelches? Nay rather, every one sacrificed for himselfe a Lambe or a Puller; and forthwith those clouds declined another way, after he had tasted some little of the blood: Dost thou laugh at this? Beholde cause of more laughter; if there were any that had neyther Lambe nor Puller, he drew his owne blood, wherein hee neyther hurt himselfe nor any other man. And to the end that thou shouldest not thinke that the clouds are cruell and desirous of bloude, one of them with a sharpe pen-knife pricked one of his fingers, and offered his blood: at that the haile fled away from his field that had sacrificed thus, as from those pastures whose Master had by the meanes by more greater offerings to prevent the eminent euill.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Some seeke a reason hereof. Other some that are more wise say, that it is impossible to couenant with the haile, and to overcome the tempests by their diminutive presents, although the gods are pacified by such meanes. Some there are, that holde that they of Cleones thought, that there was some secret vertue in blood, to turne away and repulse the cloude. But how may so great power be inclosed in so little blood as to mount so high, and to cause a resentment in the clouds. The shortest way, was to say that all that was no other thing but a fable, & a lie: yet they of Cleones punished those that had not the care to foresee and provide against tempests, because by their negligence their Vineyards were beaten, or their corne layed. And amongst vs, in the law of the twelue tables it was forbidden, that no man should enchannt another mans fruite. The auncient Idots and those of little iudgement, beleued that the inchanters caused the raines either to faile or fall; but it is a thing most euident, that they cannot doe it, yea, and so manifest, that the cause hereof is not to be examined in any Philosophers Schoole.

Whether there
be any reason in
this prodigium.

CHAP. VIII.

Et one thing will I adde more, and it will content thee to fauour and applaud it. They say that snow is made in that Region of the ayre that is neereft vnto the earth, and that hath most heat, for three causes: the first is, that every exhalation of the earth, whereas it hath much heate and drie within, it is so much the more hotter the neerer it is: the second, that the beams of the Sun reflect vpon the earth, and reuerberate backe to themselues, the which redoubling warms all that which is neereft to the earth, the which hath more warmth, because they feele the Sun twice: the third cause is, that the higher parts are more beaten by the windes, but what soeuer are lowest are lesse beaten by the windes.

In what region
of the ayre the
snow is made.

CHAP. IX.

These may a man adde the reason of *Democritus*: the more solid a body is, the more suddenly receiue it heate, and keepeth it the longer. Therefore if you set a vessell of brasie, or glasse, or siluer, in the Sunne, that of brasie is warmed soonest, and keepeth the heate longest. He expresth the reason in this sort: It must needs be that the pores and passages of those bodies that are closed, solid and thicke should be more lesse then the rest, and that the ayre that entereth should be farre more subtile. It followeth then, that as the Stoues that are lesse spacious, and the smallest Ovens are soonest hot, so the pores and passages that are hidden, and cannot be obserued by the eye, doe more speedily entertaine the heate, and because they are so narrow, deliuer ouer this heate more slowly then they haue receiued it.

Democritus
reason annexed
to the precedent.

Bbbb 2

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The lowest Region of the ayre is more dangerous and less pure.

Here long Reflexes bring vs to the point that is now in question. All ayre is more thick, according as it is more neerer vnto the earth. As in the water, and in all humiditie, the less are found in the bottom, so in the ayre, those things that are most thicke are alwayes lowest. But we haue already proued that all things, the more their matter is thicke and solid, the more long time and more effectually keepe they the heate they haue receiued: but the more the ayre is raised and estranged from the ordures of the earth, the more pure and neate it is, by means whereof it retaineth not the Sunne, but letteth it passe as thorow a voyd place, and therefore is it that it warmeth lesse.

CHAP. XI.

Why the tops of the highest mountains haue less sense of the heat of the Sun then the valleys.

Contrariwise, some say that the tops of the mountaines, being neerer vnto the Sunne, should be also more hot. But in my opinion they deceiue themselves in this, that they thinke: that the Apennine, the Alpes, and other renowned mountaines, by reason of their height haue their heads so high, that their tops may feele the neighbourhood of the Sunne; vndoubtedly these mountaines are high, if a man compare them with vs that are men; but when thou shalt consider the whole Vniuers; every one may perceiue that both mountaines and men are things very base. The one compared with the other haue the vpper hand, and together they are nothing. Neyther is there any thing, how high, how it be raised, that in comparison with the whole should be esteemed any thing; & if it were otherwise, we would not say, that all this circuit of the earth is but a bowle. The properties of a bowle is to be round in all equalitie: Consider this equallitie in a ball; the stitches, the corners and little holes that appeare therein, hinder not a man from saying that all the parts are round. But as these spaces hinder not this ball to haue a round figure, so in all the globe of the earth in the highest mountaines (whose tops are nothing if they be compared with the whole round) the same ought to be considered. He that saith that the highest mountain, because it is neerer to the Sunne, should be more warmed, may say also that a great man should haue more heate then a little man, and that heate ought to be rather in the head then in the feete. But whosoever hath considered the world according to his measure, and remembreth himselfe that the earth is the center or point of this great circumference, shall know that nothing may be so high in the same, that by that meanes it may haue more sense of the effect of the Sunne, and of those other celestiall fires, as if he were more neerer vnto them. These mountaines that we behold, and these high Tenuities that are covered with perpetuall snowe, are notwithstanding in the bottom. True it is, that a mount which is raised high is nearer the Sunne then a valley, but in such sort is it, as one thing is greater then another: for as in this manner one tree is said to be neerer heauen then another; which is false, because betwene those things that are little there cannot be any great difference; but whilst they are compared one with another. When we come to the comparison of a mighty body, it skils not how much the one is greater then the other, because although it be with a great difference, yet are they called small.

CHAP.

By this time, the balance is indifferently weighed, and we are now at the point where we must determine. **CHAP. XII.** Why the snow is so soft, and how it is made. We to returne, by reason of the reasons aboue mentioned, diuers have bin of the opinion, that snow is made in the lowest region of the ayre, by means whereof it is soft, because it is gathered of a cold that is lesse rigorous then that of other regions. The neighbouring ayre hath too much colde to conuert it selfe into water and rain, and ouer little to be hardened into haille. Of this moderate colde, and not too much intended, are the snowes made by the meanes of thicke waters.

Why the snow is soft.

Nay, saiest thou, dost thou prosecute so earnestly these follies, when by thou shalt neyther become more learned, nor more better? Thou tellest me how snowes are made, where it concerneth thee far more to let vs vnderstand why snowes are not to be bought.

Of the resolution of this question: he saitheth into confute against the saying of this world, who saith snow.

Thou wilt let me to please against dissolution, (this is a daily and a fruitlesse brawle; yet let vs chide at it: although she be like to get the vpper hand, yet let her overcome vs fighting and striving against her. What then? I thinkest thou that this inspection of nature awaileth nothing to that which thou intendest? When we aske how snow is made, and say that by nature it is like vnto frost, that it containeth in it lesse more ayre then water, thinkest thou not that they are reproached hereby, because they buy not true water, but a far more baser thing? But let vs rather inquire how snowes are made, then how they are kept, because not contenting our selues to poure out our olde wines, and to dispose them according to their saouours and age, we haue found out the inuention how to keepe snow, and to the end it might overcome Summer, and defence it selfe against the heat of the yeare, by the coldnesse of the place, what haue we attained by this diligence? Forsooth this, to buy water that costeth vs nothing. It grieueth vs that we cannot buy the winde and the Sunne; or for that the ayre commeth so easily to present himselfe to a rich and more delicate sort, who could be contented to buy the same. O how impatiently endure wee that nature, the mother of all hath left nothing common to all. This which the would haue flow and lie open to all men; this which the hath made publike, to the end that all men might drinke thereof to entertaine life, that which the hath largely and happily dispensed for all, to serue the common vie of men, of fawne beaues, of birds and all other liuing creatures, that are the mollidle, that hath dissolution (ingenious in her owne mischief) drawne vnto a price; so is not the pleasing vnto her except it cost deere. This was the only thing that equalled the rich with the common sort, in which onely they could not exceed the poorest. For him was this deuised (whose riches are troublesome to himselfe) to feed his dissolution euen in water. I will tell you whence it came to passe that no running water seemed cold enough for vs. As long as the stomacke is found and capable of conuenient nourishment, and is filled but not ouersperfed, it is content with naturall supplies, it feeleth not the heate of the time, but his inward distemper; when as continuall drunkenness encampeth in his bowels, and the noble parts are inflamed by a cholericke humour that seizeth the stomacke, men seeke necessarily for somewhat that may temper that heate which

Bbbb 3

waxeth

waxeth more violently by those waters that are poured on it, and the remedy increaseth the sickness. And therefore not in Summer onely, but in the depth of winter they drinke water for this cause. What is the cause hereof but an euill humour in the intrails rotted and spoiled by excess, to which no intermission hath bin granted, to concoct & digest that which they had thrust into them; but some haue heaped on their dinners those night ybanquets, which haue lasted till the next day morning; gourmandize and drunkenness plunging as it were into a gulfe, mens stomacks charged with abundance and diuerities of wines and meates. Besides this intemperance that hath no intermission, hauing greedily deuoured all that which was presented vnto him, becomes mad, and inflameth it selfe alwayes in a new desire to follow his traine. Although therefore they garnish their chambers with Tapestrie and other ornaments, and with huge fires conquer the vehemency of the golde; yet notwithstanding their stomacks cloyed and weakened by their proper heate, seeketh some sollace to refresh themselves. For euen as we call colde water vpon their faces that faint and are in a wound, to the end we may reuiue them, so the entrails of these dissolute men, wholly stupified with so much excess, feele nothing, except you awake them with these extreame colde drincks. Hence cometh it that they content not themselves with snow, but sleepe their yce in store of fresh water, as if the thickenesse thereof gaue them some more certaine refreshing. And this yce is not taken from that which groweth aboue, but to the end it may haue more force, and a more vehement colde, they draw it and digge it out of the deeper places. Therefore is it, that these delicacies haue more prizes then one, and there is traffique both of water and yce, according to the diuerities of the seasons of the year, to the great dishonour of the buyers and the sellers. The Lacedemonians banished Perfumers out of their Citie, and commanded them suddenly to depart out of their confines, because they wasted their oyle. What would they haue done if they had seene the shops and store-houses for snow, and so many horses appointed to carrie water, whose colour and fauour they alter by the means of the straw wherein they keepe it? But good gods; how easie a thing is it to extinguish wholsome thirst? But what can dull and dead jawes, stupified with burning meates, feele? Euen as nothing is colde enough for them, so nothing is hot enough: but they thrust downe the scalding morsels, speedily drowned in their sawce, halfe smoaking into their stomacks, to the end they may extinguish them with snowe potions. Thou shalt see certaine leane fellows, armed against the colde vp to the chin, pale and ill disposed, that not onely swallow downe, but also eate snow, casting great morsels of the same into their cups, fearing least in forbearing their drinke a little, it should waxe warme. I thinkest thou that this is thirst? It is a fuor, yea, so malignant that it is neyther discovered in touching the pulse, nor by the colour that appeareth in the face. But intemperance an inuincible euill, of soft and fluid becoming hard and stupid, burneth the heart it selfe. Knowest thou not that all things loose their force by custom? Therefore this snow, in which at this day you that are delicate, are as it were plunged, by vse and continuall fruition of the stomacke hath gotten this priuiledge, that it obtaineth the place of water. Seek out now some other thing that is more colde, for an ordinary and accustomed freshnesse and coolenesse is as much to you as nothing.

The end of the fourth Booke of Naturall Questions.

OF

A pleasant and fit comparison, to show the miseries of the dissolute.

A lively description of belly-gods, and how great was Seneca's admired hatred against all excess.

OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS.

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECÆ,
DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The fifth Booke.

Wherch

Is intreated of the matter and motion of
the windes and aire.

CHAP. I.



The Winde is fluent aire. Some haue defined it thus: The winde is an aire which is fluent in one part. This definition seemeth to be more exact, because the aire is neuer so immouable, but that in some sort it is agitated. So say we that the Sea is calme, when it is but gently moued, and inclineth not ouer-much to one part. When therefore thou readest,

When as the Sea was calme vnset by winde:

Know that it is neuer so still but that it hath some slight replying, and is said to be calme, because it forceth not a streame neither this way, nor that way. The same may a man iudge of the aire, that it is neuer immouable although it be quiet and calme. Which thou maiest conceiue by this: When the sunne is infused into any closed place, we see certaine little bodies carried now a thwart, some vpward, some downward, and diuersly encountering together. He shall therefore scarce diligently enough comprehend that he would, that saith: The flood is the agitation of the Sea, because when it is calmest it is stirred likewise. But beyond exception shall he be that shall define it thus. The flood is the agitation of the Sea into one part. So in this thing also, wherof we moost of all now debate, he shall not be excepted against, that carrieth himselfe so as hee saith: The winde is a fluent aire into one part,

Hippocrat. lib. de Flatib. Read Valerius opin. thū, and Aristotle opinion in 2. Meteorolog. wherein he defines the definition: but Seneca in this place first distingueth what winde is.

or

or the winde is fluent aire with violence; or the force of the aire that fleeteth into one part, or a course of the aire a little more vehement then ordinary. I know what may be answered for that other definition, what needest thou to adde this aire flowing into one part? For what soeuer floeth, floeth into some part. No man will say that the water floweth, if it be only moued in it selfe, but if it tendeth toward some part. There may be therefore some what that may moue and not flow, but contrariwise it cannot flow except it be in one part. But if this be true, it is sufficient to defend vs from a prooofe, let vs vloth this. But if any man be more circumspect, let him not spare his word, by whose adiection he may exclude all euill. Let vs now come to the matter it selfe, because we haue sufficiently disputed of the forme.

CHAP. II.

Whereof winde is
composed.

DEMOCRITVS saith, that when there are many of these small bodies, which he calleth *Atomi*, in some voide streight, there followeth winde; contrariwise that the estate of the aire is calme and peaceable, when in much voide there are few *Atomes*. For euen as in the market place or street, as long as there is but little companie, a man may walke without tumult: but when as companie meeteth in a straight, there groweth quarrell, because they throng and iustle one another: so in this space wherein we are inuironed, when many bodies haue filled a small place, it must needs bee that in incounting one with another: the one should be pulshed by the other, which pulsh them back againe, and that they should be confused together, and compresse one another. From thence cometh winde, when as those two bodies that were at debate are fallen downe, and after they haue long time stoted and remayned in suspence, incline themselves. But where there are few bodies in a great extent, neither can they iustle one another, nor be impelled the one by the other.

CHAP. III.

Refutation of
Democritus
argument in the
former Chapter.

NOW false this opinion is, thou maist gather hereby, because that when the skie is cloudie and the aire is thick, there is no winde stirring. But at that time diuers bodies are assembled together, whence proceedeth also the thicknesse of the clouds. Adde herunto that about Riuer and Lakes fogs fall very oftentimes, bodies being pressed and conioyned together, and yet there is no winde. And sometimes so great a mist is spred abroad, that scarce one man can see another, though they stand neare together, which should not come to passe except many bodies had enclosed themselves in a little space. But no time wanteth winde more then that which is foggie. Adde herunto now that which falleth out on the contrarie side, that the rising sunne ordinarily attenuateth the thick and moist aire vpon his rise. And then doth the winde rise when as the bodies are set at libertie, and that their presse and multitude is resolued.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

NOW therefore how sayest thou, are the windes made, since thou confessest that they are made? not after one manner: for sometimes the earth pulseth out of her caues a great abundance of ayre, oftentimes when a great and nowdoubtfull earthquake hath broken vp on high, that which shee had deposited, this change of intermed, ayre is thrust into winde: for this neither can I bee persuaded to believe, nor to conceale, which some men doe hold; that as in the passage of our meate, winde is caused in our bodies, which cannot burst forth, except it be by violent sweating; or likewise sometimes by discharge of the belly with some noice, or making an estate which is not heard: for this spackles nature that maintaineth all things in changing nature proceedeth: winde is good for vs that shee diggesth alwayes, otherwise we might feare beinge stinks or more vnclannesse. Is there also therefore more apparance of it, that from all the parts of the earth, there necessarily arriue a great number of these *Atomes*, which heaped together, & afterwards attenuated by the same, it hapneth that the winde is made, because that all that which enlargeth it selfe in a narrow place, requireth a greater space?

Winde is made
in diuers sorts.

Winde is made
in diuers sorts.

CHAP. V.

HAT then? thinkest thou that the vapourations of the waters and earth are the onely cause of the winde? That the gravity of the aire is caused by these, & afterwards resolued by violence when these things that stood thicke, as it is needfull by beinge extenuated, strue to get a greater space? For aintowne part I iudge it to be so. But that is the more true and firmer cause, is that the ayre hath a naturall force of moving her selfe, which shee hath of her selfe, as other things haue without having any need of conceiuing it from another. Thinkest thou that the force of motion hath bene giuen us, and that the ayre hath bene condemned to remaine idle and without agitation? considering that the water ceaseth not to haue her motion, although the winde be calme, for otherwise shee could not breed fishes. We see likewise that Moss and other herbes grow in the waters, and float about them.

The ayre hath
in it selfe a natu-
rall faculty of
motion.

CHAP. VI.

HERE is some what therefore virall in the water. Speake I it onely of the water: The fire that consumeth all things; createth likewise somethings, and that which cannot seeme to bee true; and yet is very true) there are certaine liuing creatures that are engendred in the fire. The ayre likewise hath some such like vertue, and therefore sometimes it thickneth, sometimes it spreadeth and purgeth it selfe, sometimes it cloaseth, it openeth, and restraineth it selfe. There is therefore such difference betwixt the ayre and the wind, as there is betwixt a Lake and a Riuer. Sometimes the funne it selfe is the cause of winde, some-
times

It hath something
virall in it selfe.

times melting the colde ayre, and finding it thicke and clofed in it selfe, purifieth and dilateth it.

CHAP. VII.

When and from
whence the winds
proceed.

WE haue spoken of the windes in general, now let vs beginne to treat of them severally. It will happily appeare how they are made, if it shall appeare when and whence they proceede. First therefore let vs examine those windes that rise before day, which eyther are rayed from some riuers, or vallies, or golfes.

There is none of them continueth, but falleth when the sunne is mounted somewhat high, neyther is carried about the sight of the earth. This kind of windes beginneth in the Spring time, and passeth not the Summer. And from thence most of all commeth it, where there are many waters and mountaines. The Champions although they abound with waters, yet say I, that they want this breath which standeth in head of wind.

CHAP. VIII.

Whence strong
windes are cau-
sed.

NOW then is that winde bred which the Grecians call *typhalus*, what fouer the riuers and marshes cast out of themselves, (the which is nauch and continuall) is in the day time the nutriment of the sunne, by night it is not spent, but being vnited in the mountaines, is gathered into one region; when it hath filled the same, and being vnable to containe it selfe in it selfe, it breaketh forth, and goeth into an other part, and hence commeth the winde. It inclineth therefore towards that part, which inuitheth it with more free passage, and thorow the spaciousnes of the place, into which being gathered together it may runne. The prooffe hereof is, that it riseth not before midnight: for this collection beginneth to bee made a little before day, and being as it were accomplished at such time as the light appeareth, it seeketh to discharge it selfe of the weight, and thether especially tendeth, where there is most ayre, and a great and spacious extent. The sunne likewise at his rise reflecting vpon the cold ayre, in some sort addeth forwardnesse to it: for euen before hee appeareth, hee preuaileth by his light, although his beames doe not dissipate the ayre, yet prouoketh hee it, and stirreth it by sending his light before: for when he himselfe appeareth, the one are rayed vp into the ayre, the other are dissipated by little and little, in such sort as they are not permitted to blow, except in the morning, their vigor vanissheth vnder the force of the Sunne. And if they bee strong about the morning, about midday they waxe weake, and these small windes neuer passe midday. There are some likewise that are very feeble, and more short, according as their causes are more or lesse powerfull.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

BUT why are these winds more violent in the spring time, and in the summer? for in the two other seasons they are very milde and fearely fill the sayles of shippes; because the spring is moister, and a greater euaporation is made from diuers waters and places, that by reason of the moist nature of the heauens are full and overcharged. But why is it that these vapours are so great in the summer time? because such dayly heat continueth after the setting of the sunne, and continueth for the greater part of the night, and draweth to it selfe that which is without, and attracteth with violence all that which the earth is accustomed to render of it selfe, but it hath not sufficient force to consume and dissipate that which it hath drawne: for this cause, the earth and water push out these little Atomes which are accustomed almost ordinarily to issue out, not onely by heate, but also by the reuerberation of his beames, the Sunne is the efficient cause of the winds: for the light that forgeth the rising of the Sunne doth not as yet warme the ayre, but onely reflecteth vpon it, which being stricken vpon, retireth it selfe on the one side; although I auerre not that this light is without heate, considering that it is made of heate. It may bee it hath not so much heate, that it may actually appeare, yet notwithstanding it performeth his duty by deducing and attenuating these things that are thicke. Besides those places, which by some iniquity of nature are so clofed, that they cannot entertaine the sunne, are notwithstanding lightened by a drie and heauie light, and are lesse colde by day then by night. By nature likewise euery heate drieth and dispereth away from it all cloudes. It followeth therefore, that the sunne doth the like. For which cause some are of the opinion, that the winde bloweth from thence whence the sunne parteth. But that this is false, it appeareth hereby because the wind driueth shippes into diuers climates, and such as trauell by sea with full sayle, sayle against the sunne rise, which should not come to passe, if the windes were alwayes carried by the sunne.

CHAP. X.

THE Etesian windes likewise (which are alleaged by some in way of prooffe) serue them little for their purpose. I will first declare what their opinion is, and afterwards why it disliketh mee. The Etesians (say they) blow not in the winter, because in the shorter dayes the sunne is sooner set before the colde bee overcome, and therefore the snowes both fall and are hardened. In the summer time they beginne to blow, because the dayes are longer, and the beames of the Sunne directly beate vpon vs. It is therefore like to be true, that the cloudes being shaken with great heat, push forth humidity, and that the earth (discovered and discharged of the snow) produceth the vapours more freely; whence issue more impressions in the ayre to the Northward, then otherwise, which are carried into places more sweet and temperate: so doe the Etesians inforce themselves, and therefore is it that they beginne in the Solstice, being vnable to endure the rising of the Dogge starre, because that already the colder part of the heauen hath powred much of his humour into the same. But the Sunne

hauing

Whence it cometh that such a wind is more violent in the Spring and Summer.

If the winde bloweth from the place whence the Sun departeth.

Why the winds that are called Etesians blow not in winter, and during the number of certaine dayes.

hauing changed his course, draweth more directly towards vs, inuiting one part of the ayre, and repulsing the other. Thus the gale of these Etesians breaketh the forces of Summer, and defendeth it from the violence of the hottest monethes.

CHAP. XI.

Now will I performe that which I promised, why the Etesians helpe them no wayes, neyther yeelede any confirmation to this cause; we haue saide that about the spring of the day, there ariseth a little wind, which is laid as soone as the Sunne meeteth with it. And therefore is it why the Mariners call the Etesians idle & delicate, because they know not how to rise early as *Gallion* saith. They beginne the most times to blow when that little mornings breath beginneth to calme, which would not come to passe if the Sunne were the stirrer of them as he is of the lesser winds. Furthermore, if the length and greatnesse of the day were the cause that they blew, they should be heard before the Solstice at such time as the dayes are long, and the snowes are melted; for in the month of Iuly all the earth is discovered, or at leastwise there are very few things that lie vnder the snow.

CHAP. XII.

Here are some sorts of winds which the clouds that are broken, and fall, push before them; these windes do the Grecians call *enepheas*, which in my opinion are made after this maner. When as a great inequality & diuersity of bodies which are cast forth by terrestriall vapours, mount on high, and that the one of these bodies are drie, and the other moist. It is to bee believed, that from so great a contrariety of bodies that incessantly striue one against an other at such times as they are assembled, there should certaine hollow cloudes bee composed. and that there is betweene them some distances, full of narrow holes, such as are in flutes: In these distances there is a subtil and thinn air, that incloseth it selfe, which being tossed vp and down therein, and in the end warmed by a constrained and interrupted course, becommeth hereby more strong; and seeking for a place more large, breaketh all that which incloseth it, and issueth like a wind, which for the most part is stormy, because it commeth from above, and falleth vpon vs with a great violence, because it cannot spread it selfe euery wayes, but contrariwise trauellet very much to finde an issue, enforcing his way before him, and as it were by a violent combate. Ordinarily this wind endureth not long, because it breaketh the recepracles of those cloudes wherein it was carried: sometime it issueth with a great noyle, but not without thunder and lightning. Such winds are of more vehemency and longer continuance, if they carry with them other violent winds intermixed with them, and such as issue from the same way, and striue to vnite themselves with them: euen as torrents flow in a measurable greatnesse, as long as euery one hath his particular course, but when as diuers of them meet together in one, they surpasse in depth, breadth and swiftnesse the greatest riuers that flow incessantly. The same

If the Etesians
and other winds
are refreshed by the
sunne.

Of the winds
called Enepheas
and how they are
made.

same way in all likelihood fall out in stormes, which of themselves continue not long time, but when they haue assembled their forces, and when as from diuers parts of the heauen, the ayre being pressed, assembleth it selfe in one place, they both gather more forces, and continue longer.

CHAP. XIII.

SO then a resolu'd cloud maketh the wind which is dissolued in diuers sorts. Sometimes the ayre which is inclosed, searching to finde a vent, strugleth in such fort that it breaketh all that collection of cloudes that detaineth it, sometimes the heat that hath bene occasioned by the sunne, sometimes the later shocke of cloudes, as it hapneth when two great bodies encounter and crush one another. In this place it may be demanded (if thou thinkest it fit) whence that storme is rayled? which is accustomed to happen in riuers, which steeting onward without interruption seeme peaceable and milde, and make no noyle: but when they encounter with any rocke on this or that side of the riuier, they reuolue and turne their waters into round circles which cannot bee diuided; so that in whirling about they sucke vp themselves, and make a gulf: so the winde as long as nothing resisteth it, extendeth his forces: but when it is beaten backe by any promontory, or if by constraint of the places it bee gathered into some straight and crooked pypes, it oftentimes turneth and returneth it selfe into it selfe, and maketh a gulf like vnto those waters, which as I said, are conuerted and whirled about. This wind turning it selfe, and enuironing one and the same place, and mouing it selfe violently in diuers circles and rounds, is a whirle wind, which if it grow more strong and furious is inkindled, and maketh that flying fire, which the Grecians call *apocrypha*. This is a fierie storme. These windes for the most part being broken from the cloudes discover all dangers, whereby whole herdes of beasts are carried away in the fields, and whole shippes are tossed and drowned in the floudes. Some winds also engender diuers others, and pushing the ayre into some other places, then those whereupon they were formerly cast, spread themselves here and there. I will tell you likewise that which is come into my memory; euen as the droppes of frayne in the beginning make not the earth slippery, but when they are gathered together, and reinforced, then is it said that they flow and fall: in like case, as long as the motions of the ayre are light and agitated in diuers places, it is not winde as yet, it beginneth to be when hee hath mingled all his motions together, and hath made a mighty body. It is the measure that putteth a difference betwixt the aire and the wind, for the wind is a more vehement breath, and the spirit likewise a lightly flowing ayre.

CHAP. XIII.

IWill repeat now that which I said at the first, that the winds issue from caues and hollow places of the earth. The earth is not made and fashioned of one whole massiue peece from the top vnto the bottome, but is hollow in diuers places:

Suspended on obscure and hollow caues.

Cccc

Some

The manner how
the winds break
from the cloudes
that inclose them.

That there are
winds likewise
which breake
from the caues
and hollow
places of the
earth.

Some where she hath voides without any humour. There likewise if no light shew the difference of the aire, yet will I say that the clouds and mists consist in obscuritie. For neither are these about the earth, because they seeme so to be, but because they are, they are seene. There notwithstanding also are they for this cause, because they are not seene. Thou mayest know likewise that there, there doe flow certaine riuers, no lesse great then those that we see, the one stealing along sweetly, the other violently and with roaring noise, by reason that they fall downe headlong from craggie and stonie places. What then wilt thou not confesse also, that there are lakes vnder the earth, and that there are certaine pooles, whose waters standeth continually without issue? Which if it be so, it followeth also that the aire is burthened, and by his burthen bended, and raiseth the wind by his vrging forward. We shall know well then that these winds shall be produced, in obscure places, out of these clouds vnder earth, when they haue gathered so much forces that either may suffice to breake thorow the resistance of the earth, or occupie some open passage for these windes, and that by these causes they may be conueyed amongst vs. But this is most manifest, that vnder earth there is a great quantitie of sulphure and other minerals, that serue to enkindle fire. The aire searching issue by these causes, after it is very much agitated, mult of necessity in this great presse, expresse and cause the fire to issue. Afterwards the flames being spread more at large, if there remained any aire that was still, the subtiltie thereof gaue it motion, and there with great noise and cracking sound, it seeketh passage. But I will entreat hereof more exactly when I shall speake of, and debate of the trembling of the earth.

CHAP. XV.

PErmit me now to tell thee a pleasant tale. *Aesclepiodotus* reciteth, that in times past *Philip* caused certaine work-men to be let down in desert mines, to see if there were any thing to bee gotten, in what estate all things were, and if the auarice of our predecessors had left any thing for those that were to succed: These men descended with many lights, and remained there for many daies, and finally being wearied with walking, they saw great riuers, and pooles of a marvellous length like vnto ours, but not inclosed and restrained with any earth to bound them in, but spread and extended abroad, which made them afraid: I tooke great content to read this; for I vnderstand that our age is sicke, not onely of new vices, but also of those which the Ancients haue taught, and that it is not of late time that auarice hath digged into the vaines of earth, and rocks, seeking in the darkness the ruine of mankind. And as touching our Ancestors, whom we praise so much, they likewise (whose vertues we complain that we cannot equally) being led by hope, haue opened and digged downe mountains, and haue found themselves buried vnder the ruines, and vnder the gaine they had made. There haue beene Kings long time before *Philip of Macedon*, that haue searched out the verie bowels of the earth to finde out siluer, and forsaking the free ayre, haue slid downe into those caues, where there was no difference betwixt day and night, leauing the cleareness of the day behind them. What great hope could this be? What necessitie hath bowed a man towards the earth, who was made vpright to behold the heauens, that he hath digged, and drowned himselfe in the heart of the earth, to draw out gold, which is as dangerous in the searching, as in the keeping.

A digression
wherein he en-
treateth of vi-
cious and posse-
sion vnder ground.

An euelline a-
gainst auarice.

keeping! For this hath he vndermined the earth, and vnder hope of an vncertaine prey couered in dirt, (forgetfull of his time, and forgetfull of his better nature) hath he sequestred himselfe. There is no dead man to whom the earth is so waightie, as to those vpon whom auarice hath cast so waightie a load of earth; from whom she hath taken the light of heauen, and whom she hath buried in those bottomlesse pits, wherein this poison was hidden: Into those places durst they descend, where they haue found a new disposition of things, the earth suspended, the windes blowing in an obscure void, the dreadfull sources of waters that streamed along, a profound and perpetual night, yet for all this they feare hell.

CHAP. XVI.

BVt to returne to that which is now in question. There are foure windes, diuided into East, West, South, and North. All the which we call by diuers names are numbered vnder these:

*EVVS retired towards the mornings rise,
And to the Nabathean Kingdome flies,
Breathing on Persia, and those mountaines hye,
That are expos'd to PLOEVVS rising eye.
Milde ZEPHYRVS the euening hath possist,
And beates vpon the warmer shores of West,
But horrid BOREAS doth the North invade
And bends his stormes against the Scythian glade:
Where contrarie, the Southerne winde againe
The Noctified traile doth moisten with clouds and raine.*

Or if thou haddest rather comprehend them in shorter words, let them be assembled in one tempest (which can no wayes be.)

*EVVS and NOTHVS tempest both together,
And storme asfike haile to helpe them thither.*

And the North-winde which had no place in that conflict. Some imagine that there are twelue windes. For they diuide the foure parts of the heauens into three, and giue two adiuncts to euery one of the foure principall windes. According to this manner, *Varro*, a very diligent man, hath ordered them; and not without cause: For the Sunne neither riseth nor setteth alwayes in one place, but one is the rising and setting Equinoctiall, (for there are two Equinoctials) other the Solstitiall and hibernall. We call that *Subsolanus*, that riseth from the Orientall Equinoctiall: the Grecians call it *Aequinoxius*. *Eurus* issueth from the Orient of winter, which wee haue called *Vulturnus*. And *Liny* so termeth it in that vnfortunate battell of the Romans, wherein *Hanibal* set the rising Sunne and winde in the eyes of his enemies, and by the assistance both of Sunne and winde, got the victorie. *Varro* surnameth it also *Eurus* after this maner. At this day the Latines vse indifferently both the one and the other. The winde that bloweth from the Orientall Solstice, is called *Caci*, or *Capricornus* by the Greeks and the Latines haue no other name. The West Equinoctiall sendeth *Favonius*,

CCCC 2 which

Of the foure
principall windes,
and whence they
come.

Of twelue
windes, according
to some

Their names.

which they that vnderstand not the Greeke will tell thee is *Zephirus*. From the Occidentall Solstice proceedeth *Corus*, or according to others, *Argestes*, which I thinke not, because that *Corus* bloweth violently, and maketh a storme in some parte; *Argestes* is ordinarily, blasse, equal, and common as well to those that go, as those that returne. *Africus* that is both stormie and tempestuous, departeth from the Occident of winter, and by the Grecians is called *N. N.* To the Northward, the highest is *Aquilon*, that in the middell Septentrion, and *Thracias* is the lower, which hath no other name amongst the Latines. From the Meridional axis ariseth *Euronotus*, then *N. N.*, in Latine *Auster*, after these *Libanotus*, which amongst vs is without a name.

CHAP. XVII.

WHAT there can be but twelue principall winds. Agree that there are twelue windes, not because there arise many in euery country (for the inclination of the earth excludeth some) but because there are no more in any place. So say we that there are six cases, yet meane we not, that euery nowne hath six cases, but because there is no nowne that can haue more then six. They that haue propoosed twelue windes, haue followed this reason, that there are as many winds as there are parts of the heauen, which is diuided into five circles, which passe thorow the Cardines of the world, that is to say, the Northerne, Solstitiall, Equinoctiall, Hibernall, and Meridional, to which is annexed a sixth, distinguishing, as thou knowest, the superiour part of the world, from the inferiour. For there is alwayes a halfe aboue, and another beneath. The Greekes haue called this line which is partly couered, and partly discouered, *Horizon*, we *Finitor* or *Finicus*. To this mult wee adde the Meridian circle, which diuideth the Horizon by straight angles. Some of these circles goe slopewise, and trauesse the others. But it is necessarie that there should be as great differences in the aire, as there is in the parts. So then the Horizon diuideth the five aboue-named circles, whereof it maketh ten parts, five to the Eastward, and five to the Westward. The Meridian circle, which encountereth with the Horizon, addeth two parts. If the aire haue twelue differences, so many windes maketh it. There are some that are proper to certaine places, which go not from one place to another, but bend themselves towards that which is next, without blowing from one end of the world to another. *Atabulus* molesteth *Aphus*, *Apix*, *Calabrias*, *Sciron*, *Athenis*, *Catagis*, *Pamphiliis*, *Circius*, France; whose inhabitants cease not to giue him thanks, although he breaketh their buildings, as if they were bound vnto him for the bountie of their aire. At such time as the Emperour *Augustus* sojourned in France, he vowed and builded a Temple to this winde. It were an infinite matter if I should entreate of all other windes in particular, since for the most part, there is not any region that hath not some winde, that both breedeth and ceaseth in it, or about it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

AMONGST other workes of diuine providence therefore, a man may likewise wonder at this, as a matter worthe of admiration. For it hath not out of one cause, both found out, and disposed the windes diuersly: but first of all, to the end it might not suffer the aire to stand still, but by continual agitation make it profitable and vitall to those that should vse it. Again, that they might minister raines vnto the earth, and bridle excessive stormes. For sometimes they bring on clouds; sometimes seuer them, to the end that the raine may be distributed thorow all the world: *Auster* driueth it into Italy, *Aquilo* casteth it into Africa, the *Exci* suffer not the clouds to stay with vs. The same windes in the same season, when we haue drought, water India and *Aethiopia* with continuall rained. But why? could a man store vp his corne, were it not that the winde assisted him to driue the chaffe from that which was to be reserved? Except there were somewhat that caused it to encrease, and that breaking the care and spike that holdeth the graine hidden and couered (which the laborers call the husks) should open the same? Is it not a great good, that she hath giuen vs the means to be able to traffique and to merchandize with forren Nations? This is a great benefit of Nature, except the furie of men conuerted it to their iniurie. Now that which in times past was spoken by the greater part of people by *Cæsar*, that a man could scarcely say whether it were more expedient for the Commonweale, if this man had liued, or had neuer bene, may be at this day said of the windes. So much the necessity of them, and the profit that they bring counterpriseth the euils, that the furie of mankind hath inuented to his owne ruine by this meane. For such goods cease, not to be good of their own nature, although they are become hurtfull through their wickednesse that abuse the same. The eternall providence of God, who is the gouernour of this world, hath not giuen this charge vnto the windes to agitate the aire, neither hath he lodged them in all parts to cleanse the same, to the end we should couer a part of the sea with vessels charged with armed souldiers, or that we should seeke out enemies in or beyond the same. What madnesse is it that possesseth vs, and maketh vs to seeke out a meane how to murder one another? We embarke our selues to fight and seeke out danger, we hazard our selues to find out hazard. We adventure on vncertain fortune, we combat against the violence of a storme, which no humane power is able to surmount, and runne vnto death without hope of sepulture: yet should this be nothing, if we might attaine peace hereby. But now when we haue escaped so many hidden rockes, and the ambushes of a sea full of shoales, impetuous billowes, and sands into which a head-long winde driueth those that faile: when we haue passed thorow dayes covered with skowling clouds, horrid night full of raine and thunder, and seene the vessels broken and battered by the winde. What shall be the fruit of this labour and feare? What haue we shall entertaine vs, being wearied with so many euils? It shall be warre, and the enemy that attendeth vs vpon our descent; the Nations we shall murder, and shall kill a part of the Conquerours armie, with burning of those Cities that were builded for perpetuities. Why call wee the people to armes? Why leaue we men of warre, intending to arrange our battels in the middell of the sea? Why disquiet we the seas? Is not the earth great enough for vs to die in? Fortune handleth vs too delicately: She hath giuen vs too hard bodies,

Cccc 3

Why the windes
haue beene crea-
ted and lodged
in the aire.

How men haue
abused this benef-
it of God be-
lieued vpon vs
by the winds.

What there can
be but twelue
principall winds.

OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,
DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The sixth Booke.

Wherein
He intreateth of the motion of the earth.

CHAP. I.



LT hath beene heard by vs (my *Lucilius* the best of men) that *Pompeias* a renowned Citie in Campania, hauing on the one side the *Surrentinian* and *Sabiane* shores, on the other side the *Herculan*, and which the Sea begirteth with a pleasant gulfe, made as it were artificially, was shaken by an earthquake, not without the preiudice of those countries that bordered vpon the same: and that the same happened in Winter time, which as our auncestors assure vs, is exempt from such danger. This earthquake happened the fift day of February, when *Regulus* and *Virginus* were Consuls, which brought a marueylous ruine into Campania, which had beene neuer well assured from that danger: yet had it not before that time encountered with any such misfortune, and in great feares had beene oftentimes preferred; for a part of the Citie of *Hercule* is false to the ground, and that which as yet standeth, is not well assured. The Colonie of the *Nuceris* also, as it hath not suffered some generall destruction, so is it not without complaint. *Naples* likewise hath privately lost much, but publicly nothing, being lightly touched with a great euill. As touching some scattered Farmes; they haue beene almost all of them shaken, but not offended by this earthquake. They adde hereunto, that sixe hundredth flockes of sheepe were strooken dead, and that statues haue beene riuen in sunder, and moreouer, that some persons lost their wits, and ranne about the streets like

*The wonderfull
earthquake that
happened in
Campania in
Senecaes time.*

*The effect of this
earthquake.*

*There is nothing
affured vnder
heauen.*

*How vaine are
the hopes which
men apprehend
amidst so great
incertainties.*

*Consolations and
remedies against
the same.*

like mad men. The proesse of this enterprised worke, and the circumstance of the season require vs to examine the causes of these accidents. We ought to seeke out comfort for those that are dismayed, and extinguish mighty feare. For what security can a man promise himselfe if the world it selfe be shaken, and the most solid parts thereof quake, if that which is wholly immouable and settled, to the end it may sustaine all other things on it bee shattered heere and there? If the earth looeth that which she hath proper in her, which is to be firme; whereupon may we assure our dismay and feare? What retreat shal there be for our bodies? Whether shall they retire in danger, if feare itselfe and be drawne from the bottom of the earth? All men are amazed with feare hearing the houses cracke, and the ruine hath giuen a signe; then euery one flyeth headlong from the place, and forsaketh his home and household-goods, and seeth himselfe in the open fields. What retreat discover we? What succour appeareth if the world it selfe fall into ruine? If he that keepeth and sustaineth vs, whereon our Cities are builded, which some haue said to be the foundation of the world sinketh and trembleth? What support, or rather what solace may a man hope for, when as feare if selfe hath lost the meanes of flight? Is there any assured retreat or firme safeguard, say I, eyther for a mans selfe or another? I may repulse mine enemy from the breach; high Rampiers and Bulwarkes will stay great armies from approaching very easily. The heauens preferre vs from shipwracke: the corners of our houses resist the violence of raging raines, and defence vs from the continuall fall of showres: the fire followeth not those that flie it: the houses vnder ground, and deepe digged caues serue for a shelter against thunders and the threatnings of heauen. The lightning penetrateth not the earth, but is repulsd by a little object of the same. In the plague time a man may change his habitation. There is no euill but may be auoyded. Neuer did lightnings burne vp whole Nations. The pestilent ayre hath desolated Cities, but not destroyed them: this euill extendeth it selfe euery way, and is vnauoydably greedie, and publicly harmful. For it not onely deuoureth houses, or families, or private Cities, but ouerturneth whole Nations and Regions, and sometime couereth them in her ruines, sometimes hideth them in a bottomlesse gulf of confusion. Neyther leaueth it so much whereby it may appeare that that was at leastwise, which now is not. But the earth extendeth it selfe about noble Cities, without any appearance of the former condition: neyther want there some men that feare this kinde of death, more then any other, whereby both they and their houses are swallowed vp, and are carried away aliue from the number of the liuing, as if all sorts of death conducted vs not to one and the same end. Amongst all other rites that nature pretendeth in iustice, this is the principal, that drawing neere vnto death we are all equall. There is no difference therefore whether a stone crush me, or a whole mountain smother me, whether the burthen of one house fall vpon me, or I breath my last vnder a little heape of the dust thereof, or whether the whole earth hide my head; if I die by day and before all men, or if some obscure and vast yawning of the earth couer me, if I fall alone into such a bottomlesse pit, or if many Nations keepe me companie. What care I if they make a great noyse about me when I shall depart? The death is alwayes death in what part soeuer I meete it. Let vs therefore fortifie our courages against this ruine, which neyther can be auoyded nor preuented. Let vs listen no more to those men, who haue renounced Campania, and who after this accident haue forsaken the countrie, and vow that they will neuer visit that Region againe; for who will promise them that

this

this or that ground shall stand vpon better foundations. All places of the earth are of the same stuffe, and if as yet they are not moued, yet are they mouable: happily this night, or the day before this night shall deuide this place likewise, wherein thou liuest more securely. Whence wilt thou know that the condition of these places is better, on which fortune hath already spent all her forces, and are assured for euer by the ruine which they haue suffered. We deuiue our selues if we thinke that there is any part of the earth exempt from this danger. All of them are subiect to the same law. Nature hath made nothing, which is not exposed to change: this thing faileth at one time, and that at another. And euen as in great Cities, now this house, now that is suspended; so in this world, now one Region is shaken, straight another. Tyre in times past was defaced by ruines. Asia lost twelue Cities at once. The last year Achaia and Macedon haue bene endamaged with this euill (whatsoever it be) that hath now afflicted Campania. Fate maketh his circuit; and if for a time he forgett some things, at last he reuisseth them. He afflicteth some more rarely, and others more often, but leaueth nothing exempt and free from euill: he mustreth not vs onely that are men that haue but a little handfull of life, but Cities also, extents of countries, shores, and the Sea it selfe. Meane while we make our selues beleue that these corruptible things are eternal, and beleue that our good hap which we enioy, and which passeth away more lightly then the wind, shal haue some waight or stay in this or that. And they that promise themselves that all things shal be perpetuall vnto them, cannot remember that the earth it selfe, on which we treade, is neyther firme nor stable: for this accident is not onely incident to Campania and Achaia, but to euery ground, to be brittle, and to be resolu'd vpon diuers causes, and to be ruinated in part although the whole remaine.

*All countries
are exposed to
earthquake.*

CHAP. II.



Hat doe I? I had promised to set downe comforts against dangers, and beholde I denounce perills euery way; I denie that there is any thing, which both cannot perill nor cause ruine, which may be euer in eternall repose: but contrariwise, I maintaine also that this ought to serue for the greatest assurance that may be found, because a feare without remedie is a meere folly. Reason shaketh off wise mens feare, imprudent men gather great securitie in their deperation. Think therefore that this is spoken vnto mankind which was said vnto those men, who thorow a sudden captiuitie stood amazed amidst the flame and the enemy.

*The true assurance
against
dangers, is to re-
member that we
are exposed to
dangers.*

*The onely helpe to those that are in thrall
is comitted this, to hope no helpe at all.*

If you will feare nothing, thinke that all things are to be feared: look about you, vpon how slight causes we are shaken and ouerturned. Neyther is our meate, nor our drinke, our watching, our sleepe wholesome for vs, except it be in some measure: you see now that our bodies are vaine, fluid, infirme, and easily destroyed. Vndoubtedly this one danger were enough that the earths tremble, that they are instantly dissipated, and swallow that which they themselves sustain. He prisseth himselfe very much, that feareth the lightning, the shaking and

and

The smallest
dangers being
sufficient to end
vs, why should
we fear any
whatsoever ap-
pearance offer-
eth it selfe, the
end is one.

and openings of the earth, although the sense of his owne infirmities, make him feare his owne flegme. After this manner are we borne; hauing fo happie members allotted vs, men growne to this greatnes, and for this cause, except the parts of the world be moued, except the heauens thunder, except the earth sinke, we cannot perill. A little paine, not of the whole finger but of one side of the naile of our little finger, or a chap killeth vs: and shall I feare the tremblings of the earth, whom a little thick spittle choketh? Shall I feare that the Sea shall breake from out his bounds, and that the fouds with a course more greater then accustomed, by assembling more waters should attempt to drowne me. When as a potion hath strangled some that slippeth downe the contrary way into the throat? What a fond thing is it to feare the Sea, when thou knowest that thou mayest perill by a little drop? There is no greater solace and remedie against death, then to know that we must die; and against all dangers that enuiron and astonish vs, to remember that we beare an infinite number of perills in our bodies. For what madnesse can there be more, then to frowne when we heare it thunder, and to hide our selues vnder earth for feare of lightning? What is more foolish then to feare the sudden fall and ouerthrow of mountaines, the ouerflowes of the Sea, being calt without his bounds. When as death meeteth with vs in all places, and accosteth vs on all sides, and there is nothing folite, but is of sufficient force to exterminate mankind. Neyther should these accidents confound vs, as if they contained in them more euill then an ordinary death: but contrariwise, since we must needs depart out of this life, and at one time or other breath our last, it should be a contentment for vs to die by some notorious meane. We must needs die sometime, wherefoeuer it be. Although this earth that sustaineth me remaineth firme, and containeth it selfe within his limits, and is not shaken by any incommoditie, yet shall she couer me one day. What skils it then whether I couer my selfe, or that the earth of it selfe couer me? She openeth her selfe thorow the marueilous power of an vnknowne euill, she yawneth and maketh me sinke, and swalloweth me in her immeasurable depth: What then? is it a more gentle death to die in the plaine? What cause haue I to complaine, if nature will not permit me to be buried in an ignoble place? and if she cast a part of her selfe ouer me? My friend *Agellius* wrote very wittily in that worthy Verse of his;

*If I must fall this thing with I,
That I may fall downe from the skie.*

The same will I say if I must die; let it be then when all the world is shaken, not that it is a thing lawfull to wish the ruine of the world, but because it is a great solace against death, to see that all the earth must one day haue an end.

CHAP. III.

Of the naturall
causes of earth-
quakes.



His likewise shall profite much, to presume in minde that the gods doe none of these things, neyther that their indignation is the cause, whence proceedeth this agitation both of heauen and earth. Such accidents haue their causes; it is not by commandement that they rage thus, but euen as our bodies are afflicted with euill humours, so both heauen and earth haue certaine defaults, and euen then when

when they seeme to doe vs harme, they endamage themselves. But because we vnderstand not the true causes, all accidents seeme terrible vnto vs, and because they happen very seldome, we are thereby affrighted the more. Those euills that are ordinarie are more easily endured, but those that are extraordinary, astonish the more. But why seemeth any thing a newe thing vnto vs? It is because we comprehend nature by the eyes, and not by reason, and thinke no wayes on that which shee may doe, but only on that which shee hath done. Therefore are we worthily chastised for this negligence, being terrified by those accidents which wee call new, when as indeede they are not, but only vnaccustomed. What then? Feele we not our mindes seized with religious feare, and finde we not the common fort dismayd, to see the Sunne loose his light, or the Moone, (whose obscuritie is more often) when shee hideth her selfe wholly, or in some part, and farre more if we see pillars of enflamed fire thwarting the aire; a greater part of the heauens on fire, if we see crinite Comets and diuers Sunnes, if we behold the starres by day time, the sodaine fires running from one part to another, and leauing after them a great light? We behold none of these things without feare, and when as to be ignorant is the cause of feare, thinke you it is a small matter to be instructed how you should not be afraid? How farre better were it therefore to seeke out the causes of these changes, by applying the minde diligently thereunto? For there cannot any one more worthy subiect be found out, wherein a man should not only fixe his studies, but spend them also.

CHAP. IIII.



Et vs therefore seeke out what the cause is which moueth the earth from her bottome to the top, that impelleth the waight of so massiue a body, what it is that hath so much force to bee able to lift vp so vnwieldie a bierthen, whence cometh it that sometimes shee trembleth, and sometimes being loosened sinketh, now rentereth her selfe into diuers parts, now appeareth long time open, sometimes closeth her selfe sodainly, presently swalloweth vp great Riues, anon after disgorgeth new, discovereth in one place the veins of hot water, in another cold; vomiteth sometimes fire by a new vent of a Mountaine or Rock: other whiles choketh and shutteth vp those that had flamed and burned for the space of many yeares. Shee moueth a thousand miracles, produceth diuers changes, transporteth mountaines, maketh mountaines of plaines, swelleth vp the valles, and raiseth new Islands in the Sea. To know the causes of so many accidents, is a thing worthy to be discussed. But what commoditie laiest thou wilt there grow hereby? The greatest in this world, which is the knowledge of nature. Although the consideration of this matter bringeth many commodities with it, yet containeth it nothing in it selfe more excellent then this, that the worthines thereof wholly possesseth the minde that is fixed thereupon, and it is not the gaine, but the miracle that is obserued therein that maketh it venerable. Let vs consider then what the cause might be, why such things happen, the contemplation whereof is so pleasing vnto me, that although in times past, during my younger yeares, I published a Treatise of earthquakes, yet had I a minde to trie and assay, whether age hath added any thing either to my knowledge or diligence.

Dddd

CHAP.

Whence it com-
meth to pass
that we esteeme
extraordinarie
accidents for no-
uelties.

The causes of di-
uers tremblings,
and heauings
of the earth, and
other such wild
accidents.

What profite the
search into na-
ture yieldeth us
more.

whole ayre, and the whole distances of places. A storme being raised there, and more violent then ordinarie, may more rudely shake some portion of the earth which it encountereth with. For in our quarters likewise many places farre distant from the Sea, haue bene beaten with a sudden accessse and flood of the same; and the flood that is conceived to come a farre off hath invaded those country houses that are builded about vs. Under earth also the Sea may haue his ebbe and floate; which cannot be without some shaking of the earth, which is about the same.

CHAP. VIII.

Thinke that thou wilt not very much debate and doubt, whether there bee rivers and a sea hidden vnder ground: for from whence doe they issue, and come vnto vs, except that it be because the water is inclosed in his source? Tell mee when thou seest the course of the river Tigris stayed, and the water thereof dried vp by little and little, and not all at once, and lesse appeareth not; but that it is diminished vntill such time as it is wholly dried, whether thinkest thou that it goeth, when as thou seest it issue, as violent, spacious, and deepe as it was in the beginning? And when thou seest the river Alpharus, which the Poets haue so much renowned, loose it selfe in Achaia, and after hauing trauesed the sea, discover it selfe in Sicilie, where with a liuely source it passeth forward the pleasant fountaine of Arethusa, what thinkest thou? Knowest thou not that amongst the reports that are made of the River of Nilus, and the ouerflow thereof in Summertime, that it is said that it issueth from the earth, & that it increaseth not by the waters of the ayre, but by those waters that spring from vnder the earth? I haue heard say by two Centurions, whom the Emperour Nera (a friend of all vertue, but a boue all of verities) had sent to discover the source of Nilus, that after a long iourney, accomplished by the assistance of the King of Aethiopia, who had recommended them to diuers other Kings, they came vnto certaine marishes of infinite extent, the inhabitants of which countrey knew not the end thereof, and no man durst promise himselfe to discover the same; by reason that the heapes and waters were so yed together, that it was impossible for a footman to trauell yno lesse for a Boate, because the Marishes being full of mud and flags, could not beate the vessels wherein there was any more then one man. They added moreover, that they haue seene in Marishes two rocks, from whence the water falleth abundantly. But whether it be that such water be called the source or increase of Nilus, or that he hath his beginning there, or that he is discovered from farther places, thinkest thou what it mounteth not from some great lake vnder earth? It must needs be that these rocks haue their waters derived from diuers places, and gathered vp on high, which discharge themselves in such abundance and so violently, as they are able to raise the waters of the sea.

It is wished that there are abundant waters vnder the earth.

Neroes praise during the first years of his Empire, but how great alteration breedeth much authority, where the counsailes are fast, ceteris, religion pagani, de, light impiety?

CHAP. IX.



Here be some that iudge fire to be the cause of this motion, yet consider they this cause in diuers fashions. Amongst the rest *Maxagoras* thinketh that the ayre and the earth are almost shaken by the same cause. When as the wind which is inclosed vnder earth, breaketh the ayre which was thickened and formed in a cloude, with as great violence as the clouds which wee see are accustomed to breake, and that the fire by this enterhooke of clouds, and by the course of the ayre, which is restrained within it, causeth lightning to issue. This ayre opposeth it selfe against all things it meeteth, which seeking a passage to issue forth, and teareth open all that which hindereth it, vntill such time that eyther it hath found a passage by some little hole to mount towards heauen, or that it hath gotten it by force and violence. Some say that the cause is in the fire, but they are not of opinion that it is for this reason, but for that being couered in diuers places, it burneth and consumeth all that which it meeteth withall. And if the things that are eaten thereby happen to fall, then is it that there followeth a dissolution of the parts, which are disurnished of their stayes, and finally, a totall ruine, because nothing presenteth it selfe to sustaine the burthen. Then are the openings and vast yawnings of the earth discovered; or else when the partes of the same haue long time declined, they which remaine intire beginne to dissolue. We see the like hereof happen amongst vs as oftentimes as the fire hath taken holde of some quarter in the Citie, when as the beames and principals are burned, or that the maine tymbers that sustaine the house are funke, then the house being shaken falleth to the ground, and so long time shrinke they, and are vncertaine, vntill they haue found some place to stay vpon.

The examination of their opinion who hold that the fire is cause of earthquake.

CHAP. X.



Naximenes saith, that the earth her selfe is the cause of her motion, neyther is there any thing extrinsically that inpelleteth the same, but that into her, and from her fall certain parts which the water dissoluet, or the fire eateth, or the wind shaketh; but although these three cause, yet causeth she not to haue something, by means whereof this reuulsion and diminution is made. For first of all, all things decline by succession of time, and there is nothing that is exempted from the hands of age which ruinares the strongest & most solid things. Even as therefore in olde houses, some things fall although they are not strooken, when as they haue more waight vpon them then force to beare it: so falleth it out in this vniuersall bodie of the earth, that the partes thereof are dissolved by age, and being dissolved, fall and breeda trembling in the vpper parts. First, whilst they separate themselves (for there is no great thing that is disioyned without the motion of that whereunto it cleaueth) then when they arealne they rebound backe againe after the manner of a ball, which falling from on high vpon the earth, is many times strooken vp, and maketh diuers bounds. But if they happen to fall into some great poole, the water that is moued by

The opinion of Anaximenes, that the earth is selfe is the cause of her motion.

the fall maketh that tremble which is round about, and it is the waight that falleth from on him that causeth this present shooke, and that spreadeth it euery wayes.

CHAP. XI.

Another opinion of those that thinke the earthquake is caused by fire.

Here are some that assigne this trembling to the fire, but otherwise; for when as in diuers places they are hote and boyling, it must needs be, that a mightie vapour is turned vp and downe without issue, which by the multiplication thereof reinforceth the ayre; which being animated & prouoked, rieth that which is opposit; but if it be more remisse it doth nothing else but moue. We see that water someth when fire is put vnder it. That which this fire doth in this water, that is included in a straight and narrow vessell, by farre more we may thinke it may doe it, when with violence and great abundance, hee causeth great quantities of waters to boyle. Then agiteth hee by the vaporation of the waters that ouerflow, whatsoeuer he beateth vpon.

CHAP. XII.

Whether the winde be the cause of earthquakes.

Many and the greatest learned men, are of the opinion that the winde is the cause of earthquakes. *Archelass* who hath carefully examined the opinions of the auncients, saith thus: The windes are carried thorow the cauities of the earth, afterwards when all spaces of the same are filled, and that the ayre is thickened as much as may be, that winde that commeth after presseth and expresseth the former, and first of all by redoubled stroakes pusheth it forward, and finally casteth it out. This seeking for a place, runneth here and there, and enforceth it selfe to breake his bounds. Thus commeth it to passe that the earth is shaken by the winde, which striueth and seeketh for a passage to get out at; when as therefore an earthquake is like to follow, first there goeth before it a tranquillitie and calme of the aire, and the reason is, because the power and vertue which was accustomed to moue the windes, is detained vnder earth. And now likewise in this earthquake of Campania, although it were in Winter time, and in a troubled season; yet so it is that some dayes before it happened, the ayre was calme and peaceable. What then? Was there neuer earthquake when the windes blew? Very seldome haue two windes blowne at once: yet can it be, and it is wont to be; which if we admit, and that it appeareth that two windes may blow at once, why might it come to passe that the one should agitate the higher ayre, and the other the inferiour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Ou may number amongst those of this opinion *Aristotle* and his scholler *Theophrastus*, a man not so excellent and diuine as the Græcians make him, yet of a pleasing, fluent, and vnaffected discourse. I will discouer vnto thee both their opinions: there is alwayes some euaporation from the earth, that is sometimes drie, sometimes intermixed with humiditie. This exhalation issuing from beneath, and carried vp as high as it might, when as she hath not a farther place by which she may finde issue, recoyleth backe againe, and enfoldeth her selfe in her selfe: and whilst the debate of the winde, which goeth and commeth, overturneth that which maketh head against her, be it that she remaineth enclosed, be it that she escapeth by narrow straights, she moueth earthquakes and thunders. *Strabo* is of the same opinion; a man who hath carefully added himselfe to this part of Philosophie, and hath diligently searched out the secrets of Nature. This is his opinion: Colde and heate are two opposites, and cannot be together, the colde slippeth in thither where the heat is absent; as contrariwise, the heate entereth that place whence the colde is driuen. This that I speake is true; but that both are driuen contrariwise, by this it appeareth. In Winter time when the colde is vpon the earth the Springs are warme, the Cauces and all hidden places vnder earth are hot, because the heate is retired thither, giuing place vnto the colde that possesseth the vpper part. When the heate is thus entered into the lower partes, and hath insinuated it selfe as much as it may, the thicker it is the stronger it is. If a new heate come vnto it, the one being pressed by the other giueth place: the contrarie happeneth, when as the colde becoming more powerfull slippeth into the Cauces. All the heate which at that time was hidden therein, giuing place vnto the colde, retireth it selfe into some narrow corner, and is moued, and inforceth it selfe with great violence; for the nature of them both admitteth no concord, neyther can they euer bide in one place. Flying therefore and struing by all meanes to get out, he ouerthroweth, ruinateth and tosseth whatsoeuer he meeteth. Therefore before the earth is moued, men are accustomed to heare a kinde of whistling or murmure whilst the windes combat beneath, or otherwise, as our *Virgil* saith could not,

The earth wanes vnder feet, she mountaines quake.

If the winde were not the cause hereof. There are likewise vicissitudes of this fight, and each hath his turne. The heate causeth to assemble it selfe, and to issue. Then is the colde repressed, and succedeth to reinforce himselfe incontinently: when as therefore the force of heate and colde runneth and returneth often, and that the winde goeth and returneth here and there, then is it that the earth trembleth.

The firme opinion of Aristotle and others, that winde is the cause of earthquakes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The diuers cau-
ses of earth-
quakes by the
meanes of wind.

Here are some that thinke that earth is shaken by the wind, and by no other meanes; but they imagine another cause then Aristotle did. And heare what they say. Our bodie is watered and moistened with blood and spirit, which run here and there, thorow those passages that are deputed to those offices. But we haue some more narrow receptacles of the soule, by which the doth nothing else but wander, some more open and spacious, in which the is gathered together, and from whence she diuident her selfe into parcels. So this great bodie of the earth is open to the waters that possesse the place of blood, and to the windes, which a man may well call the soule. These two encounter in some place, in some place stay. But as in the bodie, as long as it is in health, the continuall beating of the arterie is measured, but if the health thereof be altered, the pulse is frequent and high, the signes and violent respirations, are the signes that the bodie is wearied and afflicted. In like sort when as the waters and the windes are in their naturall receptacles in the bodie of the earth, they haue no agitation about measure. But if there happen any disorder, at that time there is distemper, as in a sicke bodie, the wind that breathed along pleasantly, if it be stopped in the passage, agiteth his vaines. It followeth not therefore that the earth should be as the bodie of a liuing creature, as some doe pretend. For if it were so, it should be wholly agitated as a liuing creature is. And we our selues feele that feuer afflicteth not some parts of the bodie more gently then other some, but that shee runneth thorow all equally. Consider therefore, if it be not true that the wind entereth into the earth, replenished with aire round about, which as long as he hath free passage, stealeth along gently, if hee encounter with any thing that stoppeth his passage, first of all he is charged by the aire that presseth after hard at his backe, afterwards he flieth secretly by some crany, and the more eagerly dislodgeth he, the more straiter his passage is. This cannot be done without conflict, neither is there any combat without agitation. If he findeth not any chift to escape there, he gathereth himselfe together and beginneth to tempest, whirling vpwards and downwards, vntill such time as he hath ouerturned and sunke that which resisted him: if he be subtil, he is wonderously strong, and if he slideth thorow passages that are somewhat narrow, and that by his vertue he enlargeth and dissipeth all that where he entereth, then is the earth shaken. For either she openeth her selfe to giue passage to the wind, or after she hath giuen it, being destitute of foundation, shee seazeth and scattereth her selfe in that caviy, whereby she gaue him passage.

CHAP. XV.

The third opi-
nion of earthquakes
by force of wind.

Hus some thinke: The earth is perforated in diuers places, neither hath she the onely these first entrances and pores which she receiued as vents from her beginning, but casualtie hath bred many more in her. In some places the water hath enlarged all that earth which the had ouer her, the torrents haue eaten away some portion, the greatest heates haue cleft another. The winde entereth betwixt both, which if the sea hath included and driuen, neither suffered the floods to go backward.

CHAP. XVI.



E must also speake something as touching that which diuers Authors approue, and where it may be they will be found to be different. True it is that the earth is not without aire, and not onely this aire which maintaineth the same, and tieth the parts thereof together, penetrating likewise thorow stones and other bodies without life: but also this vitall aire which quickeneth and nourisheth all things. If she had it not, how should she giue life to so many plants and seeds, which draw their vigor from no place else? How could she entertain and sustain so many diuers roots in her, the one of one fashion, the other of another; the one entertained in her vpper part, the others buried more deeper, if she had not much soule which engendreth so many and so diuers things, and nourisheth them by her inspiration and vertue? Hitherto haue I set downe but coniectures. All the heauens, that are enclosed and surrounded with elementarie fire, all these innumerable numbers of the starres, all the celestiall bodies, and amongst the rest, the Sunne (shaping his course more neere vnto vs, and which is but twice as great as the globe of the earth) draw nourishment from the earth, and diuide it amongst them, being sustained by nothing else but terrestriall vapours. This is their nourishment and feeding. But the earth could not nourish so many creatures, so ample and more greater then her selfe, if she were not full of a soule, that day and night is spread thorow all her parts. For it cannot be but that there remaineth very much in her, from whence there is so much both expected and gathered, and that which issueth forth should not be bred in his proper time. She should not haue continuall abundance of spirit to furnish so many celestiall bodies, if these things had not concurrence amongst themselves, and were not grounded and changed in some other thing. Yet of necessity shee must abound and be full, and that shee furnish her selfe with it, which shee hath in store. There is no doubt then, but that much spirit is hidden therein, and that within the entrals of the earth there is a marvellous abundance of aire. This being so, that must needs follow, that that which is filled with a thing which is very moueable, should bee oftentimes remoued. Euerie one knoweth that there is nothing more inconstant, stirring, and fleeting then the aire.

The fourth opi-
nion as touching
the trembling of
the earth by
windes.

Senecaes opi-
nion as touching
the greatness of
the Sunne.

CHAP. XVII.



It is conuenient therefore that she exercise her nature, and that that which will alwaies be moued, should sometimes agitate and moue other things. When is this done? Then when her course is cut off and stayed. For as long as she is not intercepted, he stealeth along quietly and peaceably; but if he be resisted or restrained, he entereth into tempest, and tronketh thorow all that which intercepteth him, even as the Poet saith by the Road:

A consequence
drawn from
the precedent
discourse, and
prooue that the
wind is the cause
of the trembling
of the earth.

Arates

Araxes thus disclaines to breake a bridge.

As long as he hath an easie and free passage, he fleeth along at pleasure, but if either by cunning or adventure some stones are gathered together which stay his course, hee taketh occasion hereby to doe much mischief, and the more stones are opposed against him, the more forces findeth he. For all these flouds that come behind, and make the heape more high, being vnable to support themselves any more, overthrow all things in passing by, and flie along leveling their streame with that they have overthrowne, and those waues that fled before them. The same befalleth the winde: The more vigorous and swift it is, the more swiftly fieth it, and carrieth away with it, with greater violence, all that which either stoppeth or resisteth his passage. Thence commeth the earthquake, but in that part vnder which this conflict was made. That this which I have spoken is true, it appeareth by this that followeth. Oft-times when there hath bin an earth-quake, if any part of the same hath beene shattered, the winde hath issued forth, and blowne for the space of diuers daies, as it fell out by report in that earthquake, whereof those of Chalcis were afflicted, which was described by *Aclepiadotus*, *Possidonius* Scholler, in his booke of Naturall Questions. You shall finde in other Authors, that the earth being opened in a certaine place: anone after, there issued a winde, which vndoubtedly had made his way in that part from whence it blew.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what sort, the winde causeth the earth to tremble.

SO then the winde being by nature swift, and changing from place to place, is the greatest cause whereby the earth is moued. As long as this wind is impelled and lieth hidden in a void place, it remaineth calme, and doth no euill to that which enuironeth it; when as any externall or superuenient cause solliciteth him and chafeth him, and driueth him into a strait: yet for a while giueth he place and wandereth, but when as all occasion of escape is taken from him, and he is pressed on every side then,

*With a mightie murmur of the mountaine,
He furious runnes about his strait inclosure*

And after he hath long time beat against the same, hee teareth and scattereth it in pieces, showing himselfe the more violent, the longer that this debate hath lasted in his prison and enclosure. Afterwards when as he hath searched every nooke of the place wherein he was restrained and could not escape, hee returneth towards that part, where he was most of all impacted and closed, and then slideth he away by certaine secret places, which the earthquake hath a little opened, or passeth by some new breach. Behold how his extreme violence cannot be stayed, and there is no restraint sufficient to retaine him: for he breaketh all bounds, and carrieth with him every burthen that is laid vpon him; and infused into those things that are more small and thinne, he prepareth himselfe a release and libertie by an inuincible power that is naturall vnto him, and running

ning on head-long, establisheth himselfe in his rights: In a word, the winde is inuincible, neither is there any thing that

May keepe him awe, or cast him prison fromed, and so forth.
The fringing winde, or the spirit that is in the air.

Vndoubtedly the Poet, who haue discourse in these tearmes, intended to speake of these couerts vnder ground, where the windes remaine enclosed, but they haue not comprehended, that that which is enclosed is not winde alone, but that which is the winde, cannot be enclosed. For the which is enclosed remaineth still, and is a statue of the air. The winde appeareth not to be winde, but when it flieth. To these reasons a man may adde this also, which proueth that the windes is the cause of earthquakes, that is to say, that our bodies tremble not, except some fault doe shake the spirit, which being restrained by feare, weakened by age, the vailes decaying and shrinking, is struffed by cold, or when the accessie approacheth is cutt out of his ioules. For as long as he floweth without hinderance, and floweth according to his accustomed manner, there is no shaking in the bodie. But if any thing happen that hindereth him from performing his office, then being scarce able to beare those things which he sustained by his vigor, in falling he shaketh all those which in his integritie he had supported.

A comparison taken from the body of man.

CHAP. XIX.

B

ut we must needs giue care to *Metedorus Chius*, that will haue his opinion stand for law. For mine owne part I will not overslip those opinions I approve not, when as it is far better to present all, and rather to condemne that which we approve not, then to passe it vnder silence. What saith he then? Euen as his voice that singeth in a tunne, passeth and resoundeth in every place with a certaine eccho, and although it be not high, yet filleth it: alwaies the tunne, not without noise and rebound of the same: So the capacitie and vattiele of the cauities, and holes that hang vnder ground haue their raie; which as soone as another that falleth from above hath stricken, maketh a noise, euen as the things that are void, whereof I haue spoken, haue a rebound, when any one crieth in them.

The opinion of Metedorus upon this point.

CHAP. XX.

E

t vs now come vnto them, that haue said that all the Elements, or the greater part of those whereof we haue spoken, are the cause of earthquake. *Democritus* letteth them not downe all, but for the most part. For sometimes he saith that the wind is the cause, sometimes the water, and sometimes both; and in that respecture he after this manner. Some part of the earth is hollow, and in that there assembleth a great quantitie and abundance of water. Of this there is some part more

The examination of their opinion on who thinke that all the elements together, or the most part, are the cause of Earthquakes.

(subtile)



As our *Virgil* saith. This should be the cause of this motion of succession: now passe I ouer to the other cause.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the earthquake by inclination.

THe earth is of a rare nature, and hath much void in it. Thorow these parts and rarities the wind is carried, which when it is entered in some quantitie and findeth no issue, it shaketh the earth. This cause, it a troop of witnesses preuaileth any thing with thee, is pleasing vnto others, as I haue said a litle before. This likewise doth *Calisthenes* approue a man of no small reckoning. For he was a man of a noble mind, and such a one as could not endure a Princes insolencie. *Alexander* is defamed for euer, which neither his vertue, neither his felicity in warre can euer redem. For as oftentimes as a man shal say, that he hath defeated diuers thousands of Barbarians: it will be opposed, and *Calisthenes* also. If any one saith *Alexander* killed *Darius*, who at that time was the greatest King of the earth: some will reply, and *Calisthenes* too. When some shall allege that he conquered all that which he met withall, as farre as the bounds of the Ocean, on which he rigged new nauies, extending his Empire from the one corner of Thrace, as far as the furthest part of the East, it will be said that he slew *Calisthenes*. Although he hath surpassed all Princes, and precedent Captaines: the wrong which he offered *Calisthenes* was so great, that it blemisheth all his other exploits. This Philosopher then, in his bookes wherein he describeth how Helice and Buris haue been deuoured by the waters: and what accident was the cause why the sea covered them, or why they were sucked vp, saith that which hath bin touched in the former part, that the wind entered the earth by some small and secret conduits in all parts, yea vnder the sea. Afterwards, when this course which it had held to enter, is stopped, and the water hath cloased vp behind him all other passage, he turneth here and there, and returning himselfe into himselfe, shaketh the earth. And therefore is it, that the places that border vpon the sea are oftentimes agitated: and the Poets haue assigned this power vnto *Neptune*. Whosoever vnderstandeth the Greeke tongue, knoweth that *Homer* surname him *ἰσχυρὸν αἶαν*, that is to say, Earth-shaker.

Calisthenes opinion.

CHAP. XXIII.

In what manner the wind entereth into the earth, to cause it to tremble.

FOr mine owne part I am of this opinion that the wind is the cause of such an euill. I will only debate vpon one point, in what manner this wind entereth, if it bee by pores, so strait that the eye cannot obserue them, or if they are more greater, and open, and likewise whether they rise from the bottome or aboue the earth. This is incredible: For in our bodies likewise, the skinn repulseth the winde, which hath not entered, except by those passages, by which it is drawne, and being entertained by vs, cannot confute but in the most spacious part of the bodie, for it remaineth not amongst the nerves, and in the pulpe, but in the entrails, and the large retreat of our breists. A man may think as much of the earth, especially by reason that the shaking happeneth not aboue, nor about the surface of the earth, but from beneath, and proceedeth from the bottom. The prooffe whereof

whereof is, that the deepest seas are agitated, when as that whereupon they are spread is moued: It is therefore likely to be true that the earth is agitated from the bottome, where the winde is formed in spacious denues: Some will reply, that euen as after we are seised with great cold, a horror and trembling succedeth, so the winde finding a passage outward causeth the earth to tremble. But this is impossible. For first of all the earth should of necessity be subiect to this access of cold, to the end that the same might befall her as doth vs, who quier vpon an externall cause. I will not denie, but that there is something in the earth that hath some resemblance with that which happeneth in our bodies, but the causes are diuers. It must needs be some interior and deepe agitation, that shaketh the earth, as a man may gather euidently enough by this, because the earth hauing beene opened by a very great and terrible motion, such opening hath sometimes swallowed and sucked vp whole Cities, which no man hath seene afterwards. *Thucydides* writeth, that about the time that the war was in Peloponnesus, all the Atlantique Island, or the most part thereof, was covered with waters. As much hapned in Sidonia, if thou beleuest *Posidonius*. This matter needeth no witness: for we our selues remember, that the earth hauing beene opened by an inward earthquake, all the Countries were ruined, and the Champions perished: which I will now tell you how I thinke it hapneth.

CHAP. XXV.

When as the winde with great violence hath engulfed himselfe wholly in the cauities and void places of the earth, and that it beginneth to tempest in seeking an issue, it oftentimes beatech against the sides and places, wherein he is restrained, vpon which sometimes whole Cities are situated. And these at sometimes are in such sort shaken, that the houses that are builded thereupon fall vnto the ground. Sometimes the agitation is so violent, that the foundations and walls that sustayne all the rest of building, fall into this concauitie, in such sort as whole Cities sinke downe into a depth without end or measure. If thou wilt beleue it, it is reported that the mountaine *Ossa* was ioyned to the mountayne *Olympus*, and was torne away by an earthquake in such sort, that the Mountayne, that beforetime was very thick, was diuided into two: and that at that time, the River *Peneus* retyred himselfe, which dried vp the Marishes that were discommodious to *Thessalie*, and carried with him those waters that were seled there without issue. *Ladon*, a River that is betwixt *Helis* and *Megalopolis*, was caused to flow by an earthquake, what prouel by this? That the windes are gathered in spacious caues: for I can giue no other name to those void places vnder earth. If it were otherwaies, the greater part of the earth should be shaken, where as now the earthquake extendeth it selfe neuer farther then two hundred miles about. That whereof all the world talketh hath not passed *Campania*. At such time as *Chalcis* was shaken, *Thebes* remayned in quiet. *Ægium* was violently tossed, and *Patras* that was neare vnto it, heard nothing of it. That vast concussion that oppressed the two Cities of *Helice* and *Buris*, laid on the other side of *Ægium*, whereby it appeareth that the earthquake had as much extent as vnder earth those hollow places had, where the winde was enclosed.

How the earth is shaken by the winde.

The marvellous force of the winde.

How farre the earthquake extendeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The examination of their opinions who hold the Egyptians, and the Island of Delos were neuer shaken.

T Could abuse the authoritie of great men to proue this, who write that Egypt hath neuer trembled. And the reason they yeld hereof is this; That it is wholly gathered and composed of mud. For (if we may giue credit to *Homery*) Phares was so farre off from the Continent as a ship with full saile may reach in one dayes iourne: but now it is adioyned to the continent. For Nilus flowing with a troubled streame, and bearing along with him much mud, and heaping it afterwards on those other lands, that are vnited together, hath from yeare to yeare enlarged the Confinnes of Egypt. Thence is it that it is a fat and muddie ground, without any openings, but of a continued thicknes: the mud being become drie; which hath stopp'd vp and cimented all that structure, and vnited all the parts of the same so well together, that no voids may come betwene, considering that alwaies that which is soft and moist, ioyneth it selfe with that which was solide. But I say that Egypt is subiect to trembling, and the Isle of Delos likewise, although that *Virgil* willed them to stand;

*He made th'inhabitants this fauour finde,
Neither to feare strange earthquakes, nor strange winde.*

These the Philosophers likewise (a credulous Nation, according to *Pindarus*) said to bee exempt from trembling: *Thucydides* writeth, that before time it had not bene agitated, but that about the time of the Peloponnesian warre it trembled. *Calisthenes* saith, that it was at another time. Amongst many prodigies (saith he) which denounced the ouerthrow of Helice and Buris, there were two most notable, the one was a pillar of fire, of immeasurable greatnesse, the other the earthquake in Delos. The reason why he thinketh that Delos is firme, is, that being in the sea it hath many hollow rocks and stones that are pierced through, which giue passage to the windes that are enclosed. He addeth, that by reason hereof the Islands are more assured, and the Cities also that are more nearer to the sea. The Citie of Pompeias and Hercule haue felt, that this is false. Furthermore, all the sea coasts are subiect to agitation. So Paphos hath oftentimes been ruined, and Nicopolis likewise too familiarly acquainted with this miserie. A deepe sea inuironeth Cyprus, yet is it shaken, and so is Tyre likewise: Hitherto haue we examined the causes why the earth trembleth.

CHAP. XXVII.

Whic cause is upon that, sheepe which were found dead in that earthquake, and of the causes of this accident.

B Ut some particular accidents fell out in this earthquake of Campania, whereof I am to set downe some reasons. For they say that six hundred flock of sheepe were killed in the Region of Pompeias. Thou hast no cause to thinke that these sheepe perished through feare, we haue said that after great earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a pestilence: neither is this to be wondered at, because many pestilent things lie hidden in the depth. The aire it selfe, that is imprisoned in eternall obscuritie, either by the intermission of the earth, or by his owne idleness, is pernicious vnto those that suck the same, either being corrupted by the malignitie

nitie of hidden fires, when it is sent from a farre off, it soileth and infecteth the other aire which is pure, and breedeth new sicknesses in them who breath the same; whereunto they haue not bene accustomed. Furthermore, there are certaine vnprofitable and pestilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and secretes of the earth, and the cause why they are such, is, because they haue neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat vpon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and covered with an obscure mist, they haue nothing in them that is not pestilent, and contrarie to our bodies. The aire likewise that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidst those marishes when it rayseth it selfe, spreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth those that draw the same. But brut beasts and cattell feelee this least, on whom the plague the more greedier they are, raigeth more fiercely. The reason is, because they remaine most often in open aire, and along by riuier sides, which ordinarily draw more contagion. As touching sheepe, which are of a more tender nature, and haue their heads almost daily inclining towards the ground, I wonder not that they haue beene attainted with this contagion, considering that they haue sucked and gathered the breath of the infected aire from the earth. Such an aire had done more mischief vnto men, had it issued in greater abundance, but before it issued or was sucked vp by any man, it was choaked by abundance of pure aire that breathed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

T Hat the earth containeth many things both pestilent and mortall, thou maist know, because so many poisons issue from it, not scattered by the hand, but of their owne accord, the ground containing in it the seedes both of good and euill. And why? are there not diuers places in Italie wherein by secret pores certaine venomous vapors are exhaled, that kill both man and beasts if they draw near them. The birds also if they light vpon it before it be tempered with a better aire, fall downe in their very flight, and their bodies become blew and swolne, euen as these humane bodies are, that are strangled. This spirit as long as it is contained in the earth, flowing through a small and slender passage, hath no more power to kill any, but those that looke into that, or willingly offer themselves vnto it. But when as for many ages it hath bene hidden in darkness, and throw the malignitie and vice of the place hath gathered more corruption, the longer it stayeth there the more heauie it waxeth, and consequently the more pernicious is it. But when it hath gotten an issue, it spreadeth that eternall venom; of shadie cold and infernall night, and infecteth the aire of our Region. For the best are ouercome by the worst. Then likewise that purer aire is transfused and changed into euill: whence proceede sodaine and continuall deaths, and monstrous sicknesses, as proceeding from new causes. The contagion continueth more or lesse, according to the continuance and vehemencie of the earthquake, and ceaseth not vntill the spacious extent of the heauens, and the agitation of the windes hath dissipated those venomous vapours.

Why the ayre is issuing from the hollow places of the earth is pestilent and mortall.

Eccc 3

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

*A consideration
of an other acci-
dent as touching
some that haue
become insensate
and stupid in
these earthquakes.*

IF a particular and slight feare maketh those that are attained therewith to become senselesse, and to runne about like fooles and desperate men, wee neede not wonder, if at such times as the world hath had an alarm, and Cities haue bene sunke, whole peoples swallowed vp, and the earth shaken, that some haue bene scene tormented with fadnesse and leare, destitute of consolation, and driuen out of their wits. It is no galing matter to haue a good fence in prosperitie or aduersitie. And therefore the milder spirits haue bene attained with such feare, that they haue swooned. There is no man affraid that hindreth not his health in some sort: and whosoever is attained with feare, resembleth a mad man rather then any other, but some recover themselves sodainly, other some remaine troubled a longer time, and are as it were transported. Thence cometh it that during the warre time there are found so many fooles running about the streets; and neuer meet we with so many diuines and sooth-sayers, as when feare intermixed with Religion, attayneth and seizeth mens braines. I wonder not that during this earthquake, a statue was diuided into two parts, and that the earth it selfe was rent from the top to the bottome.

*Some say that earth the furie of a storme,
(So much can age and traict of many yeares
Transforme those things beneath in sundrie sorts.)
Did separate two places, which at first
Were but one soyle. The Sea pulst forth her waues:
And head-long flouds by force surpassing measure,
Did rent the strong Sicilian shores perforce
From Italie and his faire Continent,
And seuered with a straight and floating streame,
The fields and Cities from their former bounds.*

Thou seest that there is nothing permanent in the estates of Cities and Peoples, when as one part of nature is moued by it selfe, or that a violent winde agitateth some Sea. For the effect of the parts as well as of the whole is maruailous. For although it rageth in some parts, yet is it caused by the forces of the whole. So hath the Sea diuided and torne Spaine from Africa: and by the same inundation, so much testified by the most famous Poets: Sicilie hath bene separated from Italie. But sometimes those things haue most violence which come from beneath, for that is most furious that inforceth his passage through streights; we haue sufficiently declared both of the effects of the earthquake, and of the maruailous cuents that haue succeeded them.

CHAP. XXX.

*How it may
come to passe
that a statue
cleaueth in two
by earthquake.*

WHy therefore should a man bee amazed for this cause, that the brasle of one statue, which is neither solide, but hollow and thin, is broken? when as happily the spirit that seeketh issue is included in the same? But who is he that knoweth not this? we haue scene houses tremble, and the ioynts and the timbers of the same

open,

open, and afterwards close againe; contrariwise we haue scene some buildings that were not wel grounded at the first, and which the Carpenters had carefully ioynted together, which being agitated by an earthquake, haue vnited themselves together in a better fort. And if it riuet in two, whole walls, and renteth whole houses, and shaketh the walls of whole Towers which are solide, and ouerturneth the foundations of the building, who is he that can finde any matter worthy of note, that a statue hath bene rent from the bottome to the top? But why continued the earthquake for diuers dayes? For Campania ceased not to tremble continually, sometimes more mildly then at other times, but with great hurt: because the earthquake shiuered that which had bene ouer-turned and shaken, which finding no stay or resting place, fell, and broke it selfe anew. All the winde had not as yet gotten issue, but had only deliuered ouer a part whilst the stronger part, that remained, laboured to finde issue.

*Why the quaking
continued diuers
dayes.*

CHAP. XXXI.

AMongst those arguments whereby it is proued that these things are done by the winde: thou maist without all doubt set downe this: when as there is a great earthquake past, whereby Cities and Countries are destroyed: there cannot an other follow the same that is equall with it, but after the greatest, the lighter motions follow, because the most violent haue giuen passage to those winde that encountered one another. The remainder of these winde cannot doe so much, and doe not beat one vpon another, because they haue their way already opened, and follow that way by which the greatest force is past. Moreover I thinke that worthy memorie which a learned and honourable personage hath obserued, that being in the stoue to wash himselfe, hee vndoubtedly saw the pauements and stones, wherewith the house was paved, separate themselves the one from the other, and afterwards reunit themselves, and the water eating betweene the clefts, at such time as the tyles separated themselves one from another, boyled and foamed betweene them both, at such time as they closed themselves. I haue heard the same man report, that hee had scene soft things tremble more gently and oftner, then those of hard and solide nature.

*Why the soft
things are
almost the most
violent.*

CHAP. XXXII.

And thus much, my Lucillius, the best of men as touching the causes. Now come I to that which will fortifie our mindes, where it more concerneth to be confident then to bee learned. But the one is not done without the other. For resolution is no otherwaies planted in the minde then by good arts, and the contemplation of nature. For whom will not this accident fortifie and confirme against all others: why then should I feare a man or a sauage beast? I am exposed to far greater dangers. Wee are assailed by Riuer, by Lands, and by the greatest parts of nature: we ought therefore to prouoke death with a mightie courage, whether he inuade vs by an equall and vast assault, or by a daily and ordinarie end: it makes no matter with what maske he be couered, nor how mightie the engine is that he draweth against vs, that which he demandeth at our handes is the

*What resolutions
we are to gather
from these earth
quakes.*

*The principall is
a resolute and
assured con-
tempt of death.*

the least matter. This shall old age take from vs, this the paine of an care, this the corrupt abundance of humours in vs, this meate which the stomack can hardly digest; this a foot but slightly offended. The soule in man is but a small matter, but it is a mightie thing to contemne the soule. Hee that contemneth it shall with a quiet eye behold the enraged seas, although all the windes haue incensed the same, although the streame with some perturbation of the world, turne and arme all the Ocean against the earth. Hee shall securely behold the dreadfull & horrid face of the lightning-heauen. Although the heauen breaketh it selfe, and mixeth his fires to ruine both himselfe, and all that is vnder him. He shall securely behold the yawning earth that rieth and renteth vnder him. Although those infernall Kingdomes should bee discovered, hee shall dreadlesse stand in the face of this confusion, and happily shall skip into the gulfes, into which he should fall. What care I how great the meanes be, by which I perish? when as to perish is no great matter? if therefore we will be happy, if we would not be vexed by the feare of men, of gods, or any things: if wee would despise fortune that promiseth vs vnecessary things, and threatneth vs with trifles, if we will liue quietly, and debate for felicitie with the gods themselves, we must carrie our soules in our hands: whether it bee that ambulles would entrap, or sicknesse assaile, or the enemies sword threaten, or the noise of falling Islands, or the ruine of the earth, or these great fires that consume Cities & Countries doe inuiron her, she will lay hold on, which foucer of these dangers she listeth: what else should I doe but exhort her in her departure, and to lend her away with all her goods? Goe forth courageously, goe happily. I thinke it not strange to restore that which thou hast receiued. The question is not now of the things, but of the time. Thou dost that which thou oughtest to doe at another time: neither desire thou death, neither feare it, beware thou step not back as if thou wert to depart into some place of euil: Nature that made thee, expecteth thee, and a place farre better and secure. There the earth trembleth not, neither the windes combat one with another, and burst the clouds with thundring noise, nor fire desolateth whole Countries and Cities, nor the feare of whole Nauies sucked vp by shipwrack, nor Armies ready to giue battell, nor a multitude of Souldiers running in furie to murder one another, nor the plague, nor fires kindled here and there, to burne the bodies both of great and small, into ashes. This is but a small matter: what feare we? Is death a grieuous matter? rather let it happen once, then threaten alwaies. Shall I be afraid to perish, when as the earth perisheth before me, and those things are shaken which shake others, and attempting to doe vs mischief, offence themselves? The sea hath swallowed vp Helice and Buris wholly: shall I be afraid for one little body? Ships saile ouer two Cities, yea two such as wee knew, which are referred in our remembrance, by the meanes of that discourse which hath bene published of them. How many other Cities, in great number, haue bene swallowed vp in other places? how many Nations hath either the earth or sea deuoured. Shall I refuse mine end, when as I know that I am not without end? yea when I know that all things are finite: shall I feare the last breath or sigh. As much as thou canst therefore, my *Lucilius*, animate thy selfe against the feare of death. This is he that maketh vs humble, this is he that disquieteth and confoundeth that verry life which he spareth. This is hee that maketh these earthquakes and lightnings greater then they bee. All which thou wilt endure constantly, if thou thinke that there is no difference betwixt a short and long time. They are hours which we loose: put case they be dayes, moneths, yeaes; wee loose them because

*Misérable / morte
caused by the
ouer great ap-
prehension of
death.*

cause they must be lost. What importeth it, I pray you, whether I attayne to such a yeaer or no? The time fleeth away, abandoning those that desire it so much: neither is that mine that either is to come or hath bene. I hang vpon the point of flying Time, and it is a great matter that it hath bene but a very moment. The wiseman *Lucius* answered very elegantly to a certaine man, that said, *I haue sixtie yeaes of age*; speakest thou (saith hee) of these sixtie which thou hast not? neither hereby vnderstand we the condition of incomprehensible life, nor the chance of time which is neuer our owne, because wee make accompt of the yeaes that are past. Let vs fixe this in our mindes, and let vs oftentimes lay one vnto another, we must die: when? what carest thou?

Death is the law of nature; Death the tribute and office of mortall men, and the remedie of all euils; whosoever feareth it will with for it. Setting aside all other things, my *Lucilius*, meditate on this only, least thou waxe afraid of the name of Death; make him familiar with thee by continuall meditation, that if the cause require thou maist step forth and meet it.

The End of the sixth Booke of the Naturall Questions.





OF NATVRALL QUESTIONS,

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA;

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The seventh Booke.

Wherein
He intreateth of Comets.

CHAP. I.



Here is no man so slow, dull, and brutish, that listeth not his thoughts to behold diuine things, and fixeth not his whole minde vpon them; especially when as some new miracle appeareth in the heauens. For as long as nothing appeareth but that which is ordinarie, custom taketh away the greatest of things. For we are so composed, that those things which we daily meete withall, passe by, although they be worthy of admiration: contrariwise, we take a singular pleasure to beholde the smallest trifles, if they haue any noueltie in them. This assembly therefore of starres, whereby the beauty of this immeasurable body is distinguished, inuiceth not the people to beholde them; but when as any thing is changed in some extraordinary manner, all mens eyes are fixed on heauen: no man gazeth at the Sunne except it be in the eclipse: no man obserueth the Moone except she be darkened. Then whole Cities cry out, and euery one being transported thorow vaine superstition, starteth in his owne behalf. But how farre greater things are those, that the Sunne (if I may so speak) hath as many degrees as it hath dayes; and firmeth the yeare by his course? that from the solstice he presently inclineth and giueth space vnto the nights, that he hideth the stars, that he burneth not the earth being farre more greater then the same, but nourisheth it by temperating his heate, by intentions and remissions,

*Newly translated
eth we, ordinary
matters are con-
templable vnto
vs.*

The application
of this comette
to the considera-
tion of Comets

The modist fire
& examination
of these fires is
laudable.

millions, that he neuer filleth or obscureth the Moone but when she is opposit vnto him; yet respect we not these things as long as they continue in their order. If any thing be troubled or appeare contrary to custome, we behold it, we inquire of it, we shew it: so naturall a thing is it to admire at the newnesse, and not at the greatnesse of things. The same falleth out in Comets: if a rare fire appeare, and of an vnaccustomed figure there is no man that is not desirous to know what it is, and forgetting all other things he questioneth vpon this new accident, not knowing whether he ought to admire or feare. For many there are that will enkindle feare in other men, and walke about and preface that this fire threatneth some great mischiefe. They enquire therefore, and would needs know whether it be a prodigie or some starre in the heauen. But truly no man may eyther search after a thing more magnificent, nor learne a thing more profitable, then what the nature of the stars and planets is. Whether this contracted flame, which both our sight doth affirme, and that light which floweth from them, and that heat that descendeth from thence; or whether they are not flaming Orbes, but certaine solid and earthy bodies, which sliding thorow fierie tracts, draw their brightnesse and colour from them, not being cleere of themselves. Of which opinion many great men were, who beleued that the stars were compact of a solid substance, and were nourished by forraie fire: for their flame, say they, would flie away except it had something that restrained it, and detained it, and being gathered and not vntoed to a stable bodie, vndoubtedly the world by his storminesse had dissipated it.

CHAP. II.

If Comets are
of the same con-
dition as other
stars.



Or the better inuestigation hereof, it shall not be amisse to enquire whether Comets are of the same condition as the stars are. For they seeme to haue something common with them, their rising and setting, their resemblance likewise, although they spread and stretch themselves out longer: for they are as herie and bright as the other. But if all starres were terrestriall exhalations, the Comets and starres should be alike: but if they be nought else but pure fire, and continue fixe months; neyther the continual turning and swiftnesse of the heauen dissoluth them, they likewise may consist of a thin matter, neyther for all this be dissipated by the continual course of heauen. To this point it appertaineth also to know if the heauen turneth the earth continuing fixed, or if the heauen is vn-mouable, and the earth turneth. For some there were that haue said that it is we whom nature insensibly turneth about, and that the rising and setting is not by the motion of the heauens, but that they rise and set. It is a thing worthy contemplation to know in what estate we are, if the place wherein we abide be fixed or turned, whether God causeth vs to turne, or causeth all things to turne about vs; but it is necessary for vs to haue a collection and knowledge of the ancient rising of Comets: for as yet their courses cannot be comprehended, by reason of their raritie, neyther can it be sought out whether they obscure their courses and some due order produceth them to their certaine day. This obseruation of celestiall things is a noueltie, and but lately brought into Grece.

CHAP.

A Paradox of
the met on and
turning of the
earth about the
heauens, vented
in our times by
Copernicus.

CHAP. III.



EMOCRITVS also the most subtile amongst all the ancient Philosophers saith, that he suspecteth that there are diuers starres that runne, but neyther hath he set downe their number, nor their names, for as yet had he not comprehended the courses of the fixe Planets. *Eudoxus* was the first that brought the doctrine of these motions out of Egypt into Grece, yet speakes he nothing of Comets; whereby it appeareth that this part had not bene sufficiently laboured and sought into by the Egyptians, who had been the most curious obseruers of the heauens. After him *Conon* a diligent enquirer after these things, likewise gathered that these eclipses of the Sunne were obscured by the Egyptians: yet made he no mention of Comets, which he would not haue forgotten, if they had any waies made mention or giuen knowledge of them. Two onely amongst the Caldees, who are reported to haue studied this science, *Epigenes* and *Apollonius Myndius* a most cunning obseruer of the works of nature, differ amongst themselves: for the one saith that Comets by the Caldees are put amongst the number of wandering starres, and that their courses are well knowen. But *Epigenes* contrariwise saith that the Caldees haue no assured knowledge of Comets, but that in their iudgements they are kindled by some forme that is agitated and stirred in the ayre:

The ancient na-
tural Philosophers
seemed o-
uer curious in
observing comets.

CHAP. IIII.



First therefore thou thinkest it meete, we will set downe their opinions and refell them: This man thinkes that the starre of Saturne hath the most force vnto all the celestiall motions. This when as she presseth the neighbouring signe of *Mars*, or that she passeth into those that haue a vicinity with the Moone, or falleth into the beames of the Sunne, being by nature windie and colde, she closeth and thickneth the ayre in diuers parts. Afterwards, if she hath gathered into herselfe the beames of the Sunne, it thundereth and lightneth. If *Mars* fauoureth her likewise, it lightneth. Besides (saith he) the lightnings haue one matter, and the fulgurations another; for the euaporation of the water, and all other things which are moist, doth nought else but moue the lightnings, which doe nought else but moue threatnings; neyther succeedeth there any other euill. But the exhalation that mounteth from the earth, as being more hot and more drie produceth lightnings. But those beames and Torches which differ in no other thing amongst themselves but in greatnesse, are made after this manner: when as some globe of the ayre hath inclosed moyst and earthy things in that which we call a storme; whether neuer it is carried it presenteth the forme of an extended fire, which continueth so long as the complexion of that ayre hath remained, carrying in it selfe much moyst and earthy matter.

Epigenes sym-
bolizes as touching
the matters of
fire.

Fff

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

An examination
and distinct re-
sutation of those
opinions.



O begin with the last lies: this is false that Torches and fierie beames are expressed by a storm: for a storme is formed, and rowleth neere vnto the earth; and therefore, it pulleth vp shrubs by the roots, and wherefoeuer it inclineth, it maketh the ground naked, laying holde in the meane space on woods and houses, for the most part lower then the clouds, and yet neuer higher. But contrariwise, the pillars appeare in the highest region of the ayre, and consequently they haue neuer resisted the clouds. Furthermore, a storme presseth forward more violently beyond comparifon aboue any other cloude, and fulfilleth his course in a round. It likewise continueth not long time, but bursteth it selfe by his owne violence. But pillars of fire neyther come, nor flie ouer as Torches doe, but abide in one place, and shine in the same part of the heauen. *Charimander* also in that booke which he wrote of Comets, saith, that *Anaxagoras* obserued in the heauens a great and vnaccustomed light of the greatnesse of a huge pillar, and that it shined for many dayes. *Calisthenes* testifieth that there appeared the like resemblance of extended fire, before that *Buris* or *Helice* were hidden by the sea. *Aristotle* saith, that it was not a beame but a comet; but that by reason of the excessiue heate it appeared not to be scattered fire, but in processe of time, when as now it burned lesse, it presented it selfe in the forme of a Comet: in which fire there were many things that were worthy to be noted, and yet nothing more then this, that when it shined in the heauens, the Sea presently ouerflowed *Buris* and *Helice*. Did not therefore *Aristotle* beleue, that not only that, but al other beames were Comets? This difference haue you, that in the one the fire was continuall, in the other scattered: for pillars haue an equall flame; neyther interrupted or failing in any place, and coacted in the vntermost parts thereof, such as that was whereof I spake of late, according to *Calisthenes* opinion.

CHAP. VI.

Two sorts of Comets,
according
to Epigenes,
and of their
causes.



Ptolemy saith there are two sorts of Comets; the one on euery side powre forth their heat, and change not their place; others extend their scattered fire in one place like haire, and trauesse the stars, where two such haue appeared in our time. These former are crinitæ, and euery wayes likewise immouable, yet are they for the most part lower, & composed of the same causes, as pillars and torches are from the intemperature of the troubled ayre, which carries with it self many moist and drie exhalations that are raised from the earth. For the winde that slides thorow these traits may inflame the ayre aboue, full of nutriment, fit for fire, and afterwards driue it backward from the place where it is calmed, for feare lest through some cause it should returne and grow faint, and anon after should come to raise it selfe, and enkindle the fire where it was. For we see that the winds after some certain daies, return vnto the same place whence they first issued. The raines also, and other kinds of tempests, returne vnto their point and assignation. But to expresse his intent in a few wordes, he thinketh that Comets are made in the same sort, as fires that are cast out by stormes; this only is the difference, that the stormes fall from on high vpon the earth, and these fires raise themselves from the earth vnto the heauens.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.



Anie things are spoken against these; first, if the winde were the cause, a Comet should neuer appeare without winde, but now it appeareth euen in the calme st ayre. Again, if it were caused by winde, it should fall with the winde: and if it beganne with the winde it should increase with the winde, and the more fiery should it be, the more violent the winde was. To this adde that likewise: The winde impelleth many parts of the ayre; but a Comet appeareth in one place: the winde mounteth not vp on high; but Comets are seene very high aboue the windes. After this he passeth ouer to those, which as he saith, haue a more certaine resemblance of stars, which goe forward, and passe the signes in the Zodiacque. These, saith he, are made of the same causes as the other that are lower: in this only they differ, that the exhalations of the earth, carrying many drie things with them, ascend to the higher part, and by the North wind are driuen into the vpper part of heauen. Again, if the North winde did driue them, they should be alwayes driuen to the Southward, against which the North winde bloweth. But they haue diuers stations, some goe towards the East, some towards the West, and all in turning, which way the winde would not giue. Again, if the violence of the North winde, lifted them vp from the earth vnto the heauens, Comets should not rise with any other windes; but they rise.

The winde is no
cause of Comets,
as Epigenes
thinketh.

CHAP. VIII.



But now let vs recall that reason of his (for he vseth them both). All that which the earth hath exhaled, eyther drie or moylt, comming to ioine in one, the discord that happeneth betwene these bodies, maketh the ayre become stormie. The vehemencie then of that turning winde enkindleth by his course, and rayseth vp on high, that which it holdeth inclosed in it selfe, and the brightnesse of the fire that is inclosed dureth as long time as the exhalation, whereby he is entertained, which beginning to decrease, the fire decreaseth likewise. He that said this, considered not what the course of stormes & Comets is. That of stormes is headlong and violent, and swifter then the winds: that of the Comets is more milde, and no man can discouer what way they make in foure and twenty houers. Furthermore, the motion of stormes is inconstant, scattered, and turning: that of Comets is certain, and keepeth one settled course. Would any one of vs thinke that the winde carrieth away, or that the storme causeth the Moone to turne, or else the siue wandering stars? Nothing lesse in my iudgement. And why? Because their course is neyther troubled nor suspended. Let vs transerre the same vnto Comets. They moue not confusedly or tumultuously, so as any man should beleue that they are impelled by turbulent and inconstant causes. And again, although these stormes might embrace the exhalations of earth & water, & afterwards lift them vp from beneath vpwards, yet should they not make them mount aboue the Moone. All their carriage extendeth no farther then the clouds. But we see that comets are intermixed with the stars, & slide along the superior parts. It is not therefore likely, that in so great space a storm of winde may continue, the which as it is most violent, the sooner takes it an end.

Stormes are not
the cause of
Comets.

Ffff 2

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

This continuation
of the refutation
contained in the
former chapter.

Et him choofe which of thefe two he lift: if it be a light ftorme it cannot difcend from fo high, if it be a violent and fudden ftorme, it will break it felfe the fooner. Moreover, thefe lower comets mount not fo high as fome think, by reafon that they haue more waigthy matter then the reft. This waight bindeth them from mounting. Contrariwife, it muft neceffarily follow that the comets that are higheft, and are of longeft continuance haue a matter more folid then the lower. They likewife could not continue longer except fome more ftronger nutriment maintained them. I faid not long fince that a ftorme could not endure long, nor raife it felfe aboue the Moone, nor as far as the ftars: for a ftorme is raifed by a conflict of diuers windes one with another. This conflict cannot be of long continuance: for an vncertaine winde hauing ftrugled with the reft, finally, the victory remaineth to that which is the ftrongeft. But no violent tempeft lafteth long. The more headlong the tempefts are, the leffe time and continuance haue they: when the windes are in their full force, they inconitently begin to decline, and it muft needs be that by their more earneft vigor they fhould tend to their diffolution. So then no man euer faw a ftrong ftorme of winde continue longer then foure and twentie houres, no not an houre. The fwiftnesse thereof is wonderfull, and no leffe wonderfull is the fhortneffe. Besides this, he turneth with more greater violence and fwiftnesse about the earth: if it be high, it is leffe headlong, by reafon whereof it spreadeth it felfe. Adde herunto now, that if it raifed it felfe aboue the regions of the ayre, towards the heauens and ftars, the motion of them, which whirleth about the whole frame would difsolue and difspate the fame: for what is it that turneth more fwiftly then the motion of heauen? When the force of all the winds fhould be afsembled together, and the folid and firme ftructure of the earth likewife, this motion could difspate all that, and confequently in leffe then nothing, fhould make that parcell of intorted and confufed aire to vanifh.

CHAP. X.

It is continually
his power, that
flames of the
ayre cannot be
the caufe of the
enkindling of
comets.

Vrthermore, the fire carried vp by the ftorme could not continue long, if the ftorme continued not likewife: but what is more incredible then that a ftorme fhould laft long? For one motion is ouercome by his contrary motion: for the place about the ayres hath his motion that carrieth the heauens.

*And draves the higher ftarres with fwifter turne,
And whirles them round about.*

And if thou grant them fome remiffion, which can hardly be done in any fort, what fhall we fay of comets that continue fixe moneths? Againce, there fhould be two motions in one place, the one of them diuine and continual, accomplifhing his work without intermiffion, the other frefh & new, being shaken by the ftorme. Of neceffite therefore, the one muft be an impediment to the other. But the motion of the Moone & the courfe of the other Planets, which are about, alwaies obferue their time, neither flop they fuddenly, nor flay they, nor giueth vs

any

CHAP. XI.

Et vs leaue Epigenes, & examin other mens opinions, which before I begin to expound, this is firft of all to be prefuppofed, that Comets are not feen in one part of the heauen, nor in the Zodiac onely, but appeare as well in the Eaft as in the Weft, yea, and oftentimes about the North. Their forme is not one; for although the Grecians haue made a difference of thofe whose flame hangeth downe after the manner of a beard, and of thofe which on euery fide of them spread their light as it were haire, and of thofe whose fire extendeth and poureth it felfe out, but tendeth towards a head, yet are all thefe of the fame note, and are rightly called Comets, whose formes when as they appeare after a long time, it is a hard matter to compare them one with another. At that very time when they appeare, all thofe that beholde them are not of the fame opinion in refpect of their habitude, but euen as each of them hath eyther a sharper or a duller fight; fo faith he that they are eyther clearer or redder, or that their haire is drawn inwardly or fattered on the fides. But whether there be any differences of them or no, yet muft Comets be made by the fame reafon. One thing muft remaine refolued, that it is an extraordinary thing to fee a new appearance of ftars, that draw about themfelves a fattered fire. Some one of the ancients allow of this reafon, when as one of the wandering ftars adioyneth it felfe to another, both their lights being confufed into one, make an appearance of a longer ftar: neyther doth this happen onely at fuch time as one Planet toucheth another, but alfo when they approach, for the fpace betweene them both is enlightened and inflamed both by the one and the other, and maketh a long fire.

Comets appeare
in diuers parts
of heauen.

Their qualitie is
iudged by the
difpofition or
cleareneffe of our
fight.

CHAP. XII.

O thefe we will answer thus; that there is a certaine number of moueable ftars, and that at one time both they and Comets are wont to appeare; whereby it is manifef, that Comets are not caufed by their coition and meeting, but are created of themfelves. It oftentimes hapneth that a ftar is found right vnderneath one of thofe which is higheft, and fometimes Saturne is about Iupiter, and Mars beholde in a right line both Venus and Mercurie. But for all this courfe and incontinuity the one with the other, a Comet is not therefore made, otherwife they fhould be made euery yeare, for in euery yeare fome ftars meete together

An answer vnto
thofe that thinke
that Comets are
formed by the
approach and in-
country of two
Planets.

Ffff 3 in

in one signe, if one Planet drawing neere or aboue another, did make a comet, it should cease to be in the same instant, for the Planets passe suddenly. And therefore is it, that the eclipse of the Planets dureth not long time, because the same course that brought them together carrieth them away swiftly. We see that in a very little space of time the eclipses both of Sunne and Moone take an end. Those of the other Planets likewise which are lesse, ought likewise to continue lesse. But there are certaine comets that endure sixe months, which would not come to passe, if they were produced by coniunction of two planets, which cannot long time subliſt together; but that the lawe of necessitie must needs separate them. Besides, these planets seeme neere neighbours one vnto another, yet are they separated by huge distances. How then may one planet dart our fire vnto another, in such sort as both of them seeme but one, when as there is so great a distance betweene them? The light (saith he) of two stars is intermixed, and present a forme of one: in no other sort then when as by meeting with the Sunne, a cloud becommeth red, as the euenings and the mornings are yellow, and as sometimes or other wee see the Arch of the Sunne. All these first of all are caused by great force: for it is the Sun that enkindleth these, the stars haue not the same power. Again, none of these appeare but vnder the Moone, and neere vnto the earth. The superior bodies are pure and sincere, & neuer change their colour. Besides, if any such thing should happen it should not endure, but should be extinguished suddenly, as crownes are which begirt the Sunne or Moone, and vanish a little while after: neyther doth the Raine-bow continue long if any such thing were, whereby the middle space between two stars should be confused, they would as soone vanish out of sight, or if it continued it should not be so long as the comets endure. The planets shape their course in the circle of the Zodiacke, but the comets appeare in all the parts of the heauen. As touching the time of their apparition, it is no more certaine then the place wherein they are confined.

CHAP. XIII.

THis is alleged by *Artemidorus* against that which is said before, that not onely the fixe stars do run, but that they are obserued alone, yet that innumerable starres, that are carried in secret, eyther vnkowne vnto vs by reason of the obscuritie of their light, or by reason of such a position of their circles, that then at length they are scene when they are come to their period or end. Therefore, as he saith, some stars run between, which are new vnto vs, which intermix their light with those that are fixed, and extend their fire far more then other stars are accustomed: this is the slightest of his fictions, for all his discourses of the world are impudent lies: for if we beleue him, the heauen that we see is most solid, and hardned after the manner of a tyle, and of a deepe and thicke bodie, which was made of Atomes congeſted and gathered together. The next surface vnto this is fiery, so compact that it neither can be disſolued or vitiated, yet hath it ſom vents and windows, by which the fires enter from the exterior part of the heauen, which are not so large that they may trouble it inwardly, whence again they ſcale and ſlip forth. These therefore which appeared contrarie to custome, flowed and had their influence from that matter, that lay on each ſide of the world. To answer these questions, what other thing is it, then to exerciſe the hand, and to caſt a mans armes into the winde?

CHAP.

An influence of
Artemidorus
to maintaine his
opinion, and the
answer to the
ſupre.

CHAP. XIII.

Et would I haue this man tell me who hath laid such thicke plan-
chairs on the heauen, what reason there is that we should beleue
him that the heauen is of this thicknesse. What is the cause he
should cary so many ſolid bodies thither, and detaineth them there?
Again, that which is of ſo great thicknesse, must needs be of a
great waight. How therefore may heaueie things remaine ſuſpended in the hea-
uens. How commeth it to paſſe that this heaueie burthen faileth not, and brea-
keth not himſelfe through his waight? For it cannot be that the force of ſo
great a burthen, as he ſetteth downe, ſhould hang and depend on ſo light ſtaies.
Neither can this likewiſe be ſpoken, that outwardly there are ſome ſupporters
that vphold it from falling; nor likewiſe that in the middelt there is any thing
oppoſed, that might entertaine or containe ſuch an impendent bodie. No man
likewiſe dare be ſo bold as to ſay that the world is carried and whirled about
infinity, and that it faileth, but that it appeareth not whether it fall or no, be-
cauſe the precipitation thereof is eternall, hauing no end wherein it may ter-
minate. Some haue ſpoken thus of the earth, when as they had found no rea-
ſon why a waight ſhould conſiſt in the aire; It is alwayes falling, ſay they, but
it appeareth not whether it fall or no, becauſe, that is infinite into which it fal-
leth. What is it then, whereby thou wilt proue that only fixe ſtarres moue not,
but that there are many, and in many regions of the world? Or if it be law-
full to anſwere this without any probable argument. What is the cauſe why
ſome man ſhould not ſay, that either all the ſtarres are moued or none? Again,
that troope of ſtarres that wander heere and there, helpe thee nothing. For the
more they be, the oftner ſhould they fall vpon others: but comets are rare, and
for this cauſe are wonderfull. Moreover, all ages will beare teſtimony againſt
them, which haue both obſerued the riſing of thoſe ſtarres, and haue communi-
cated them with poſteritie.

An exact reſu-
lution of Arce-
midorus by
Paradoxe.

Another Para-
doxe included in
diuers abſurdi-
ties.

CHAP. XV.

After the death of *Demetrius* King of Syria, the father of *Demetrius*
and *Antiochus*, and a little before the warre in Achaia, there ap-
peared a comet almoſt as great as the Sun. In the beginning it was
a circle of red fire, ſparkling with ſo great light, that it ſurmoun-
ted the obſcuritie of the night. Afterwards this greatneſſe began
to diminiſh, and the brightneſſe thereof to vaniſh. Finally, the Comet was
wholly ſpent. How many wandering ſtarres, thinke you, ſhould haue bene
ieyned together to make ſo great a bodie? Although a thouſand had bene re-
duced into one Maſſe, yet could they not reflect ſo much light as the Sun doth.
During the raigne of *Attalus* a Comet was ſcene, which in the beginning was
but little, but afterwards it encreaſed, and extended, and lengthened out it ſelfe
as farre as the Equator, in ſuch ſort as it equalled (ſo long was the extent there-
of) that part of the heauen which the Aſtronomers call the Milke-white way.
How many wandering ſtarres ſhould there haue bene gotten together, to oc-
cupie with a continuall fire ſo long a tract of heauen?

CHAP.

Examples to ap-
prooue that one
Comet cannot be
made of diuers
wandering ſtarres.

CHAP. XVI.

The summe of
error and abur-
ditie of some Hi-
storians, taxed,
and namely of
Artemidorus,

Against Histori-
ans in title, and
liars in effect.



WE haue spoken against the argument, now must we say somewhat against the witnesses: we need not labour much to empowere the authoritie of *Ephirus*, he is an Historian. Some men get commendation by relating of incredible matters, and excite the Reader by some miracle, who would doe some other thing else, if he were but entertained by ordinarie matters. Some are credulous, and some negligent, some are circumvented, and some pleased with lies: the one auoid them not, the other desire them. And this is common of the whole Nation, which as he thinketh cannot approue his worke; neither that it will be passable and vendible, except it hath some asperion of lies. But *Ephirus*, a man of no religious honestie or faith, is oft-times deceiued, and oftentimes deceiueth; as in this place, because when as in this Comet, which all the world obserued, drew after it the euent of a mightie matter, when as vpon the rising therof it drowned Helice and Buris, hee saith that it diuided it selfe into two starres, which besides himselfe no man testifieth. For who is he that could obserue that moment, wherein the Comet was dissolued, and diuided into two parts? And how if there be any man that hath seene a Comet diuided into two, is there no man that hath seene it made of two? And why added he not into what starres it was diuided, whereas it must needs be some one of the fixe Planets.

CHAP. XVII.

The examinati-
on of Apollo-
nius Paradox,
that there are
many wandring
Comets.



APOLLONIUS MINDIVS is of a contrary opinion, for he saith that a Comet is not made one out of diuers erratically starres, but that many Comets are erratically. It is not a false appearance, nor an extended fire, by the vicinitie of two Planets, that maketh a Comet: her forme is not restrained in a round, but more high, and extended in length: yet hath it no manifest course, for it traueleth the highest part of heaven, and when as she is at the lowest of her course, she is not seene. Neither are we to thinke that we saw the same in *Claudius* time, which appeared in *Augustus* dayes, nor that which appeared vnder *Nero Caesar*, which hath enobled all the rest; was like vnto that which appeared about the eleuenth houre of the day, when as men celebrated the sports of mother *Venus*, after *Julius Caesar* had bene murdered. There are diuers Comets of diuers sorts, of different greatnes and dislike in colour: the one are red, without any clearenes, the other white, and of a pure and cleare brightnesse, the other flaming obscurely, and enuironed with thicke smoake. Some are bloudie, hideous, which presage nothing else but murders and massacres. These either lessen or encrease their light, as other celestiall fires doe in descending and approaching more neere vnto vs, they show more cleare and more great: lesse and more obscure in remounting, because they withdraw themselves further off.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.



EReunto we forth with answer, that the same falleth not out in Comets, that happeneth in other Celestiall fires. For Comets, the very first day they appeare are at the greatest. But they should encrease the neerer they draw vnto vs: but now their first appearance continueth vntill such time as they begin to bee extinguished. Again, that which was answered to the first, may be answered to this man likewise: if a Comet were a Planet, and had his course, it should be moued within the bounds of the Zodiacke, in which all other Planets shape their course. For neuer doth a star appeare by a star. Our sight cannot penetrate thorow a starre, to see thorow it, what is vnder it. But men see thorow a comet, as thorow a cloud, that which is vnderneath, whereby it appeareth that it is not a star, but a light fire that is gathered in haist.

CHAP. XIX.



Now the Stoique is of this opinion, supposing that the starres doe ranke themselves, the one of them neere vnto the other, and intermix their beames, where there followeth an appearance of a long star. By this reckoning diuers thinke that there are no comets, but that by reuerberation of the stars, which are one of them neere vnto the other, or by the coniunction of them that entertaine one another that is caused, which hath such or such appearance of a comet. Some maintaine that there are; but that they haue their particular courses, and at the end of certaine yeares they appeare. Some other accord also that there are; but deny that they ought to be called starres, because they diminish by little and little, and continue not long, and vanish, as it were, in an instant.

CHAP. XX.



DIuers of our coat and sort are of the same opinion, neither thinke they that it repugneth against the truth: for we see diuers sorts of fires that are formed in the aire, and sometimes the heauen on fire, sometimes long streames of flame, then burning torches carried away swiftly, with a large fire: the lightnings also, although marvellously sudden, in an instant dazle the eyes, and leaue there fires proceeding from the aire, that is crushed and violently beaten together. Therefore resist they not, but being expressed, flow, and forth with perih. Other fires continue long, and vanish not, except first of all that aliment that nourished them be consumed. In this ranke are those miracles that are written by *Possidonius*, burning pillars and bucklers, and other ferie impressions, notable by reason of their noueltie, which would not astonish mens minds, if they appeared according to custome and nature. All men are amazed that behold these, and be it that any fire either shine or shoot, be it that pressing the aire, and by setting it on fire, it subsisteth, and is reputed for some noueltie, euery one gazeth thereat, and suppose it to be miraculous. What then? Hath not the heauen sometimes opened,

A difference be-
tweene Comets
and other celesti-
all fires.

Zenoes opin-
ion according
with
Apollonius.

Senecaes opi-
nion hercupus.

ned, and a great clearenesse hath broken forth of the cauitie. Thou mightest exclaime: What is this?

*I see the heauen depart it selfe in twaine
And scattered starres from thence shine forth againe.*

Which sometimes haue shined before the night was expected, and haue broken forth at mid-day, but there is another reason hereof, why they appeare at an vnusuall time, which that they were, it is manifest euen then, when they were hidden. We see not many comets that are obscured by the Sunne-beames, in whose Eclipse, as *Possidonius* testifieth, there appeared a Comet, which the neighbouring Sunne had hidden. For oftentimes when the Sunne setteth, there are certaine scattered fires scene not farre of him: the cause is, because the greater light is spread in such sort ouer the lesser, that it may not be scene: But Comets escape the Sunne-beames.

CHAP. XXI.

SO then the Stoicks hold that the Comets, such as are torches, trumpets, pillars, and other such wonders in the heauen are created of thicke aire. And therefore appeare they most often in the North, because in that place there is found much waightie aire. Why then is not a Comet fixed, but goeth forward? After the manner of fires, it followeth that which nourisheth it. For although by nature he inclineth vpwards, yet when it wanteth matter, it declineth into that aire, according as the matter thereof tendeth or bendeth it, either to the right or left part. For it hath no way, but such as the vaine of that which nourisheth it leadeth it, thither creepeth it; neither shapeth she her course as a starre, but is fed as fire is. Why then appeareth it a long time, and is not quickly extinguished? For that we beheld vnder the happie gouernment of *Nero*, was scene for the space of six months, shaping a course altogether opposite to that which appeared in the time of *Claudius*. For that rising from the North vpwards, declined towards the East, alwaies more obscure. This began in the same part, but bending towards the West, declined towards the Southward, and then vanished out of sight. That in *Claudius* time had a quarter more moist, and more fit for inflammation, which the followed. That in *Neroes* time had a more spacious and furnished extent. They therefore defend thither, whether the matter that maintaineth them draweth them, and not their way: which appeareth to be diuers in those two which we beheld, whereas the one moued toward the right hand, the other towards the left. But all starres haue their course in the same part, that is to say, contrarie to that of the heauens, which turneth from the East to the West, and the starres quite contrarie: they haue therefore a double motion, that of their owne, and that of the heauens, that carrieth them.

CHAP.

That which the
Stoiques teach,
as touching Comets.

Of two Comets
that appeared in
the time of
Claudius and
Nero.

CHAP. XXII.

IAm not of the Stoiques opinion, for I think not that a comet is a sudden fire, but that it is to be reported amongst one of the external works of Nature. First of all, in this sense: the aire createth, are of short continuance, because they are made of a fleeting and mutable subject. For how can anything subsist long time in the same sort in the aire, when as the aire it selfe neuer remaineth like it selfe? It doth nothing but turn and flow, and hath vey litle rest. In a moment space it is changed into another state then it was in before: now it is faire, now rayny, then inconsistent betwene both, for clouds are familiar with it, into which he gathereth himself, and from which hee is dissolved, which now assemble themselves, suddenly scatter, and neuer continue at rest. It cannot be that a settled fire should take his situation in a body so fleeting, and should cleave vnto it, so obstinately, as if nature had so appropriated it, that it should neuer be separated from it. Moreover, if it alwayes remained annexed to that which enuironeth it, the same, it should neuer descend: for the nearer the aire approacheth to the earth, the thicker it is, and neuer doth a comet descend as far as the lower region of the aire, neither approacheth so neere vnto the earth. The fire likewise moueth thither, whether his nature carrieth him, that is to say, on high, or whether, whether the matter to which it cleaueth, or that it feedeth, draweth him: should it like liu

The eliminati-
on of the Stoique
opinion.

CHAP. XXIII.

Ordinary and celestiall fires haue an oblique way. Circular motion is the property of the stars, yet know I not whether any other comets haue done the like, twain burage haue done it, one of all that which is kindled by a temporall cause is quickly extinguished. So doe torches burne in passing by, so lightning by the force for a flash, so those stars that are called transients, and falling, they cut the aire; no fires haue continuance but in their owne fire. Those diuine stars speake I of, which shall continue as long as the heauen it selfe, because they are parts and the workmanship thereof. But these do something, they go, they infallibly follow their courses, and are equal. For they should euery other day become greater or lesse (if there fire were gathered and collected) suddenly enlarged upon some cause: for it should be lesse of greater, accordingly as it should be abundantly or sparingly entertained. I said of late that there is nothing continually which is inflamed by the corruption of the aire: now adde I further, it neither can abide or stand by any meanes. For both a torch, and lightning, and a shooting star; and what soeuer fire is expressed by the aire, stayeth not in a place, neither appeareth but whilest it falleth. The comet hath her siege, whence she is not so soone chased, but shee finisheth her course in measure, and is not extinguished suddenly: but vadeth by little and little: as it were a wandering starre, faith he it should be in the Zodiacke. Who seeth one limb for the stars? Who drieth diuine things into a strait? The Planets which thou only thinkest haue motion, haue diuers circles. Why therefore should there not be others, which might haue a way proper & peculiar from that of the Planets? What is the cause that the heauen is vnacceffible in some place? I haue thought that no Planet may passe the Zodiacke, I say that a comet may haue his circle so large, that in some place he may enter into the Zodiacke: This is not necessarie, but it may be.

The difference
betwene starres
and Comets.

That which is
enflamed by the
corruption of the
aire cannot
subsist.

Seneca seemeth
to encline to
some sort to this
opinion, that a
Comet is some
kind of wander-
ing starre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The regions that
move him to
produce this
Paradox.

Consider whether this becometh not the greatness of heaven better that it be diuised into severall courses, then to imagine one only circle wherein all the Planets haue their course, and that the rest remaine vnprofitable and idle. Beleeuest thou that in this so great and faire body, amongst innumerable starres, which by their diuers beautie adorne and dillinguish the night, nor suffering the ayre to remaine void and improfitable, that there should be but only five starres, to whom it should be lawfull to exercise themselves, whilst all the rest stand like a fixed and immovable multitude? if any man enquire of me in this place, why therefore is not the course of these as well obserued as of those five starres? To him I will answer, that we graunt that there are many things, but what they are we know not. All of vs will confesse, that each of vs hath a soule, by whose command we are impelled, and reuoked: but what this soule is which is the Ruler and Governour ouer vs, euery man is as farre from telling thee, as he is vncertaine where it is. Some will say that it is a spirit, an other that it is harmonie. That Man, diuine thing, and like unto God; This Man, a very subtil aire, and that other, an incorporall facultie: neither will there want some that will call it bloud; other some, heat. So that a man cannot know the truth of other things, who as yet hath not the perfect knowledge of himselfe.

CHAP. XXV.

That there is
some what more
in Comets then
in other Meteors
of fire.

Why wonder we therefore that the Comets (which are a rare spectacle of heaven) are as yet vnrestrained vnder certaine lawes, and that neither their beginnings nor endings are knowne, hauing not their returne, but after a long space of time? There are not yet a thousand and five hundred years past since Greece

Unmbered and named the light some starres.

and many Nations are there at this day who know not the heauen but by sight, that as yet are ignorant why the Moone faileth, or suffereth an eclipse: And these things amongst vs likewise haue bene lately reduced to a certaintie. The time shall come that these things which are now hidden shall be discovered by Time, and the diligence of future Ages. One Age is ouer-thort to seeke out these secrets, and a mans whole age is required to be spent in the contemplation of heauen. Is it not a miserie for vs that wee diuise this litle time we haue to liue, betwene serious and frivolous occupations? There shall bee diuers ages therefore that shall cleare these difficulties: The time shall come wherein our Posteritie shall wonder that we were ignorant of so manifest things: wee haue learned not long since in what time those five Planets, which we perceiue, doe rise and set, or stay, why they goe directly on, or recoile backward, and which holding so different courses, constrain vs to be curious: Not many yeares since it hath bene shewed vs, if *Capiten* faileth, or setteth, or is retrograde; for so it is said, when he retireth. There haue been some that haue said vnto vs, you erre, that iudge that any starre either suppresseth, or turneth his course. Celestiall bo-

dies

One Age cannot
know all things.

CHAP. XXVI.



Hence cometh it then that certaine Planets seeme to bee retrograde? The course of the Sunne imposeth on them this appearance of slow motion; besides, the nature and site of their courses and circles in such sort, that at sometimes they deceiue their sight that behold them. In this sort, ships that saile with a fore-winde seeme not to stirre: The day will come when some one shall shew vs in what parts the Comets wander: why they obserue so different a course from other starres, what and how great they are: We content our selues with those things that are found: Let those that succede vs manifest the truth likewise for their parts: We see not, saith he, any thing that is vnderneath the Planets. Our eyes pierce the Comets. First, if this be so, it is not in that part where the celestiall body is of a thick and solide fire, but there, where there is a brightnesse more rare, and in that part where the haire is scattered. Thou seest through the spaces of the fires, and not through them. All starres (saith he) are round, all Comets are extended, whereby it appeareth that they are no starres: but who will graunt thee this, that Comets are long? whereas naturally according as other celestiall bodies are, they are formed round, but it is their brightnesse that extendeth it selfe. Euen as the Sunne spreadeth his beames farre and neare, and yet hath another forme then that which proceedeth from his beames: so the bodies of Comets are round, but their light appeareth more long, then that of the other starres.

CHAP. XXVII.



Hy (saist thou?) Tell me first why the Moone receiueh a different light from that of the Sunne, when as she receiueh the same from the Sunne? whence is it that she is sometimes red, and sometimes pale? For what cause hath she a leaden and darke colour, when she is excluded from the sight of the Sunne? make me vnderstand why all the starres haue a different appearance the one from the other, and haue no resemblance with that of the Sunne. But as nothing hindereth them to be starres, although they resemble not, so nothing bindereth the Comets from being eternall, and of the same condition that the starres are, although they haue not the same appearance. And why? the world it selfe, if thou consider the same, is it not composed of diuers parts? whence is it that the sunne is alwaies burning in the signe of *Leo*, and scorseth the earth with excessive heat, and that in *Aquarius* he calleth on the Winter, and causeth the Riues to freeze? All this is but one sunne, although his nature and effects are diuers: within a short time after, he riseth in the signe of *Aries*, and slowly stealeth on in that of *Libra*, yet both the one and the other signe is of the same nature, al-

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Of the retrograda-
tion of certain
Planets.

To maintain his
opinion he an-
swereth to an
objection that is
made, that the
Comets are more
neerer the earth
then the Planets
and that they are
of another form.

An other answer
of Seneca, to
the objection,
that there is a
difference be-
tweene the light
of the Comets
and Planets.

though that in the one there is swift motion, and in the other slow progresse. Seest thou not how contrarie the elements are the one vnto the other. They are heauie and light, cold and hot, moist and drie. All the harmonie of the world is composed of discords. Thou deniest that a Comet is a starre, because the forme of the one is not answerable to that of the other. For thou seest how like that starre is that fulfilleth his course in thirtie yeares, to that which finisheth his within the space of twelue moneths, nature frameth not all her workes vpon one mold, but glorifieth her selfe in her varietie. Shee hath made some bodies greater, some more swift then others, some more violent, and some more tempered: There are some the hath drawne from the troupe, to the end they should march apart and in sight, other some hath she put into companie: he is wholly ignorant of the power of nature, that thinketh how that it is lawfull for him to doe that sometimes which he doth often. She sheweth not Comets ordinarily, she attributeth them an other place, other times, and different motions from the rest. By these Comets he would embuzzle the excellencie of his worke and the face of the Comet is more faire, then that it should be esteemed casuall, whether it be we observe their extent, whether their more cleare brightnesse, and more ardent then others. But their face hath some worthy and notable thing in it, for it is not restrained and locked up in a narrow roomie, but is more large and spacious, and that comprehendeth that which diuers starres embrace.

CHAP. XXVIII.



Comets signifie tempest, as *Aristotle* saith, and the intemperature of windes and raynes. Thinkest thou then that that which presageth a thing to come is not a starre? For this is not in such sort a signe and presage of tempest as that is of raynes, when

Where boyling oile doth crack, and rotten musshromes growe.

Or as it is a signe that the sea will rage,

*When Morcheus sport vpon the dryer coast,
And leaue the marshes where they haunted most:
And mounting hence forakes his watry shroudes,
And soares aloft above the highest cloudes.*

But thus as the Equinoctiall presageth heat or the cold of the yeare, that runneth as the Chaldies say, that the starre that governeth on the birth-day, seeth and presageth the good or euill hap of men. But to the end thou maist know that this is thus, the Comet threatneth not the earth with winde and raine sodainly, as *Aristotle* saith, but maketh all the whole yeare suspected: whereby it appeareth that a Comet hath not sodainly drawne presages to reflect them vpon that which the meeteth withall, but thee hath them in refection, and comprehended by the lawes of the world: The Comet that appeared during the Confullship of *Paterculus*, and *Papissus*, accomplished that which was foretold by *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*: For there were great and continuall tempests euery where. But in *Achaia* and *Macedon* the Cities were ruined by earthquake. Their slow motion (saith *Aristotle*) sheweth that they are waightie, and haue much earthy exhalation in them: Their course likewise for almost ordinarily they are pushed towards the Poles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.



Oth the one and the other is false, I will first speake of the former, why those things that are carried more heauily are more waightie? what then? Is the Planet of *Saturne*, which of all others shapeth his course more slowly, heauie? But it is a signe of leuitie in it, that it is about the rest. But the goeth about with a longer compasse, in the moneth more slowly, but longer then the rest. Remember thy selfe that I may say as much of Comets, although their course be more slow. But it is a lie to say they goe more slowly, for this last hath trauesed the halfe of the heuens in fixe moneths space: The former shapd his course in lesse time. But because that Comets are waightie, they are carried more low. First, that which is carried circularly, hath not a course in straight angle. Afterwards, this last beganne his motion in the North, and came by the West vnto the South, then raising her course vanished. The other vnder *Claudianus* appeared first in the North, and ceased not to raise it selfe continually on, and vntill it was extinct. Hetherto haue I proposed other mens reasons, or mine owne, in respect of Comets: which, whether they be true or no, the Gods know, who haue the knowledge of truth. For vs it is lawfull to censure and coniecture vpon them in secret only, not with any confidence to finde them out, but yet with some hope.

Senecaes opinion of that which is contayned in the former chapter.

CHAP. XXX.



*A*RISTOTLE speaketh worthily, that we ought neuer to be accompanied with more modestie, then when we speake of the Gods: if we enter the Temples with a good countenance; if we approach the Sacrifice with abased eyes; if wee call our gownes ouer our faces; if wee compose our behauiour in the most humblest sort that may be: how much more ought we to doe this when we dispute of fixed and wandring starres, and of the nature of the Gods; auoiding carefully all rash, impudent, light, foolish, lying, and malicious speech? neither let vs wonder that those things are discovered lately, which lye hidden so deeply. It must needs concerne *Panætius* and those, that denie that a Comet is an ordinarie starre, affirming that it is but a vaine appearance to inuent more exactly, if euery moneth of the yeare be equally apt to produce Comets; if euery Region of the heuens be fit to entertaine them, if they may be concluded euery where, whereas they may wander: and other questions, all which are taken away, when I say that they are no casuall fires, but interlaced in the heuens, which they bring not forth frequently, but moue them in secret. How many things are there besides Comets, that passe in secret, and neuer discover themselves to mans eyes? For God hath not made all things subiect to humane sight. How little see wee of that which is enclosed in so great an Orbe? Euen he that manageth those things, who hath created them, who hath founded the World; and hath inclosed it about himselfe, and is the greater and better part of this his worke; is god subiect to our eyes, but is to be visited by our thoughts.

The use of the doctrine of Comets.

Senecaes opinion of the doctrine of Comets.

How God ought to be considered.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the weakness
of mans iudgment
in the consideration
and know-
ledge of Celsiual
things.

The weakness of
the world are
discouered from
age to age.

Disorders not of
Senecas age
but ours, where-
in pride wanted
no ornament.

This Conclusion
is such, that he
complains of
the contempt of
Philosophie, and
the affection
of vices, which
if it be not a mis-
fortune of this time,
let every wise
man iudge.

THere are many things besides, that are neare vnto the diuinitie, and haue a power that approacheth neare vnto it, which are hidden, or happily which thou wilt more wonder at, haue filled our eyes, and fled from them, be it that their subtiltie is so great, as the apprehension of humane vnderstanding cannot reach therunto, or that so great a maiestie remaineth hidden in so sacred a retreat, governing his Kingdome, that is himselfe, without suffering any thing to approach him, but the foule of man: We cannot know, what this thing is, without which nothing is; and we wonder if some small fires are unknowne vnto vs, whereas God which is the greatest part of the world, is not subiect to our vnderstanding? How many liuing creatures haue we first knowne in this world? and many things like wife are there, that the people of succeeding age shall know, which are unknowne vnto vs. Many things are reserved for the ages to come, when as our memorie shall bee extinguished. The world is a little thing, except all men haue somewhat to obserue in it. Those things that are sacred are oftentimes taught. The Eleusians alwayes reserve some noueltie, to shew vnto those that reuise them. Nature discouereth not her secrets at once: we thinke that we are exercised in them, but we are but poore Nouices. Things that are so hidden, are not the subiects and objects of euery mans eyes: they are enclosed and shut vp in his most rettyred sacrie. The ages wherein wee are shall see somewhat, the succedent another part: why therefore shall these things bee brought into our knowledge. The greatest come slowly, especially when we cease to trauell after them. That which we wholly endeuour in our mindes, we haue not yet effected, which is to be most wicked: vices are but yet a learning: dissolution hath found some noueltie whereupon he may mad himselfe and doate. Impudicitie hath attracted some new thing to defame her selfe: The pompe and vanitie of this world hath inuented I know not what, more daintie and delicate then was accustomed, to confound it selfe: Wee are not as yet sufficiently effeminate, but extinguish by our disguises all that which remaineth of vertue: we will out-strip women in their vanities; we that are men, attire our selues in colours like Harlots, which modest Matrons would be ashamed to thinke vpon: We Bride it in our walks, and trade vpon tip-toe; wee walke not, but slip along. Our fingers are laden with rings, and there is not a ioynt that hath not a precious stone: We daily inuent, I know not what, to violate and vitiate manhood, and to defame it, because wee cannot shake it off. One hath cutt off his members, another hath rettyred himselfe into the most shamefull and infamous place in the Theater, and being hired to die, is armed with infamie. The poore man likewise hath found a subiect, wherein to exercise his infirmities.

CHAP. XXXII.

Wonderst thou that wisdom hath not as yet attained her perfection? Iniquitie is not yet wholly discouered. Shee is but new borne, and we bestow all our labour vpon her, our eyes and hands are at her seruice. Who is he that seeketh after wisdom? who iudgeth her worthy any more but a superficial knowledge? who respecteth Philosophie or the liberall studie thereof, but when the Plaias and

Pastimes are put downe, or when it rayneth, or when a man knoweth not how to loose the time? Therefore is it that so many schooles of the Philosophers are empty. The old and new Academic haue no Reader left them: Who is he that will teach the precepts of *Pyrrhon*. The schoole of *Pthagoras*, whose scholars were so enuious, findes not a Master. The new sect of the *Sextians* more powerfull amongst the Romans, then any other, hauing begunne with great vehemencie, is extinguished in his infancie. Contrariwise, what care is there had that the name of some famous stage-player should not be obscured. The families of *Pyrlades* and *Battulus*, two famous Players, continueth by successions, there are diuers Scholers and a great number of Professors in those sciences. Priuately through the whole Citie their Pulpit foundeth: hether men and women trot. Both husbands and wiues contend which of them shall bee nearest, afterwards hauing lost all shame vnder their masks, they enter into *Tauernes*, caring in no sort what becomes of Philosophie. So farre are we therefore from comprehending any of those things, which the ancients haue left in obscuritie, that for the most part most of their inuentions are forgotten. But vndoubtedly, when we shall trauell with all our power after it, if sober and modest youth would studie this, if the elders would teach this, and then yonger learne it, yet scarcely should they found the depth of it, where truth is placed, which now we seeke with idle hands and about the earth.

The End of the seventh and last Booke of the Naturall Questions.





OF THE REST AND
RETIREMENT OF A
WISE-MAN.

WRITTEN
BY
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of IUSTVS LIPSIVS.

Know not whether this be a Book or an Epistle, yet is it to be severed from the booke of blessed life, with which it hath no correspondence. Neither know I when it was written, yet is both the matter and the handling thereof good and learned. The question was, Whether it were lawfull for a Wise-man to live privately and retired from the Common-weale? It was debated among the Stoicks, who by consent called men thereunto. He maintaineth the affirmative, and the beginning of this booke is missing, that which is extant intendeth thus much. He saith by the example of the chiefeest of the Stoiques, that this is both iust and vsuall, who although they sent some vnto the Common-weale, yet went not. But that some embraced honest repose, euen from their youth, other some in their later dayes retired thither, like olde souldiers that had already deserved their wages. But that honest repose is in the studies of wisdom, and contemplation of Nature. He addeth this, that these are pleasing both to the Stoicks and Epicures, but with some slight difference, because the one doe purposely seeke out the rest, the other upon occasion; Namely, if the Common-wealth be desperately corrupted, if a man haue small authoritie and fauour, likewise if he be infirme and sickely. Hee concludeth that euen in retirement the Common-weale is handled, which be maketh double, the lesser and the greater; the one is concluded and comprehended in certaine bonds and lawes, as the Athenian or Roman Common-weale: the other is the whole world it selfe, whereof nature hath made vs Citizens. The greater, a wise-man both manageth and handleth euen in his rest and retirement, eyther by writing

or teaching. This did ZENO and CHRISIPPVS, and more profited they mankind then the labours and discourses of all active men.

OUT OF THE XXVII. CHAPTER.



THe Circle by all mens consent, commend vices vnto vs, although wee attempt nothing else that is profitable for vs, yet shall it profit our selues first of all to retire our selues into our selues: the better shall wee bee every one of vs in retiring our selues apart, and why is it not lawfull for vs to retire our selues to those that are the best men, and to chuse some patterne whereby we may direct our liues? which may it not be done in retirement? Then may a man build on that which is the best, when no man commeth betweene, that may wrest the iudgement which as yet is but weake, by the assistance of the people. Then may the life march onward with an equal and settled pace, which we make vnprofitable by contrary deliberations: for amongst all other evils this is the worst, that we change our vices into other vices, in such sort, as we haue not that power ouer our selues to continue in one vice, which is alreadie familiar vnto vs: we grow from one vnto another, and cause our selues to bee tormented daily after some new manner. This likewise vexeth vs, that our iudgements are not onely deprauid, but slight and vaine: we fluctuate and comprehend one thing by another, we leaue that which we haue wished for, and runne after that which we haue forsaken. In brieue, there is a perpetuall turne and returne betweene our desire and our repentance. For we depend wholly on other mens aduice, and that seemeth the best in our iudgement, which is desired and praised by the most, and not that which we ought to desire and esteeme. Neither estimate we the good or euil way by it selfe, but only by that which is most beaten, wherein euery one thorough after another. Thou wilt say vnto me, What doest thou Seneca? Thou forsakest thine owne part. Truly the Stoicks say thus: We will be in action euenn vntill the last terme of our liues, we will not desist to seeke out common good, to helpe euery one, to assist our very enemies, and to labour with our hands: we are they that giue not any vacation to our yeares, and who, as an eloquent man saith, hide our white haire vnder our helmets. We are they amongst whom it is so hard a matter to finde any tract of idleness before death, that (if the occasion offer it) euenn in our death we employ our selues more then euerr. Why talkest thou vnto vs of the precepts of Epicurus amidst the very principles of Zenones Doctrine? If thou be aggrieued, and moued by following one partie, why forsakest thou them not honestly and courageously without betraying them? Behold what for the present I will answer thee: Requieit thou any more at my handes then this, that I endeavour to resemble my Masters and Conductors? What therefore wilt thou doe? I will tract that path which they leade me, and not that way which they send me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Now will I approue vnto thee that I forsake not the precepts of the Stoicks, for they themselves haue not departed from them, and yet might I be very well excused, although I followed not their precepts but their examples. This which I say, will I diuide into two parts: in the first I will shew how any man may from his infancie addit himselfe entirely to the contemplation of vertue, seek and exercise apart, the means how to order his life well. In the second, how in his old age he may fashion other men, and make them vertuous. Herein will I follow the custome of the vestall Virgins, which diuide and order their age in such sort, that they may learne first of all to vnderstand their ceremonies, and then to practise them, and finally to teach them vnto others.

CHAP. XXX.

IWill also shew that this is approved by the Stoicks, not that I am constrained to doe nothing that repugneth against the saying of Zeno or Chrisippus, but because the dispute permitte me to incline to their aduice, and to follow alwaies the opinion of one alone, is to offer iniurie to the rest. Gladly would I with it that all things were alreadie vnderstood, & that truth should be discovered & confessed by all men, we would not then change the opinions of the Stoicks: but now we seeke the truth with those men that teach the same. There are two great sorts that differ in this thing, the one of the Epicures, the other of the Stoicks; but both of them send a man to his repose, but the truth is that the wayes are different. The Epicure saith, That a wise man shall not haue access to the Common-weale, except some accident happen that driueth him thereunto. And Zeno saith, That he shall haue access to the Common-weale, except there be some what that retayneth him. The one seeketh repose of set purpose, the other vpon occasion and cause. But this cause extendeth very farre, if the Common-weale be so desperate as it cannot be helped, if it be possessed with mischiefs. The wise man shall not labor in vain, neither hazard himselfe, knowing that it will be but lost time, especially if he haue little credite and lesse forces, and that the Common-weale be so sicke, that it neither can nor will giue him access or audience. Euenn as a weake and consumed man will not enroule himselfe to goe vnto the warres, and as no man will lanch a Ship into the Sea that leaketh, and hath watching ymbers: so a wise man will not cast himselfe into a way wherethere is neither entrie nor any issue whatsoeuer. He then that hath all his commodities in their entrie, may stay in the haven, and addit himselfe readily to good occupations, rather then make saile and to go and cast himselfe athwart the winds and waues; in brieue, the disciple of vertues may embrace this happie repose, wherein the most peaceable men haue licence to maintaine themselves. This is required at each mans hands, that (if he may doe it) he profit diuers, at least wise som, if not his neerch, or if he cannot, at least wise himselfe. For when he maketh himselfe profitable to others, he procures the common good. As contrariwise, he that makes himselfe worse, first of all hurteth himselfe, then all those whom he neighe asitt had hee beene a good man. So then he that behaueth himselfe well in his owne respect,

doth

doth hereby profit others, because hee prepareth them the meanes whence they may reape profit.

CHAP. XXXI.

Et vs imagine two Common-weales, the one great and truly publike, the which comprehendeth both gods and men: where in we cannot confine our eye within this or that limit, but wee measure the extent of the same with the Sunne: and the other, that where Nature hath caused vs to be borne. This shall be either Athens, or Carthage, or some other Citie, which appertaineth not vnto me, but to certaine men only. Some men at one time serue both these Common-weales, other some the lesser onely, and some other the great, and not the lesse. We may in repose serue this greater Common-weale, & I know not whether better in contemplation then in action, as if we enquire what vertues is, or if there be but one or diuers; whether it be nature or studie that maketh men vertuous: whether there be but one world that comprehendeth the seas, the firme lands, and that which is inclosed within them: or if God hath created diuers worlds, if the matter whereof all things are made, is continuat and compleate, or in parcels: if there be void intermixed amongst those things that are solid: if God onely beholdeth his worke, or if he manage and gouerneth it: if he be spread about the same, and not inclosed, or if he be infused into all creatures: if the world be corruptible or incorruptible, and to be numbred amongst those things that haue end. What seruice doth he to God, that beholdeth and considereth these things? It is to that end, that the workes of God should haue such a man for a witnesse. We say vially that the foueraigne good is to liue according to nature, which hath brought vs into this world, both for contemplation and action. Let vs now approue that which wee haue said heretofore.

CHAP. XXXII.

His shall be well approued, if euery one aske himselfe how great desire he hath had to know vnknowne things, and how much he listneth attentively to all fables that are recounted vnto him. Some trauell by sea, and expose themselves to the dangers of a long voyage, vnder hope to know some hidden things, and which few other men haue seene. The like desire assemblETH the people in the Theaters. This compelleth vs to search out hidden things, and to search out those things that are secret, to turne our antiquities, and to examine the customes of forren Nations. Nature hath giuen vs a curious minde, and knowing the excellencie of her art and secret, hath created vs to be beholders of things so excellent. But she had beene frustrated of her intention, had she discovered in secret, workes of so great, so exquisitely laboured, so proper, and of so diuers beauties. But to the end thou mayest know that she would be beheld euery wayes, and not couertly or slightly consider where she hath lodged vs. She hath placed vs in the middelt of her selfe, and hath giuen vs the ouer-view of euery thing, and hath not onely created man vpriight: but also to the end he

might

might behold the rising and setting of the stars, and carry his eyes on euery side; he hath raised his head, and planted it vpon his necke, which boweth and turneth at his pleasure. Afterwards she hath produced six signes for the day, and six for the night, and hath left no part of her vndiscovered, to the end thereby that she might present them to the eye; and enkindle a desire in him to behold the rest. For we see not all things: and as touching those things which appeare vnto vs, we see them not in their greatnesse: but our sight in searching them maketh way, and planteth the foundations of the ruth, to the end that inquisition may passe from those things that are manifest to those that are obscure, and find somewhat more ancient then the world it selfe. As, where the se celestiall bodies come, what was the estate of the world, before the parts thereof was disposed, asnow they be: what reason hath discovered those things that were drowned and confused, who hath assigned places vnto things; whence cometh it, that those things that are waightie, are by their nature inclined downwards; and those things that are light mount vp on high: if besides the force and waight of bodies, some higher power hath imposed a law on all those things; if that be true, and which is more iustifiable, that a man is a part of God, and that they are, as it were, sparkles which that holy fire hath caused to fall vpon the earth, and that remaine inclosed in this forren place. Our thought breaketh thorow the bulwarkes of heauen; neither is contented, with that which is shewed vnto it. I search, saith he, that which is beyond the world, whether it be a deepe void, or some great extent inclosed, yet notwithstanding within certaine bounds. What is the habitude of those things that are excluded from our world, if they be informed and confused: if in euery part they haue equall place, if they be ordered to some vse, if they are belonging to our world, or far estranged from it, and whirleth about in the void: if they be in diuiduall, whereof all things created are to be made, or if their matter entertaineth them, and is euery way mutable: if the elements are contrarie the one vnto the other, or if they be not at discord, but by diuers meanes entertaine one another. Being borne to seeke out these things. Consider how small a time man hath receiued, although he employ himselfe wholly herein, although he permit no man to distract him, and were carefull to husband well euery minute of an houre, without losing one: although he liued longer then any other, without touch of any croffe or disaster whatsoeuer, yet is he ouer mortal, and of so small continuance to attaine vnto the knowledge of eternall things. So then I liue according to Nature, if I addict my selfe wholly vnto her, and admire and reuerence her. But her will is that I should intend to contemplation and action. I do both the one and the other, for contemplation is not without action. But we must see (sayest thou) if thou hast disposed thy selfe therunto, to this end onely, to reape the pleasure without searching any other thing, then a continuall contemplation and without illue; for this contemplation is a sweete and very attractive thing. To this I answer thee, that it importeth as much as to demand, with what affection thou addichest thy selfe to a politique and actiue life? If it be to trauell alwayes, and without ceasing, in such sort as thou neuer raisest thy selfe from the consideration of humane things to diuine! Euen as it is vnlutely that a man can desire things, or doe any worke, except he first of all haue some science in his soule, and some loue of vertue (for these things desire to be mixed together, and compared the one with the other) so vertue, which is idle and without adion, is an imperfect and languishing good, which neuer maketh shew of that which the hath learned. Who will say that a vertuous man ought not to assay in action

how

how much he hath profited? Dare any man maintaine that he ought to meditate only on that which he ought to do? Is he not tied also to exercise his hand sometimes, and to bring that which he hath meditated to a true effect? What if the delay be not in the wiseman himselfe, if there wanteth not an actor, but such things as are to be acted. What, wilt thou permit him to be with himselfe? With what mind doth a wiseman retire himselfe? To the end he may know that he will act somewhat by himselfe that may profit posteritie. Vndoubtedly we that are Stoikes doe maintayne that *Zeno* and *Chrysippus* haue done more in their solitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exercised publique charges, established lawes: for they haue propoed worthy lessons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankind: why therefore should not such repose become a good man, by meanes whereof he governeth the ages to come, and instructeth not only a small assembly of people, but teacheth all men that are liuing at this day, and that shall come hereafter into the world? In brieue, I aske if *Cleanthes*, *Chrysippus*, and *Zeno*, haue liued according to their precepts? I assure my selfe that thou wilt answer me thus, that they liued so, as they said, men were to liue, but none of these governed a Common-weale. But thou mayest reply, that they had not either the meanes, or qualities that were requisite in them that are admitted to the government of publique affaires. And I say for all that, that they liued not without doing somewhat, but haue found the meanes to make their solitude more profitable vnto mankind, then other mens endeouours and labours. So then they haue done much, although they haue done nothing in publike. Besides, there are three sorts of life, amongst which, there is a question which is the best. The one intendeth pleasure, the other contemplation, the third action. First of all, laying aside all contention, and that irreconciliable hatred that we haue denounced against those who are of a contrarie opinion to ours: let vs see if these three manners of liuing do not iunpe in one, although they appeare vnder diuers titles. He that approacheth pleasure is not without contemplation, and he that is contemplatiue enioyeth some pleasure; and he that addiceth himselfe to the active life, hath not wholly forsaken the contemplatiue. There is a great difference (sayest thou) whether that be one thing which a man propoeth, or a dependance of some proposition; vndoubtedly a great difference, and yet the one cannot be without the other. Neither is he without action, who is contemplatiue, neither doth the other doe any thing without contemplation. The third likewise, whom ordinarily we make worst account of, appeareth not an idle pleasure, but that wherein hee confirmeth himselfe by reason. So this voluptuous sect likewise is in action. And why should it not be in action? When as the Epicure himselfe saith, that hee will sometimes retire himselfe from pleasure, and long after paine, if either penitence attend pleasure, or a lesser griefe bee taken for a more grievous. Whereto tendeth this discourse? To show that a contemplatiue life is pleasing vnto all men. Some seeke after the same, it is our place of rest and not our part. Adde hereunto now, that according to the precepts of *Chrysippus*, a man may liue without trauell, not to addict himselfe vnto idleness, but make choice of a commodious repose. The Stoiques maintaine that a wiseman will beware lest he meddle with affaires of estate. But what skilleth it how a wise-man come vnto repose, is it because the Common-weale forsaketh him, or he forsaketh the Common-weale. If the Common-weale should leaue euerie one there (as she seareth not those who seeke her in despayre.) I aske you to what Common-weale a wise-man should retire himselfe? Shall it be to Athens?

thens? In which *Socrates* is condemned, and from whence *Aristotle* fled, for feare he should be condemned? whence enue smothereth all vertues? Thou wilt grant me this, that a wise-man should not retire thither: if hee should goe and liue in that of Carthage, troubled with continuall seditions, enemie of their libertie who are good men: where equitie and goodnesse are basely prized, where enemies are rudely and cruelly intreated, and where citizens themselves are pursued as enemies. He will flee that place likewise. If I should represent other vnto thee, I should not finde one that might support a wife-man, or be supported by a wife man. And if we finde not this Common-weale, which wee imagine, the repose beginneth to bee necessarie for all. Considering, that that alone which might be preferred before repose, is found in no part. Put case that some one say, that it is good to embark, but that we must not make saile vpon that sea, wherein ships are drowned ordinarily, and which is agitated with sudden gulls, which carrie away the most expert Pilots out of their course: I thinke that such a one forbiddeth mee to weigh anchor, although hee praith the Navigation.

The End of the Booke of a Wise-mans rest and retirement.



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CERTAINE COLLECTIONS
GATHERED OVT OF
SENECAES Bookes.

Of Pouertie.



Contented pouertie, as the Epicure saith, is an honest thing, but it is not now pouertie, if it be content. He that agreeth well with his pouertie is a rich man: he is poore that desireth much, not he that hath little; for what profiteth it a man to haue much in his coffer, to hoorde vp much in his barnes, to feede much cattell, and lend much vpon vsurie, if he thirsteth after another mans fortunes, if he desire not those things which are gotten, but such as are to be attained? Askst thou me what measure there is in riches?

First, to haue that which is necessarie; secondly, that which is sufficient: no man can be possessed of a peaceable and contented life, that tormenteth himselfe much about the enlargement thereof. There is no good whatsoeuer that profiteth him that possesseth the same, except that which wee are addressed and willing to loose. By the law of nature the greatest riches are but a composed pouertie. But knowest thou what bounds the law of Nature hath allotted vs? Not to be hungry, not to be thirly, not to be colde. To satisfie and allwaie thy thirst thou hast no neede to attempt the Seas, nor follow the warres: the thing that nature desireth is easily gotten, and readily set before thee. We sweat for superfluities. They are those that weare out our apparrell, that compell vs to waxe olde, that driue vs vpon foraine forces: it is at hand that may suffice vs. If a man suppose not that which he hath to be ample enough, although he be Lord of the whole world, yet is he miserable. Wretched is he that iudgeth not himselfe to be most blessed, although he command not the whole world: he is not happy that thinks not himselfe happy. Let vs haue nothing which may be taken from vs, to his great profite that would lay holde thereof: let there be very little in thy bodie that may be taken from thee. There is no man, or very few at leastwise, that thirst after mans blood for murder sake onely. The thiefe passeth by the man that is naked, the poore man hath peace in a way beleagred with theues. He hath most fruit of his riches that wanteth least. If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion neuer rich: nature desireth a little, opinion a great deale. If thou beest loaden with as many goods as diuers rich men possess, if beside these particular

riches

riches fortune raise thee to honours, couereth thee with golde, cloatheth thee in purple, bringeth thee to such a height of delights and riches, that thou couerest the earth with marble pillars, that not onely handlett golde and silver, but treadest vpon it, that besides all this thy chambers be garnished with statues and pictures, and all that which cunning could represent, eyther rare or exquisite in golde or silver: these things will teach thee to desire more greater. Naturall desires are finite, they that spring from false opinion haue neyther end nor measure: for falsitie hath noe limit, truth hath some end; error is infinite. Retire thy selfe therefore from these vanities, and when thou wouldst know whether thou hast a naturall or vaine desire, behold if it stay in any part or no: if hauing gone farre onward thou alwayes findest somewhat farther off to be achieved, know that this is not naturall. That pouertie which is expedite, is secure. When the allarum is sounded, she knoweth that she is not fought after: when the armie is commanded to dislodge, she seeketh how to issue, not what to carrie with her. But if she must make laie, she haue hath no noyse in it, the shores are not pestered with many attendants. A troope of men attend her it not to nourish, when she neede not with for the felicitie of foraine countries: it is an easie matter to feed a few bellies that are well gouerned, and desire nought else but to be filled. Hunger is sated with a little, but exesse with much: pouertie is content to satisfie her instant desires: well aduised is that rich man, that hauing great store of riches, possesseth them as things that may be taken from him. What moues thee then to refuse such a one for thy companion, whose manners a discreet wise-man doth imitate. If thou wilt gouerne thy minde well, eyther thou must be poore, or like vnto a poore man. Thou canst not studie any thing that may profite thee except thou haue a care of frugalitie, and this frugalitie is a voluntary pouertie. Whole armies haue diuers times bene destitute of all things, the souldiers haue fedde vpon roots and hearbes, and haue suffered famine too loathsome to be spoken. And all this haue they suffered for a Kingdom, and which thou wilt wonder at more, for another man. Is there any man that will doubt to endure pouertie to deliuer his minde from these furious passions? Many in obtaining worldly riches, haue not scene the end of their miseries, but onely the change. Neither wonder I heereat. The fault is not in the riches, but in the minde it selfe. That which made pouertie seeme tedious vnto vs, will make our riches burthen some likewise. Euen as it skilleth not whether you place a sicke man in a wooden or a golden bed; for whether soeuer you shall carrie him he beareth his sickenesse with him: so it matters not whether a sicke minde be in riches or in pouertie; for his mischiefe followeth him. We haue no need of fortune to liue securely: for whatsoeuer is necessarie the will giue, although the be displeased. For feare the finde vs vnprepared, let pouertie be familiar with vs: we shall be more securely rich, if we know how easie a thing it is to be poore. Begin to accustom thy selfe to pouertie.

*Behold my guest to set thy wealth at nought,
Resembling Gods nature and in thought.*

There is no man more worthy of God then hee that hath contemned riches. And therfore I hinder thee not from the possession of goods, but this would I effect, that thou shouldst possess them without feare; which thou shalt attain vnto by this one meane, if thou hopest that thou like wife shalt liue well without them, and beholdest them as things that are transitorie. Let him passe who

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followeth

followeth not thee, but something that is in thee. For this cause onely is pouertie to be beloued, because it discouereth by whom thou art esteemed: it is a great matter not to be corrupted with the fellowship of riches. Great is that man who is poore in his riches. No man is borne rich. Whosoever entereth into this world is commanded to content himselfe with breade and milk. Kingdomes come not to seeke vs so farre. Nature requireth bread and water. Hee that hath these is not poore; and if he boundeth his desires in these, hee shall contend with *Iupiter* in felicitie: felicitie is a disquiet thing; the tormenteth her selfe, she distempereth the braine in more then one sort. She prouoketh some to braue it, some to counterfeit grauity, some she maketh proude, other some she humbleth. If thou wilt know how little euill there is in pouertie, compare the countenance of a poore and rich man, one with the other: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily, he is shaken with no care, he is about the tempests of this world. His care passeth ouer like a slight cloud: their mirth (who are called fortunes minions) is fained: their grievous and intollerable pride, although not openly is inwardly their torment, and so much the more grievous, because that somerimes they have not libertie to be publicly miserable. But amongst those disgusts that torment and swell vp their hearts, they are enforced to counterfeit their happinesse: riches, honours, powers, and such like, which draw vs from the right, which in mens opinion are precious, but in effect vild. We know not how to praise those things, whereof we ought not to determine according to common report, but according to the nature of the things themselves. These things haue nothing magnificent in them, that may allure our mindes vnto them, except this, that wee are accustomed to admire them. For they are not praised because they are to be desired, but because they are desired. This precedent cause haue riches: they change the minde, they breed pride and arrogancie, they draw on enuie, they so farre estrange the mind that the fame of the mony delighteth vs, although it be harmful vnto vs. All good things ought to be without fault, they are pure, they neyther corrupt nor sollicit the minde, yet they extoll and delight mens minds, but without any pride. Those things that are good make men confident, riches make men audacious. Those things that are good, giue vs greatness of minde, riches insolencie.

OTHER

OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Of the remedies of casualties.



Although thou art fully possessed with all the flowers of Poisie, yet debated and resolved I with my selfe at length to dedicate this little worke vnto thee, concerning casuall remedies, which the precedent times speake not of, posteritie shall respect. From whence therefore shall we first take our beginning? If thou thinkest it fit from death. What, from the last? Yea, from the greatest. Hereat mankind doth most especially tremble; neyther without cause in thy iudgement do they so. All other feares leave some place after them; death cutteth off all things. Other things torment vs, but death deuoureth all things. The issue of all that which we feare and are affrighted at, after they haue long time followed vs and attended vs, haue their period in this yea, even those who thinke they feare nothing, yet not withstanding are afraid of death. All other things which we feare may finde some redresse or solace. So therefore forme and conforme thy selfe, that if any man threaten thee openly with death, thou mayest delude all his threats and slight feares.

Thou shalt die: this is mans nature, and not his punishment. Thou shalt die: vpon this condition entered I the world, that I must leaue it. Thou shalt die: it is the law of Nations to restore that which thou hast borrowed. Thou shalt die: life is but a pilgrimage, when thou hast trauielled long thou must returne home. Thou shalt die: I thought thou wouldst tell me some newes, to this end I came into the world, this I doe, euery day conducteth me thergo. Nature when I was borne forth with prefixed methis limit: why should I be displeased herewith? I am sworne to obey her. Thou shalt die: it is a foolish thing to feare that which thou canst not auoyde. He escapeth not death that deserreth it. Thou shalt die: neyther the first nor the last, many haue gone before me, and all shall follow me. Thou shalt die: this is the end of all that I ought to doe; what olde man would not be glad to be exempted from seruice? Whither the world passeth thither shall I passe. To this end are all things created. That which began must haue an end. Thou shalt die: nothing is grieuous that happeneth once, I know that I must pay that which I owe. I haue contracted with a creditor that will not loose his debt. Thou shalt die: there can be no better newes, or more happie threat to mortall men.

But thou shalt be beheaded; what care I whether I die by the stroake, or by the stab? But thou shalt haue many stroakes, and thou shalt see diuers swords vntheated

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vnheathed against thee. What matters it how many the wounds be, there can no more. But one be mortall.

Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. The way to death is in every place. I am ready to pay that which I owe. Let the creditor see to it, where he will arrest me. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. There is no earth that is strange to him that dieth. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. Sleep is no more grievous abroad then it is at home. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. This is to returne into a mans countrey without prison.

But thou shalt die yong. It is the best that may befall a man to die before he witheth it. This is the only thing that concerneth the yong, as well as the old. We are neither cited according to our reuenues or yeares. The same necessity of destiny constraineth both yong and old. It is best for a man to die, when he hath a desire to liue. Thou shalt die yong. Whosoeuer commeth to the last period of his destinie, dieth old. For it skilleth not what the age of man is, but what his terme is. Thou shalt die yong. It may be that Fortune retireth mee from some great mishap, and if from nought else, at leastwise from old age. Thou shalt die yong. It skilleth not how many yeares I haue, but how many I haue receiued. If I cannot liue longer, this is mine old age.

Thou shalt lie vnburied. What other thing shall I answer thee, but that of Virgil.

Slight is the losse of sepulture.

If I feele nothing, I need not care whether my bodie be burned or no, and if I be sensible, euery sepulture is a torment.

Heauen covers him that hath no painted tombe.

What matters it whether fire or wilde beasts consume me, or the earth which is the sepulture of all things? This to him that hath no sense, is nothing, and to him that hath feeling a burthen. Thou shalt bee vnburied. But thou shalt bee burned, but then drowned, but then imprisoned, and locked in a tombe, but thou shalt rot, and be embowelled and fowed vp, or cast into the hollow of a stone, which shall consume and drie thee by little and little. There is no sepulture, we are not buried, but cast out. Thou shalt not be buried. Why art thou afraid amidst thy most securitie. This place is out of feare and danger. We are indebted much vnto life, to death nothing. Sepulture was not inuented for the dead sake, but for the liuing, to the end that our bodies, which in sight and smell are most loathsome, should be hidden from our eyes: some the earth ouerwhelmeth, some the flame consumeth, some are shut vp in stone, that will returne nothing but bones. We feare not the dead, but our owne eyes.

I am sicke. The time is now come wherein I must make prooffe of my vertue. A confident man not onely discouereth himselfe vpon the sea, and in the battell, but vertue approueth her selfe euen in the bed. I am sicke. This can not continue for an age. Either I shall leaue mine Age, or mine Age will leaue me. We cannot be alwayes together. The question is betwixt me and sicknesse, and either he shall be conquered, or I ouercome.

Men speake euill of thee. But euill men. It would moue me, if *Marcus Cato*, if *Leilius* the wife-man: if the other *Cato*, if the two *Scipios* spake these things. In this time it is a matter praise-worthie to displease the wicked. That sentence can haue no authoritie, where hee that is condemned doth condemne. Men

speake

speake euill of thee. It would moue me, if they did it vpon iudgement, but now they doe it vpon infirmitie. They speake not of me, but of themselves. Men speake euill of thee, they doe it therefore because they cannot speake well. Not because I deserue it, but because they are accustomed vnto it. For there are some dogs of that nature, that they bark rather vpon custome then vpon reason.

Thou shalt be banished: thou art decciued when I haue done all that I may. I cannot passe out of my countrey. All men haue one countrey, and out of this no man may wander. Thou shalt be banished. I am not for bidden my countrey, but the place. Into what countrey I come, I come into mine owne. I can be banished into no place, for it is my countrey. Thou shalt not be in thy countrey. That is thy countrey wherefoeuer I liue well. But to liue well is in the man, and not in the place: In his power it is what his fortune shall be. For if he be wife, he transeleth; if a fool, he is banished. Thou shalt be banished: thou sayest thus. Thou shalt be a citizen in another Citie.

Sorrow is at hand; if it be slight, let vs endure it, patience is an easie thing to support. If it be grieuous, the glorie is the greater. Let paine extort cries, so he expresse not secrets. A man cannot resist paine, neither paine reason. Paine is a tedious thing, nay rather thou art effeminate. Few men could endure paine. Let vs be one of the few. We are weak by nature. Defame not Nature, she created vs strong and valiant. Let vs flee paine. And why? Knowest thou not that he followeth those that flee from him?

Pouertie is grieuous vnto me, nay, thou vnto pouertie. The error is not in pouertie, but in the poore man. Slee is readie, ioyfull, and assured. I am poore. In opinion, but not in truth. Thou art poore, because thou thinkest thy selfe so. I am poore. The birds want nothing. Tame beasts liue their time, wilde beasts find food in their folitude.

I am not powerfull; be glad, thou shalt not be impotent. I may receiue an iniurie. Be glad; thou canst not doe any. He hath great store of money. Iudget thou him to be a man, it is his meanes? Who enuieeth a treasure or full coffers. And this man, whom thou supposedst to be master of this money, is but the bag that shutteth it vp. He hath much. Whether is he couetous or prodigall: if couetous, he hath nothing; if prodigall, he shall haue nothing. This man, whom thou supposedst to be happie, is often sad, doth often sigh. Many accompany him. Flies follow after hony; Wolues after carion; Ants after wheate. This troope followeth their prey, and not the man. I haue lost my money. It may be it would haue lost thee. I haue lost my money, but thou hast it. I haue lost my money. Thou shalt be no more in so great danger. I haue lost my money. how happie art thou, if thou hast lost thy couetousnesse with the same. But if shee remaine with thee, yet art thou happie in some sort; because thou hast neither wood nor oyle to cast into so horrible a fire. I haue lost my money. And thy money hath lost and spoiled an infinite number of men. Thou shalt be now more light to walke on thy way, and more assured in thy house. Thou shalt neither haue nor feare an heire. Fortune hath disburthened thee, if thou conceivest the same, and seldest thee in a more secure place. Thinkest thou it to be thy wrong? Is it thy remedie. Thou weepest, thou wailest, thou criest, as if thou wert vndone, because thy riches haue bene taken from thee. It is thine owne fault that this losse doth torment and touch thee so necre. If thou hadst possessed them as things that might perish, thou wouldest not torment thy selfe thus. I haue lost my money, another had lost it before, to the end thou shouldst haue it.

I haue lost my sight. Night and obscurity is haue the pleasures. I haue lost my sight. From how many desires art thou exempted? How many things haue thou want, which rather than thou shouldst see, thou thy selfe wouldst pluck out thine eyes. Knewest thou not that bodily blindness is a part of ignorance? The eye discouereth vnto one man an adultery, to another incest, to this man a house which hee desireth, to that man a towne, in briefe all sorts of mischiefs. Vndoubtedly, the eyes are the kings of vices, and the guides of wickednesse.

I haue lost my children. Thou art a foole to bewail the death of those that are mortall. Is this a noueltie, or a thing to be wondered at? Is there any house exempt from this accident? Callest thou a tree miserable, whose fruit falleth to the ground whilst his branches mount aloft. Thy child is thy fruit. No man is exempt from these strokes, vntill funerals are led as well out of the Artificers shop, as the Kings Pallace. Destinie and age haue not the same order. A man departeth not out of the world in the same sort as he entered. But why art thou vexed? What hath happened contrarie to thy hope. Those that ought to die are dead. Yet could I haue wished that they might haue liued. But no man promised thee thus much. My children are dead. They had them who had greater right vnto them then thou? They were onely lent thee. Fortune lent thee them to bring them vp, these hath retained them, and hath taken away nothing but her owne.

I haue suffered ship wracke. Bethinke thee not what thou hast lost, but what thou hast escaped. I came naked to the shoare. But thou gottest to land. I haue lost all: but thou mightest haue beene drowned with the rest.

I fell into the hands of theues. But another man hath met with detractors, another with theues, another with cosyners. The way is full of dangers. Complain not thou that thou hast met with them, rather reioice that thou art whole and in safetie. I haue grievous enemies. Euen as thou seekest out means to defence thy selfe against the furie of savage beasts, and the venome of serpents; so see thou fortifie thy selfe with some succours against thine enemies, by means whereof thou mayest repulse them or repress them, or which is more assured and better, make thy selfe gracious in their eyes.

I haue lost a friend. It is true then that thou hadst one. I haue lost a friend. Seeke out another in some part where thou mayest finde him. Seeke amongst the Liberrall Sciences, amongst those occupations that are iust and honest, in the shops of Artificers. This treasure is not sought out at the table. Seeke out some one that cares not for good cheere, but is frugall. I haue lost my friend. Show thy selfe to be a braue fellow, if thou hast but lost one, blush; if an only friend: why trustedst thou to one anchor in so great a tempest.

I haue lost a good wife. Didst thou finde her good, or make her good? If thou foundest her by chance, thou mayest hope to light vpon the like. If thou madest her good, hope well: the pattern is lost, but the craftesmaster is liuing. I haue lost a good wife. What allowedst thou in her? Her chastitie? How many women are there foud, that hauing maintained their honor a long time, haue lost it at last? Was it her modesty: how many haue bin numbered in the ranke of most honest matrons, that afterwards were scoulds and railers? Wert thou delighted in her loyaltie? How many of the best wiues haue we seene prone noughts, of the most diligent, the most disolute. The minds of all vnskillfull persons, especially women, is subiect to inconstancy. If thou hadst a good wife, thou couldst not maintaine that she would alwayes remaine in that estate. There is not any thing so inconstant and vnassured as the will of women. We know the diuorces

of

of ancient matrimonies, and the brawles of married couples, more hatefull then diuorces. How many are there that hauing affectionately loued their wiues in their youth, haue forsaken them in their age? How oftentimes haue we laughed at the diuorces of old and married folkes? How manies noted loue, hath beene changed into more notable hatred? But this was both good, and would haue continued good had she liued. Death is the cause that thou mayest boldly maintaine this. I haue lost a good wife, if thou seekest none but a good wife, thou shalt finde her. Provided that thou studie not about the antiquitie of her race, nor on her worldly possession, which men prize now adies more then Nobilitie. Bewtie annexed to these, will make head-long time against thee, but thou shalt not haue so much labour to gouerne a mind that is puffed vp with any vanitie. A woman that is too proud of her selfe, will make small reckoning of her husband. Marrie with a maid, or that is well brought vp, and not tainted with her mothers vices. A maid that beareth not her fathers and mothers bequest at her eares, that is, not loaden with Rings and Jewels, nor cloathed in such apparell, as cost more then she brought vnto her marriage. Nor that causeth her selfe to be drawne in her Coach thorow the Citie, and to behold the people as boldly, and on both sides, as would her husband. Nor such an one for whom thine house will seeme too little to containe her cariage and equipage: Thou shalt worke that mayden according to thy minde, which hath not as yet beene corrupted by those dissolutions that are in request. I haue lost a vertuous wife. Art thou not ashamed to weepe, and to call thy losse intollerable? But wel, thou must know this, if thou bewailest thy wife or no. In remembering thy selfe that thou art a husband, remember also that thou art a man. I haue lost a good wife. A man cannot recouer a good mother or a good sister, but a woman is an accessarie good, and is not reckoned amongst those which euery one cannot meete with but once in his life time. I haue lost a good wife. I can name thee many men, that hauing bewailed a good wife, haue met a second farre better then the first.

Death, banishment, paines, sorrowes, are no punishments, but tributes which we must pay vnto this life. Destinie sendeth no man out of this world, without giuing him some stroke. Happie is he that esteemeth himselfe such, and not he who is esteemed such by others. But consider that this happines is rare in this world. It hath neere vnto it miserie, and borroweth something of it.



A Table vvherein SENECAES Paradoxes
and other Stoicall vanities are set downe, to the
end that such as are of weakeſt iudgement and apprehenſion, may both know, and be more circumspect
in iudging of them.

- 1** **IT** is a thanks-giuing for a benefit when a man receiveth it with a good will.
- 2** The vertuous child doth more good unto his father, then hee hath received from him.
- 3** Of the names of God, and if so many presents as hee bestoweth on vs, should bee as many names as a man might bestow upon him.
- 4** Thou art not to thinke that there are but seven wandering starres, and that the rest are fixed.
- 5** The wicked and the foolish man is not exempt from any vice.
- 6** Of the power of God.
- 7** That sometimes wee ought not to recompence the good turne which we haue received.
- 8** The wise-man satisfieth the rich man for the gold and silver he offereth him by one refusal.
- 9** Whether a man may giue unto himselfe, and requite himselfe.
- 10** That no man is good, wicked, or vngatefull.
- 11** All men are vngatefull.
- 12** If a wise-man may receive a benefit, and pleasure from another man, considering that he is Lord of all things.
- 13** Of diuers sorts of benefits.
- 14** Of the resemblance and difference betwixt God and good Men.
- 15** If Iupiter would fixe his eyes upon the earth, I thinke that he might not see any thing more faire, then Cato was at such time as he slue himselfe.
- 16** Of fatal destiny.
- 17** One and the same necessitie enchaineth both Gods and Men.
- 18** Death is in the power and will of a man to kill himselfe, and to depart out of this world when hee thinketh fit, without expecting the good will and pleasure of God.
- 19** The rich man cannot berish except he be poore.
- 20** Remedies against diuers accidents of this life.
- 21** Our infirmities may bee healed, and nature which hath created vs to tend unto good, aideth vs when wee desire her to become better.
- 22** Why mourneſt thou? on which side sooner thou turnest thy selfe, there is the end of thine euill.
- 23** Mercie or compassion is an imperfection of the soule of affections.
- 24** If a wise-man pardoneth.
- 25** Of happy Life, and of perfect Vertue.
- 26** Wherein consisteth the soveraigne good.
- 27** The praise of that Epicure who cut his owne throat.
- 28** That a wise-man ought not to intermeddle with affaires of estate.
- 29** Of an imperfect and perfect wise-man.
- 30** Death is neither good nor euill, for that may bee either good or euill which is some.

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something, but that which is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, neither subiecteth vs to good or to euill.

31 Of the purgation of the soule aboue vs, where she maketh a little stay to cleanse her selfe from the spots that remaine in her.

32 Of the end of the world, and of the resolution of soules into their auncient elements.

33 Of the creator of all things, and of the immutable succession of things that are enchained the one within the other.

34 Death is not a punishment, but the ordinance of nature.

35 Iupiter after the consummation of the world, all the gods being deriued into one, and nature reposing her selfe a little, shall content himselfe with himselfe, and shall gouerne his thoughts.

36 It is a great misery to be constrained to liue, it is no constraint to be constrained to liue; there is no man that may be hindered from forsaking this life.

37 Dying we are worse then we were when we were borne.

38 Of two sorts of Wise-men.

39 God dwelleth in euery good man, but we know not what God he is.

40 Thinkest thou for the present what I call a good man? He which is imperfectly: for the other which is perfectly wise appeareth not but by chance one time in five yeares, as the Phenix and we ought not to be abashed, if the generation of great things requireth a great distance.

41 Of the source of disorder which is in the soule.

42 The short life of a Wise-man hath as much extent for him as the long life of God. There is likewise something wherein a wise-man marcheth before God, which is that God is wise by the benefite of nature, and not by intention and diligence.

43 We deceiue our selues to thinke that life followeth death, when as death had gon before, and life followeth it.

44 If the soule of a man being hidden vnder the ruines of a Tower or Mountain, cannot be deliuered from the bodie, nor

finde issue, but spreadeth it selfe incontinently thorow all the members, because she hath no free issue.

45 If by reason of continuall paine it be lawfull for a man to murder himselfe.

46 Of perfect vertue in this life.

47 Of the equalitie of vertues, and wherein lieth their difference.

48 Of reason and the soueraigne good.

49 Of the behaviour of a wise-man in death.

50 If it lie in our owne power to dispose of our liues as we please.

51 Of the Stoicks wise man.

52 Iupiter can doe no more then a wise-man.

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54 Stoicall inuincions to perswade a man to murder himselfe.

55 The estate of the soule before it entereth into the bodie, and after it hath lefth it.

56 That no man but a wise-man can requite a good turne which is receiued.

57 If a wise-man be without passions or no?

58 Of happy life and the chiefest good.

59 A happie man is perfectly happy.

60 Of the golden age and the first men.

61 Of the inuention of artes and deuotions.

62 That the firmity and felicitie of a wise-man (imagined perfect in this present life) is in himselfe.

63 The soueraigne good is in this life, and cannot receiue increase.

64 This world wherein we are contained, is one, is God, whose members and companions we are.

65 A dead man is no more.

66 That which we call good is a body.

67 Vertues and other things, yea, those accidents which are without subiect and forme, are animals and bodies.

68 If it be better to haue moderate affliction, or to haue none at all.

69 Wisedome is a good thing, so be wise is not.

70 Nothing seemeth more dishonest then

OF PARADOXES.

then to wish for death. It is in thine owne power to die when thou wilt.

71 God is the soule of the world: it is all that which thou seeest, and all that which thou seeest not.

72 Of the vniuersall deluge by water which shall ruine the world.

73 Of the end of the world by a vniuersall deluge.

74 If the heauen turneth and the earth standeth still, or if the heauen is immouable, and the earth turneth. If the heauen falleth continually, vnperceined because it falleth into that which is infinite.

75 Of Comets.

76 The nourishment of the flesh is a sad life and beauly.

77 There is nothing honest but that which is good.

78 Vertue is sufficient for her selfe, to liue well and happily.

79 Sinnes are equal, and vertuous actions likewise.

80 All imprudent men are mad.

81 All wise-men are exempt and free: contrariwise, all imprudent men are vicious and slaves.

82 No one but a wise-man is rich.

83 The summe of certaine dangerous Paradoxes of the Stoicks.

F iii

An



AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL

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LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM STANSBY.
Anno Domini,
1614.



Librae Medice (Gndy)